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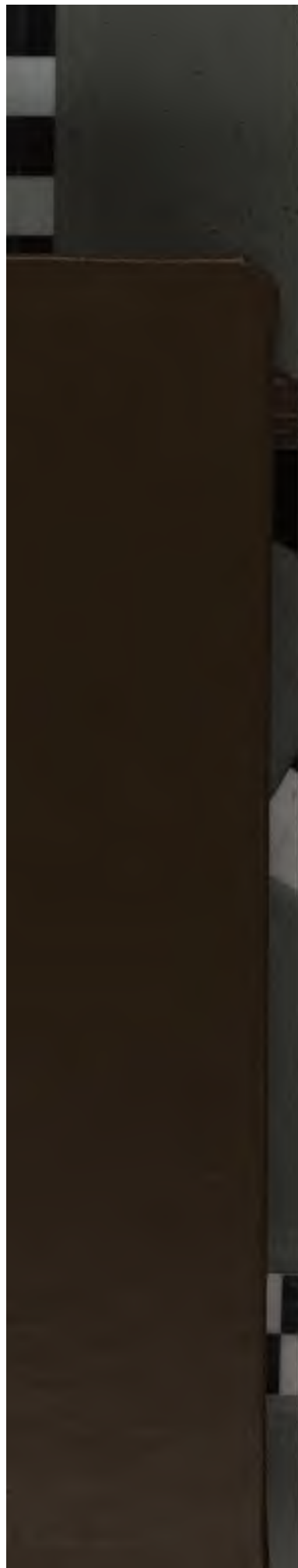
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NOTE ON ART. VII. IN THE 'QUARTERLY REVIEW,' No. 343.

In an article on the Education Question which appeared in our last number, we said, in commenting on Mr. Morley's speech in the House of Commons: 'The Jews were no doubt named in the hope of hiding the bid for the Roman Catholics, for out of London we imagine they have no schools.' In the Government Returns Jewish schools are included under the heading 'British, Undenominational, and other Schools:' we had therefore no authority to which to turn for the number of schools belonging to that religious body, and so spoke in the indefinite manner just quoted. A correspondent at Birmingham sends us word that the 'Jews have a school in that town in which more than 400 children are being taught; that in Manchester the Jews' school teaches from 1200 to 1500 children, and in Liverpool over 400 children, and that there is scarcely a town of any size where there are not Jewish children supported by the love and faith of the people.' We regret that we were not aware of this when the article was written, as it helps to sustain our contention in favour of denominational schools, and we gladly insert this correction.

THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

ART. I.—*A History of England in the Eighteenth Century.* By
W. E. H. Lecky. Vols. VII. and VIII. London, 1890.

MR. LECKY has reached the conclusion of his great work. Three years ago, in presenting to the public the fifth and sixth volumes of his narrative, he promised to devote the concluding volume 'to a history of the closing years of the Irish Parliament, of the great rebellion which it encountered, and of the Act of Union by which it was finally destroyed.' Mr. Lecky has been better than his word. The two portly tomes before us contain the fullest, the most accurate, and the most exhaustive account, that has hitherto been laid before the world, of any period of Irish history. Never before have Irish affairs been the subject of such minute investigation and detailed narrative. Exclusive of the last twenty pages of the work, which are occupied with a sketch of post-Union history, upwards of one thousand large octavo pages are given to the story of eight eventful years. The peculiar importance of the affairs of Ireland in the last century properly demanded that, in any History of England in the eighteenth century, Irish politics should be accorded a full share of the historian's attention; and the circumstance that Mr. Lecky is an Irishman, combined with the prominence assigned to Ireland by contemporary statesmen in the party struggles of to-day, has not tended to diminish the interest with which the author regards the sister island. We are inclined to think that, had Mr. Lecky foreseen at the outset of his labours how fully he would be obliged to deal with the affairs of his native land, he would have entitled his work not a 'History of England,' but a 'History of the United Kingdom.'

Although the time has now come for forming a judgment upon Mr. Lecky's work as a whole, we prefer, in an article
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which refers, like the two volumes that have suggested it, solely to Ireland, to express no final opinion upon the general result of his labours as a study in the art of history. But of his qualifications and characteristics as an Irish historian we may venture to give our estimate, before entering upon the discussion of some of the many interesting episodes described and dilated on in these concluding volumes. The first word must be one of grateful acknowledgment of the thoroughness and perfection of detail with which the story has been told. Only those who have had occasion to explore a few of the many sources of information, which Mr. Lecky has visited, can fully appreciate the vastness of his labour, or the ability he has displayed in sifting from among the materials at his command the essentially important particulars. The correspondence between the English and Irish Governments at the Record Office, the immense collection of State papers and semi-official confidential documents preserved in the Birmingham Tower at Dublin Castle, which have never been thoroughly examined by any other writer; the Fane, Pelham, and Abbot papers, have all been digested with the most complete and patient care. In addition, a voluminous mass of published literature, in the shape of memoirs, correspondence, speeches, and pamphlets, has been thoroughly assimilated by the writer. The enormous pains, which Mr. Lecky has evidently taken at every step to secure full and accurate knowledge, joined to his scrupulous avoidance of anything savouring of extravagance of style, renders his work an absolutely trustworthy repertory of the facts of Irish history during the period with which he has dealt. Considering that heretofore they were without any authoritative account of these events—for Mr. Froude's more graphic narrative does not purport to give the story in the same detail—the public owe a deep debt to Mr. Lecky for thus placing before them in connected sequence the history of the Grattan Parliament, around whose doings so much divergent criticism has gathered. So deeply are we impressed with the excellence of his work in this respect, that we feel some reluctance to hint at what strike us as the defects of his method.

These defects are, perhaps, the inevitable counterpart of the conspicuous merits that outweigh them. Clear and coherent narrative of events, patient and laborious investigation of little-known or disputed episodes, passionless and discriminating criticism are much; and in a history of the affairs of Ireland they are of even more than ordinary consequence, because they are more than ordinarily rare. Inquiry cannot well be over-elaborate, and patience can scarcely be too carefully exercised; but it is not
always

always necessary to give in full the various steps in every investigation. Mr. Lecky has, we think, marred the artistic effect of his work, by his habit of telling his story between inverted commas. The method ensures accuracy, but it is not attractive; and remembering that Mr. Lecky has shown in his first work, and also in the earlier volumes of this history, no inconsiderable genius for finished portraiture and brilliant narrative, it cannot but be regretted that he has not chosen to tell his tale in his own words. It seems a pity that an author possessed of a rare capacity for style should deliberately efface it in this manner. To such a length does Mr. Lecky carry the system of extracts that, did we not know that the major part of the contents of these volumes must have been written earlier than last year, we should almost suspect that he had modelled his manner upon the Report of the recent Special Commission. His narrative is as accurate as that historic document, his conclusions not less judiciously expressed; but, unfortunately, his style is not unfrequently as bald as the necessarily subdued and inanimate language in which Sir James Hannen and his colleagues have expressed their memorable verdict. This drawback, however, flows directly from Mr. Lecky's deliberate adoption of a method which has many merits, and which only a writer, in whom a conscientious endeavour to get at the truth, and a self-restraint as praiseworthy as it is uncommon, are the predominant characteristics, would have resorted to.

The second objection we have to make is less abundantly compensated by positive advantages. Mr. Lecky's desire to avoid exaggeration and preserve an impartial tone has in one respect materially weakened the value of his work. It is, we think, the business of an historian, not alone to present facts and to weigh their significance, but further to express a definite judgment thereon. We seem to have discerned a lack of purpose, an absence of clear views upon some important questions, which substantially impairs the effect of the historian's critical tone. Perhaps the explanation is to be found in the fact that, while Mr. Lecky's investigations have induced him to modify, and in some cases to abandon altogether, his earlier opinions of the independent Irish Parliament, he has, probably unconsciously, endeavoured to reconcile his original impressions with his maturer knowledge. Such a reconciliation is impossible, and the result has been that his comments are at times halting and indecisive, where the facts recited appear to warrant a more vigorous expression of opinion.

One further remark and we have done with comment upon Mr. Lecky's historical methods. The story of the life and death

of the Grattan Parliament is the most pictorial chapter in the history of a picturesque people. In the Irish race the love of the romantic, emotional, and chivalrous elements of life is a powerful inherent characteristic. It is one, no doubt, which has often led Irishmen to exaggerate the virtues and genius of their heroes, and it is doubtless well that their historian should be on his guard against adopting too readily the unduly favourable estimates, that may have been formed by their admirers, of Ireland's most distinguished sons. But while it is fitting that the 'high falutin' tendencies of Irishmen should be kept in check in a great historical work, it is possible to pay too little regard to popular opinion, and to form unduly depreciatory judgments in the anxiety to be merely just. It is a defect in Mr. Lecky that even the most exciting scenes too often fail to rouse the historian to anything like warmth of feeling. He is a little lacking in sympathy; and many eminent and typical Irishmen, whose characters he sketches, are depicted in cold and sometimes even unattractive colours. Mr. Lecky's criticism of Plunket is a fair example of this idiosyncrasy:—

'William Conyngham Plunket, the last of that remarkable group of statesmen and orators produced by the Irish Protestants in the closing half of the eighteenth century, can perhaps hardly be called a great man. He had neither the glow of imagination, nor the warmth and disinterestedness of character, that kindle the enthusiasm of nations. He has left no serious contribution to human thought or knowledge; and devoting himself mainly to professional ends, he neither sought nor won the fame of a party leader, or of a great legislator. Even as an orator—though his place is in the foremost rank—his popularity was somewhat limited by the extreme severity of a taste which rarely stooped to ornament, or indulged in anything that was merely oratorical or declamatory. But in the power of rapid, lucid, and most cogent contemporaneous argument, in the grave, dignified, reasoned and persuasive eloquence which is most fitted to charm and subjugate an educated audience, he has seldom had an equal, scarcely ever a superior.' (Vol. vii. p. 45.)

We venture to say of this description of Plunket that, although it might be difficult to take exception to any single expression in it, the criticism conveys upon the whole a too depreciatory judgment. Even from the notes to Mr. Lecky's own volumes evidence can be adduced which shows Plunket to have been a man of finer genius, of more ardent nature, and more varied talent, than this picture would lead us to suppose. It is certain that every allusion in the memoirs of his contemporaries to this great orator and lawyer, of whom Lord John Russell has stated that he excelled all the orators he had ever listened to,

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Canning included, evinces the profound respect and admiration which his character and genius commanded ; and of the younger generation of those who opposed the Union, his stands out as by far the greatest name. It is, of course, difficult to appreciate in the dead pages of a published speech the magic charm of oratory, and impossible to feel the thrill that stirred the living audience. We should readily excuse, on this plea, Mr. Lecky's failure to do justice to the fervour of Plunket's rhetoric, did we not know that, in earlier days, he had himself seen the flash of an electric force that, in the third generation, still retains its energy, and illuminates the Parliament of the Union, as it once lent added brilliancy to the coruscation of purely Irish genius.

The opening pages of Mr. Lecky's seventh volume are occupied with an account of Defenderism,* and of the rise of that spirit of active sedition which followed with suspicious celerity upon the concession of the Relief Act of 1793 ; but the most important incident discussed in the earlier chapters is the episode of the brief and unfortunate vicegerency of Lord Fitzwilliam. Mr. Lecky's criticism of that episode forms in our judgment the one conspicuous error of his long narrative ; and the mistake, into which we think he has fallen, strikingly illustrates that indeterminateness which we have already noted as one of the few blemishes in his qualifications as an historian. Mr. Lecky styles the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam 'a fatal turning-point in Irish history.' A turning-point it undoubtedly was, and a fatal one to boot ; but scarcely so in the sense in which Mr. Lecky has used the expression. In summing up his views on this subject, the historian tells us his reasons for so regarding the incident :—

'For at least fifteen years before it occurred, the country, in spite of many abuses and disturbances, had been steadily and incontestably improving. *Religious animosities appeared to have almost died away.* The Constitution in many respects had been ameliorated, and the lines of religious disabilities were fast disappearing from the Statute Book. The contagion of the French Revolution . . . does not appear to have seriously affected the great body of the Catholics, and Burke was probably warranted when, in estimating the advantages which England possessed in her struggle with France, he gave a prominent place to the loyalty, the power, and the opulence of Ireland.' (Vol. vii. p. 98.)

* The *Defenders* were originally Roman Catholics in Ulster, who formed an association to defend themselves against the Peep of Day Boys, who were Protestants, and mainly Presbyterians. The Defenders ultimately merged into United Irishmen, and the Peep of Day Boys into Orangemen.

Whether this be a true description of the state of Ireland in the beginning of 1795 or not, it certainly is scarcely consistent with the rapid growth of Defenderism in various parts of the country, or with the author's statement on an earlier page, that there were at least signs that what was to be feared among the Catholic population was not merely turbulence and lawlessness, but also a positive hostility to the connection.*

In the account which Mr. Lecky has given to us of a transaction which has, perhaps, been more hotly canvassed than any other incident in Irish history, the historian inclines apparently to the belief, that Lord Fitzwilliam's mission was not only intended as a message of peace to Ireland; but, furthermore, that being, as it undoubtedly was, the result of a coalition formed between Pitt and the moderate Whigs, the Prime Minister, in agreeing to Lord Fitzwilliam's nomination to the Lord Lieutenancy, was assenting to the principles of Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform, which the Whigs were believed to favour. Mr. Lecky also conveys the impression that Pitt, though at first disposed to acquiesce in these prospects, was induced to change his views as to their advisability, in response to the loud clamour raised by Dublin Castle officials threatened with loss of place, and in deference to the strong anti-Catholic prejudices of George III. Without adopting an estimate of Pitt's statesmanship, too mean and unworthy to be reconcilable with his splendid reputation, it is impossible to accept this explanation of his conduct. For, if he had come to the settled conclusion that a radical change of policy was required in Ireland, he could only have formed his decision on so grave a matter after the most mature deliberation, and he would have been deplorably wanting in resolution and fixity of judgment, had he consented to yield his carefully formed opinions to the interested representations of subordinate officials. Mr. Lecky's own narrative convincingly proves how very differently matters really stood. It is plain that, on the union between Pitt and the Whigs, it was agreed that there should be some change in the *personnel* of the Irish Government, as one of the conditions of the coalition. Lord Fitzwilliam was selected to succeed the Earl of Westmorland; and the choice undoubtedly indicated a desire to conciliate Grattan and the Irish leaders, with whom Fitzwilliam stood well. But that the change of men was intended to herald a change of measures, as Mr. Lecky contends, is solely a matter of inference, and can only be established by making certain

* Lecky, vol. vii. p. 31.

wholly unwarranted assumptions. It seems clear, on the contrary, that Pitt was from the first, and, throughout the whole of the troubled viceroyalty of Lord Fitzwilliam, entirely opposed to any radical change of policy in Ireland. In the memorandum he drew up during the negotiations relative to Lord Fitzwilliam's appointment, he lays it down as an essential condition thereof, that 'all idea of a new system of measures or of new principles of government in Ireland, as well as of any separate or exclusive right to conduct the department of Ireland differently from any other in the King's service, must be disclaimed and relinquished.' Manifestly Fitzwilliam, who throughout the whole business exhibited the vanity of a weak nature possessed of unwonted importance and authority, greatly exceeded his instructions. He fancied, that he would be able to effect, by means of his own, the long-desired pacification of Ireland, and that he would be able to settle the Irish question for ever, in conjunction with Grattan and his followers in the Irish Parliament. That Pitt disapproved of these ideas, and opposed them as soon as he heard of them, is shown by the fact, first, that he endeavoured to cancel Fitzwilliam's appointment before the latter had crossed the Irish Channel, in consequence of the premature promises made to the Irish leader; and secondly, by the statements of Portland, Fitzwilliam's chief friend in the Cabinet, that the Lord Lieutenant was instructed to exert his endeavours to prevent the Catholic claims from being agitated at all. Fitzwilliam's recall was primarily due to his breach of the first principles of administrative method, as it is understood in England, by setting at nought the specific injunctions of the head of the Government he represented, and seeking to carry into effect ideas of policy, which, even if not specifically repudiated in advance by his chief, had never received the sanction of the Cabinet, whose views he was bound to consult.

In treating of the Fitzwilliam recall, and indeed in the whole of his account of Irish history from the establishment of the Grattan Parliament, Mr. Lecky has not sufficiently discerned the extent of the influence exerted through the entire period by Fitzgibbon, better known by his later-acquired title of Earl of Clare. It is true that in his sixth volume a very elaborate portrait is drawn of this remarkable man; and that further on he is bracketed with Castlereagh as the chief instrument in passing the Act of Union. But Lord Clare was more than an instrument; he was an active and original statesman, who could and did take the initiative on many critical occasions, and who exercised a more potent influence on Pitt's Irish policy

policy than any of the rest of his advisers. Alone among the historians of the Grattan Parliament, Mr. Froude has perceived the importance of Lord Clare's most interesting figure, though the rapidity of his narrative necessarily precluded his giving any detailed account of the man. Believing that no estimate of this period can be an accurate one which does not take into proper account Lord Clare's commanding personality, we need offer no apology for interpolating a full-length picture of a man whom Mr. Lecky, who in other respects is inclined to underrate his consequence, is constrained to call 'the great Father of the Union.'

How great were the abilities of Clare, how eminent his services, how large the space which he occupied in the eyes of his contemporaries, may be gathered from the scattered references which are to be found in the memoirs of his principal political opponents. The pages of Jonah Barrington's memoirs, of the lives of Grattan, Flood, Curran, and other patriots of the day, bristle with parentheses of abuse which testify at once to the power which Clare wielded, and to the fear in which he was held. Born probably in 1749, John Fitzgibbon was about three years the junior of his rival and antagonist Grattan, whose comrade he had been at school and college. Inheriting from his father an ample fortune, he was returned to Parliament in 1778 as the representative of Dublin University, and took part in the debates which preceded the concession of legislative independence. Almost immediately following on that measure, he became a law-officer of the Crown. As Attorney-General from 1783 to 1789, and as Lord Chancellor from 1789 to 1802, his official career was practically contemporaneous with the era of Grattan's Parliament; and through the whole of that era he was undoubtedly the mainspring of the Castle policy. His was the brain which directed the Irish administration throughout a space of eighteen troubled years, his the vigour which aided to quench the flame of Irish insurrection, and his, as Mr. Lecky points out, the counsel upon which, more than upon that of any other statesman, Pitt relied when he resolved on passing the Act of Union. Until very recent years the history of the Grattan Parliament has been told almost without the slightest reference to the most eminent advocate of Imperial rule who sat in it. While the names of all the popular leaders who played their part in that brilliant epoch of Irish history have been made familiar to English readers in the pages of innumerable memoirs, and kept alive in the volumes of their speeches, no biography of this illustrious Irishman has ever appeared, and it is now too late to repair the loss. The high-minded

mindful delicacy, which caused Lord Clare to enjoin upon his deathbed the destruction of all his public and private papers, so as to shield the reputation of those who had been compromised in the Rebellion, has deprived intending biographers of the materials essential to their task. From the pages of a hostile critic, who wrote of these times while the memory of Lord Clare was still fresh in Ireland, we extract the following tribute to his abilities:—

‘Just at this time’—December, 1783—‘there was advanced to a high station a man who produced vast effect on the destinies of Ireland. This was John Fitzgibbon, afterwards Earl of Clare, who was perhaps the ablest of the great bad men produced by modern Ireland. . . . Of varied and solid legal acquisitions, bold in his carriage, voluble if not eloquent in speech, he soon dashed all competitors aside, and in an age when the Irish bar was crowded with men of ability—Yelvertons, Currans, Burghs—he stood not the most brilliant, but confessedly the most formidable and successful man in the profession. . . . One quality he possessed to an extent greater than any other Irishman (except Wellington), namely, vigour of will. His self-reliance was matchless. His courage was of all kinds—from the physical hardihood of a grenadier, up to the thoughtful resolution of a general. While others of his order quivered with fear in the rebellion of 1798, secure in his own apathy to danger, Fitzgibbon with calm mockery counted the insurgent leaders, and laughed at their futile audacity, with the same mixture of derision and satisfaction as Arthur Wellesley, from behind the lines of Torres Vedras, saw the baffled enemy whom he was ere long to chase beyond the Spanish confines. Pardon should be asked for even naming such men in the same sentence; but the contrast is of use. For Fitzgibbon might, to a dramatist, present the idea of moral grandeur,—so great were his courage, his intellect and knowledge,—if his mind had any idea of duty, whether to his Sovereign, his order, or his country. But to obey the laws set by his own violence, craft, and ambition were the sole instruments with the man, who confounded the resolves and crushed the designs of the Irish national party, whether they sought to achieve the patriotic and impracticable liberalism of Grattan, or the levelling and incendiary democracy of Wolfe Tone.’*

This description gives the testimony of an unfriendly pen to Lord Clare’s immense ability; but the imputations of personal baseness which it contains are wholly unwarranted. Lord Clare was, indeed, a man of imperious and despotic temperament, little tolerant of opposition, and disposed at all times to wield authority with Cromwellian sternness. Therein he was suited to the difficult and dangerous part he had to play. The first

* D. Owen Maddyn’s ‘Age of Pitt and Fox,’ p. 288.

recorded incident in his career as Attorney-General is a proof of this. A meeting of the people of Dublin was convened by the city sheriffs. The authorities considered it dangerous. Fitzgibbon, almost unattended, forced his way through a hostile mob, got on the platform, cut short the harangue of a popular orator, told the sheriffs the meeting was illegal, ordered them to leave the chair, threatened them with legal penalties if they dared to disobey, and, having effected his purpose, walked away with composure, quite undisturbed by the hisses of the mob. But though thus autocratic in public action, he was in private a man of humane and generous character. Mr. Lecky, studiously careful to avoid florid narrative, has relegated to a note the most moving incident in his history, the spectacle of this seemingly cold, harsh, and unfeeling ruler weeping like a woman by the deathbed of the unfortunate Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

We must return from this digression to Mr. Lecky's account of Lord Fitzwilliam's recall. To the influence which Lord Clare exerted in the crisis, precipitated by the attempted innovations of the Viceroy, Mr. Lecky makes reference, but he perhaps underestimates its extent. From the accounts given in some letters to be found in the Beresford Correspondence, it is easy to see not only that Fitzwilliam had resolved upon the Chancellor's removal, but that Lord Clare had discovered his intention and resolved to accelerate the Lord-Lieutenant's overthrow. Clare not only possessed the ear of Pitt, but he entertained very strong views, with which he was able to imbue the Prime Minister, upon the danger of concession to the claims of the Roman Catholics. These views were expressed with great logical force in his famous speech upon the Relief Act of 1793; and, whatever may be thought of their reactionary tendency, it must be admitted, not only that there was much reason for them at that time, but that a good deal has happened since they were expressed to justify Clare's forecast of events. He had resisted the Relief Bill on the ground that, once Catholic disabilities were removed, there could be no logical resistance to an ultimate Catholic ascendancy, that such an ascendancy would inevitably be anti-English, and that every approach to it must increase the necessity for a Union. 'We shall be driven,' he said, 'to sue for a Union with the Parliament of England, as the last resource for the preservation of Ireland, and the misery is that every step which we advance in innovation, as it increases the necessity for a Union, will increase the difficulties in adjusting it.' Entertaining such views, it is easy to imagine how such a statesman would regard the policy of Fitzwilliam; and

and enjoying as he did the confidence both of the King and the Prime Minister, it was no more than what might be expected that he should use every effort to impress his opinions upon them, even if his personal authority had not been seriously jeopardized by the projects of Lord Fitzwilliam. As we have already remarked, Mr. Lecky appears to us to exaggerate the importance of the Fitzwilliam viceroyalty; but so much stress has been laid upon it in all histories of the years preceding the Union, that we have thought it right to refer to it in some detail. It was not in our opinion a proximate cause, though it was undoubtedly used as a pretext for the Rebellion. The Rebellion had its origin in the peculiar conditions of the time. It was due mainly to the false expectations excited in the popular mind by the concessions of 1793, expectations which were doubtless strengthened by the conduct of Lord Fitzwilliam. But the hopes that were then held out would never have moved the people to revolt, but for the belief that substantial help would be given to an insurrection by revolutionary France. Unquestionably the action of Lord Fitzwilliam accelerated the outbreak by intensifying the feelings of disappointment with which Pitt's real views were learned. But though it is true to say with Mr. Lecky, that 'from the day when Pitt recalled Lord Fitzwilliam the course of Ireland's history was changed,' it is a mistake to attribute the change to that recall. The Rebellion was inevitable before Lord Fitzwilliam was sent over.

It would be foreign to our purpose in the present article, and in any case the task would occupy more space than we have at our disposal, to follow Mr. Lecky in detail through his close and careful rendering of the events of Irish history, from the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam to the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion. The account which is given of the progress of sedition, of the gradual deepening of sectarian distrust, and the growth of religious animosities, is marked by the same patient and elaborate investigation which is the salient characteristic of Mr. Lecky's whole work. These three years are very important, and their minutely recorded history is very instructive, but the chronicle, we must confess, is lacking in narrative interest. It lacks the presence of any attractive human figure to give animation to the story. The only personality of real fascination, upon which the historian has seized, is that of Wolfe Tone. Of him there is an extremely careful sketch, and the prominence assigned to him in the history of the time is far from being undue. Tone must always be remembered as the first of the Fenians, not in name of course, but in spirit and sentiment. Irish Nationalism, ever since that ism first existed,
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has been of two kinds. There has always been a moderate party, strong mainly in the lower middle classes of Irish society, who have sympathized vaguely with moderate aspirations for a modified form of national independence. There has also been, and we presume there always will be, another and a larger body of opinion, which appeals with powerful effect to the sentiment of the masses of the people, who are animated by unconquerable and unreasoning antipathy to England and the English name. Among modern patriots Tone was the first to appeal to this latter spirit. 'From my earliest youth,' he said, when arraigned before the court-martial in Dublin, 'I have regarded the connection between Ireland and Great Britain as the curse of the Irish nation, and felt convinced that while it lasted this country could never be free or happy. . . . I designed by fair and open war to procure the separation of the two countries.' He sought to found an absolutely independent nation; and seeing that such independence could never be obtained by Irish strength alone, he did not scruple to invoke the aid of a foreign power. From such men as Grattan and Charlemont, Wolfe Tone was as far apart, alike in motive and method, as O'Donovan Rossa from Isaac Butt. According to Mr. Lecky, he distinctly contemplated, as one of the necessities of his movement, a wholesale massacre of the Irish gentry. His career, the partial success of his endeavours, the applause which he won among the people, desperate as were his methods of agitation, should serve as a standing lesson to English theorists of the stern realities that have to be faced by those who encourage Irish revolutionists. Tone was not, indeed, a man of the people. Few Irish leaders have been. But he understood the material on which he was working, he gauged rightly the true animus of a large section of his fellow-countrymen. Englishmen may judge, from the illustration his policy affords, of the temper of the population in the lower stratifications of Irish society, how much reliance may be placed upon the Irish masses, should they ever be encouraged by foreign assistance, to deem themselves a match for the might of England.

The two vexed questions, of the conduct of the Irish Government in relation to the Rebellion of 1798, and of the morality of the means employed for passing the Act of Union, are the topics in Irish history of the last century round which controversy has most persistently raged. In connection with the first of these questions, the gravest and most diabolical charges have been hurled against the Irish Government. The responsible advisers of the Crown have been accused explicitly of having fomented an insurrection for the purpose of gaining an excuse
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for forcing upon the people a legislative union with Great Britain; and they have been further charged with using barbarous and unnecessary rigour in the measures they took to put down the rising they are alleged to have provoked. Mr. Lecky, as might be expected, after impartially setting out the facts, decides in his judicial way against this monstrous contention. He affirms that extreme measures were employed to quell the disturbances, but he points out how inevitable it was that such measures should be resorted to. If desperate remedies were employed, there was a desperate disease to be rooted out. Those who dwell upon the severity of the penal measures forget, what were the atrocities which had to be punished, and how great the dangers that required to be averted. The intelligence that poured into the Castle, prior to the actual rising, through the usual medium of the informer, proved conclusively to the authorities the dangers which might be expected, if the people were allowed to gather force. An organized system and network of treason was known to have spread all over the country. For different reasons different parties in different places were ready to join in any outbreak. Had the authorities waited for the actual rising, it would plainly have been impossible, with the forces at their command, to subdue a general insurrection all over the country. From the insight which Mr. Lecky gives us into the character of the information in the hands of the Irish Ministers, relative to the designs of the leaders of Irish treason, it is plain that they could only have refrained from action at the risk of having the whole Government upset. When the Irish Ministers, and especially Lord Clare, against whom the accusation has been chiefly levelled, are charged with having provoked the rising in Wicklow and Wexford by the severity they displayed in the south, west, and north, the true answer to be given in their behalf is, that they were stifling in detail a pre-arranged national revolt; which, had it taken place simultaneously on the scale contemplated by those who planned it, must infallibly have wrecked the whole constitutional system, and have ended in the establishment of an independent Ireland, sustained and rendered formidable by French power.

In criticising the action of the Government in suppressing the Rebellion, it must never be forgotten that in this, as in most Irish outbreaks, England's difficulties with foreign Powers formed a large factor in the calculations of her enemies in Ireland. That the rising would never have been attempted but for the expectation of French assistance, is as certain as any speculative proposition can be. In 1798, as but too often, both before and
since,

since, England's difficulty was Ireland's opportunity. As the demand for legislative independence was the fruit of the revolt of the American Colonies, as the rising of 1848 was the fruit of the revolutionary spirit then rife in Europe, and of the Chartist troubles in England; so the Rebellion was the outcome of the disturbed condition of Europe at the time, and of the belief that English resources were being too severely taxed abroad to enable her to cope with insurrection at home.

We will not follow Mr. Lecky through his painstaking and elaborate description of the Irish rebellion. It is by far the most authentic and most impartially written narrative of that deplorable chapter of Irish history that has ever been penned. Those who desire to understand for themselves what Irish nature unfortunately descends to, when loosed from all the usual restraints of policy, and animated solely by the vengeful spirit of faction, will do well to study it; unless, indeed, they are of opinion that the late proceedings in Kilkenny shed sufficient light upon Irish character in this respect. We turn from what Mr. Lecky rightly calls a 'dreary and ignoble story in which there is much to blame and very little to admire,' to consider the great events which followed the Rebellion, and to ascertain what grounds, if any, can be found, in this impartial record of the passing of the Act of Union, for the serious charges that have been made against the authors of a measure, which subsequent events have so conclusively proved to have been essential to the preservation of Imperial unity.

Mr. Gladstone is never weary of dwelling upon the moral aspects of the passing of the Union, and loves to expatiate in vituperative terms upon the 'blackguard' methods by which the independent Parliament of Ireland was put an end to. He is never tired of reprobating the bribery and corruption which were employed, in the language recently employed by an Irish leader in a not dissimilar connection, 'to sap the independence' of the leaders of Irish Nationalism. Let it be granted first of all that corruption was employed; that methods unfortunately familiar in the politics of the eighteenth century from the time of Walpole, were made use of to overcome the reluctance of opponents of the Union to assent to that necessary measure. Let us see, however, who were the corrupters and who the corrupted. This is a subject which has over and over again been discussed; and, in our judgment, the weight of evidence certainly points to the conclusion, that Pitt's agents in bringing about the Union did resort to the illicit expedients of corruption by the offer of peerages and titular distinctions of all kinds, in order to gain support for the measure. Attempts have been
made

made by zealous partisans to deny that these influences were brought to bear, by Lords Cornwallis, Castlereagh, and Clare, to bend recalcitrant politicians to their will. We do not think that the well-meaning defence which has been set up can be successfully maintained, or that the charges can be rebutted altogether. We believe it to be established; and, if we had not believed it already, though the gravity of the charges has been grossly exaggerated, the evidence adduced by Mr. Lecky would compel us to adopt the conclusion, as we have already said, that peerages and other distinctions *were* given on the understanding, that the votes in the control of the recipients should be cast in favour of the Government measure. We believe that Pitt having made up his mind as to the necessity of a Union, and having resolved to bring it about, the three ministers of his will in Ireland set themselves to the task of conciliating the opponents of his policy by the only efficacious means; and we believe that, for the purpose of removing the obstruction offered to the measure by certain influential Irishmen, they did not scruple to hold out the substantial inducements of place and title as a means of assuaging opposition. It must, however, in fairness be remembered, with reference to what is called corruption, that the charges of actual bribery by money still lack authoritative corroboration; while the procuring of votes by the distribution of titles differed in degree and not in kind from the methods always employed, and properly employed, by Government to reward political service.

So much must, we think, be conceded. But when those who inveigh against the Union as the illegitimate offspring of force and fraud, as the issue of an immoral effort to degrade and debauch the honour of the Irish people, as having been forced upon a reluctant, and more than reluctant people, bitterly hostile to it on national grounds, they make charges which are childishly absurd. Only those who are densely ignorant of the facts of Irish history can pretend to believe in them for a moment; and now that Mr. Lecky has set the facts plainly before the world, ignorance is no longer excusable. Herein lies the true value of Mr. Lecky's labours. They enable the public, for the first time, to understand the true character of that Parliament which Grattan founded and which Pitt destroyed; they demonstrate the folly of the mistake, into which many intelligent critics have fallen, in regarding that legislature, as in any sense of the word, a representative institution; and they make it plain that, from the very commencement of its existence down to its close, this Irish Parliament was an assembly representative merely of what,
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from a democratic point of view, was an inconsiderable section of the 'alien' population of the country; a Parliament filled with the nominees of absentee noblemen; a Parliament of landlords, of placemen, and of Protestants. It is further clear from Mr. Lecky's narrative, that the policy of the Union was favoured by large numbers of important representatives of that sort of public opinion, which modern Separatists alone consent to recognize as indicative of true Irish feeling. The Union was supported by a considerable section of the Catholic clergy; it had the assent of a substantial proportion of the Catholic population. When we are asked to-day to overturn the Union because some of those who were induced to support it were won over by illicit means, it has to be remembered that the descendants of some of its strongest opponents ninety years ago are now among its strongest upholders. The Protestant population of Ulster, which prior to the Rebellion was vehemently opposed to a Union, now as strongly approves of it; and the heirs of the borough-mongers, who had to be bought over to its support, are now unanimous in the desire to maintain it.

Let us consider the composition of the Grattan Parliament. Here is what Mr. Lecky himself says of it:—

'The Irish Parliament of 1782 was a body utterly unlike any Parliament that could be set up by modern politicians. It was essentially an assembly of the leading members of the landed gentry of the country; of the section of the community which was bound to the English connection by the strongest ties of sympathy and interest; of the chief representatives of property, of the classes from which since the Union the magistracy and the grand juries have been principally formed. It had uniformly and readily followed the lead of the English Parliament in all questions of foreign policy. It had contributed largely and ungrudgingly, both in soldiers and money, to the support of the Empire in every war that had arisen, and it was perfectly ready to enter into a treaty for a permanent contribution to the British navy, provided such a treaty could be framed without impairing its legislative supremacy. Viceroy after viceroy had emphatically acknowledged its unmixt loyalty, and they made no complaint of its present dispositions; but at the same time the most experienced English statesmen were convinced, that the permanent concurrence of two independent Parliaments under the Constitution of 1782 was impossible, and that a collision between the two Parliaments in time of peace would be dangerous, and in time of war might very easily be fatal to the connection.' (Vol. viii. p. 277.)

The Irish Parliament then was Protestant, it was aristocratic, it represented the landed interests, and it was loyal. Is it possible to conceive any Parliament of modern creation which would

would be marked by any one of these characteristics? Yet in Mr. Lecky's opinion the permanent concurrence of two independent Parliaments was impossible. How came it that this loyal body was so vehemently opposed to a union involving closer alliance with the English connection? how came it, further, that its existence could form a menace to imperial unity?

The answer as regards the first point is simple enough. The dominant influence in the Irish Parliament was the influence of the borough-mongers. They, of course, were either wealthy noblemen or great landed commoners, of whose attachment to the British connection no possible doubt could be entertained. But they were opposed to a Union, because the rotten boroughs which they held were a substantial property and an immense source of influence. To them a Union meant the destruction of their property and the loss of much of their importance. When these persons were bribed by the offer of peerages, or steps in the peerage, to surrender their power and influence, it was not as patriots, tempted to sell the independence of their country, that they were approached, but as the owners of what was then, and for thirty years longer continued to be in the English Parliament, a recognized source of property. Had they been men who had an established position as patriots, who were fired with the genuine spirit of Irish nationality, they would have merited all those charges which have been brought against them of having sold their nation's liberties. But they were far from being attached to Home Rule in the sense in which that term is now understood. They desired, as warmly as any Englishman could desire it, the unity of the Three Kingdoms, and in assenting to Pitt's measure they agreed to an arrangement under which that, which they had always professed to wish to preserve, would be effectually secured. It is, of course, impossible to feel anything but contempt for the motives that influenced them, at first to oppose, and afterwards to acquiesce in, the measure of the Union. In the words of Mr. Lecky, 'the great borough-owners perceived that a legislative union must take the virtual government of Ireland out of their hands, and a crowd of needy legislators saw in it the extinction of a system under which they could always, by judicious voting, obtain places for themselves or their relatives.'* But it is ridiculous to pretend, that the corruption employed to secure such votes was corruption applied to lure, from their allegiance to the popular cause, the outspoken advocates of Irish nationality. What occurred was, simply,

* Vol. viii. p. 279.

that the owners of boroughs were compensated for the loss of their influence by a lavish distribution of places or titles, and thereupon the seats at the disposal of such owners were either vacated by their former representatives in favour of men not pledged to oppose a Union; or, as happened in most cases, the occupants of those seats obediently followed the behests of those who had placed them in Parliament. De Quincey, who was a witness, it is strange to remember, of the final scene when the Grattan Parliament sat for the last time, has expressed his astonishment that the senators of Ireland could so lightly part with their rights and privileges. The explanation of their apathy is that they had always taken a purely pecuniary view of the value of their seats, and, having obtained what they accepted as a fair equivalent for the loss, they could readily sacrifice the external dignity of their membership of an assembly which many of them had always despised as provincial. But apart from the circumstance that the illicit influence exerted by the Irish Government to secure the passing of the Union was not applied towards sapping *bonâ fide* nationalism, it is incontestable that the opposition of many among those who resisted the blandishments of administration was based upon instincts and motives the reverse of patriotic in the modern Irish sense of that adjective. The most eminent among the upholders of Irish nationality after the Grattan model were men deeply imbued with those ideas of aristocratic privilege that still mark the Whig nobility of England. Charlemont, next to Grattan's the most honoured name connected with the legislative independence of Ireland, viewed the Union with horror, because, rightly or wrongly, he believed it to be inimical to the interests of his order. He considered that the absenteeism which a Union would be certain to promote, the slackening of the close ties that ought to exist between the landed proprietors and their tenantry, would lead to the destruction of the influence of the former. This doubtless was not only, as after events have too truly proved in many instances, a sound view, but it was also a sincerely patriotic one. Yet patriotic as was the attitude of Charlemont and his friends, it was patriotism of a very different sort from that which is conveyed by the word in the language of modern Irish patriots; and we have yet to meet with the Nationalist who regrets the Union for the reasons that caused Lord Charlemont to deplore it.

Another influence strongly adverse to the Union was the attitude of the Irish bar. Its opposition was not unnatural, but it was almost altogether dictated by selfish considerations. The most brilliant parts in the drama of Irish independence had

had been played by members of the legal profession. Next to those of Flood and Grattan, the names that have rendered the Grattan Parliament illustrious as a temple of Attic oratory are those of Irish lawyers. Yelverton, Burgh, Fitzgibbon, Curran, and Plunket, were men who would have added lustre to the deliberations of any assembly that ever existed. The members of the legal profession crowded the benches of the House of Commons, and found there a more rapid road to the celebrity and notoriety which are so great aids to legal eminence, than they could hope to traverse at the Four Courts. They could force their way, by virtue of their political influence, into numerous positions, which, once they were deprived of their seats, would be closed to them; and it is no imputation upon the honour of the Irish bar that its members should have desired to preserve an institution which so much enhanced their own dignity and importance. The desire, therefore, to resist a Union was fostered by a variety of causes which had no connection whatever with the desire for national independence. We are far from denying that such a desire was present in the breasts of a large section of the Irish people. But those in whom it was most strongly implanted looked forward to something very different from the constitutional liberty which Grattan and his friends might have been content with. Wolfe Tone had desired independence, so did Emmett, so had the brothers Sheares, so had the fanatics of Scullabogue; but the independence they looked for was a total emancipation from British rule, an absolute liberty to set up an independent Ireland, hostile to England and ready to co-operate with her enemies.

For these reasons, then, the Grattan Parliament was opposed to a Union; but how came it that an assembly so largely representative of the most Conservative elements in the country was also an assembly which threatened, if permitted to remain, to destroy the Imperial unity of the Three Kingdoms? In dealing with this part of the story, it must never be forgotten that the Irish Parliament as it was constituted in 1782, and as it was in 1800, were two very different bodies. No doubt in the general character of those who sat in it, the Grattan Parliament was the same from beginning to end; but the body by whom those representatives were elected underwent a radical change in 1793. The admission to the franchise in that year of large numbers of the Catholic population produced a conflict of sentiment and policy between the electorate and its representatives which was highly dangerous and likely to lead to serious results. The Catholics, who were then accorded the right to vote, were imbued with ideas of national independence

very far in advance of those which actuated such men as Grattan and Charlemont. They were impregnated with the same spirit of militant nationalism which has been the motive force of every Irish movement that has ever attained any hold upon Ireland since that period. The spirit that fired O'Connell to achieve Catholic Emancipation, and attempt to obtain Repeal; the spirit that dominated the men of '48; the spirit that Smith O'Brien found himself unable to control, and that precipitated his Quixotic enterprise; the spirit that was rife again in '67; the spirit which, however its existence may be denied, has made Parnellism the power it has been in English politics for ten years—this spirit, altogether hostile as it is to English rule, dominated the newly-enfranchised electorate. But while the Catholics were thus admitted within the Constitution, their exercise of the franchise was barred by the most illogical limitations. The people were permitted to vote, but the limits within which that liberty was to be exercised were very narrowly defined. Their suffrages could only be cast in favour of the members of an alien race, and a superior class, of those who were determined to maintain privilege in every form, of men of a different religion from their own,—of men, in short, who had absolutely nothing in common with those to whom they were now to owe their election to sit in Parliament. Obviously, a system so artificial could not possibly be maintained. The people were certain to claim, and they did begin to claim, not only the right to vote, but their right to the unfettered choice of those to whom their votes should be given. They threatened to insist upon sweeping measures of Parliamentary Reform and of Catholic Emancipation far in excess of what English statesmen then, or for many years after, believed to be safe. When patriotic Irishmen raise the cry that the Rebellion was the provoked and premeditated precursor of the Union, they are beside the mark. The Union had its origin five years earlier, in the Relief Act of 1793.

Mr. Lecky, in quoting the speech of Clare which we have had occasion to refer to on an earlier page, expresses his wonder that so vehement an opponent of the Catholic claims should ever have assented even to the limited measure of concession to the Catholic demands which was carried in 1793. The explanation, to our mind, is that that sagacious statesman, who, however little he may have sympathized with Irish aspirations for independence, knew Ireland as few or none of her rulers have known it, foresaw the inevitable consequences of the legislation he denounced. He perceived that the friction between Parliament and the people must, if the exclusiveness of the former

former were maintained, lead to a popular storm which could not be withstood successfully, and that choice would have to be made between the concession in their entirety of the Catholic demands, and the absolute suppression of Ireland's parliamentary liberties. It is remarkable that from the year 1793, as he stated in his great speech on the Union, the Irish Chancellor had looked forward to the annihilation of the Grattan Parliament, and it is plain that in council he urged it vehemently upon successive Lords-Lieutenants. Westmorland, Fitzwilliam, and Camden, in turn report, in their correspondence with the members of the English Cabinet, how strenuously this opinion was pressed upon their attention by Clare; * and it is proved further that the idea was personally propounded to Pitt by his most trusted Irish adviser. Clare had never approved the policy which created the Grattan Parliament. He had, as a young member of the House of Commons, expressed his sentiments in this respect in the course of the celebrated debate on Grattan's momentous resolution of April 19, 1780, 'That the King's most excellent Majesty and the Lords and Commons of Ireland are the only power competent to bind or enact laws in this kingdom.'

'England,' he said, on that occasion, 'is a proud and a high State, a nation not apt to crouch under any burdens. It is said that we are obtaining an act of justice through fear. Who will not be proud to resist such an idea? For my part I am so much an Irishman that I would not be even supposed to take advantage of fear. Let any man point out any advantage that can be gained by this resolution, and I will subscribe to this Declaration. But no one can do so. We are told that the people are at the Bar with petitions in one hand and arms in the other, and that they are become clamorous. Shall it be said that we are to be terrified by an armed people crowding to the Bar? I would rather be a slave to English laws than be ruled by a few factious men. The people are in a happy condition, if they did but know it. The intentions of the people have been perverted from their proper object. I wish they may be quieted. I love the people as much as any gentleman in this House, and therefore I will oppose this motion, because I am satisfied it will not tend to the service of my country, for the passing of this

* Even as early as 1784, the Duke of Rutland, who was then Lord-Lieutenant, had written to Pitt, 'Were I to indulge a distant speculation, I should say that without a union Ireland will not be connected with Great Britain in twenty years longer.' We avail ourselves of this opportunity of expressing our obligations to the present Duke of Rutland for his timely republication of the important correspondence between his grandfather and Mr. Pitt. The letters of the former, as the present Duke remarks, 'throw a vivid light on the conduct of the Irish Parliament, and on the prejudicial effect the factious and self-seeking spirit of its members had on the fortunes of the country.'

resolution may be of most ruinous consequences to this kingdom, without any good to be obtained by it.'

Twenty years' experience of the working of an independent Legislature had not altered these opinions, which Clare steadily maintained throughout the whole period of its existence; and scarcely for a moment does he seem to have forgotten to promote these ideas. With the fundamental arguments upon which he based his conclusions we are not here concerned. The reader will find them fully set forth in the extracts from his speech on the Catholic Relief Bill, which are given in the sixth volume of Mr. Lecky's work. But the distrust, which upon the highest grounds he entertained, of any extension of popular liberties in Ireland, was strengthened by a very important constitutional consideration.

Mr. Lecky has well pointed out* what he rightly calls 'a fatal fault' in the Constitution of 1782. The machinery of government in Ireland differed radically in design from the constitutional practice that has grown up in England with which we are all familiar. The officials of the Government in Ireland were not responsible to the Irish Parliament. The Minister, who introduced the Government measures to the House of Commons, was the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, who was always an Englishman, and who on his arrival in Ireland was invariably returned at once for some Government borough, to enable him to conduct Government business in the House of Commons. The Lord-Lieutenant and his Chief Secretary were the representatives, not of an Irish but of an English administration, and their tenure of office depended altogether upon the balance of parties in the English House of Commons. So long as the Irish Parliament was likely to remain a loyal body, it might be easy enough to manage it on this basis, though the reception accorded to Sir John Orde's twenty commercial resolutions in 1785 showed how difficult it might sometimes prove to secure Irish assent to the policy dictated from England. But it became plain, from the moment that the Catholics were admitted to the franchise, that their privileges could not be limited by that concession. If they had a right to vote for representatives in a Protestant Parliament, they had a right also to sit in Parliament themselves, they had a right to fill official positions, they were entitled to object to a Protestant Establishment. In short, there was no logical reason why Ireland with a native Parliament should not be governed

* Vol. vi. p. 315.

'according

'according to Irish ideas.' If this was so, the whole system of English government in Ireland was threatened with the gravest danger. Obviously, if the whole, or a part, of the Catholic demands were conceded, one of two results must follow. Either the House of Commons, filled as it would become with the representatives of Catholic opinion, would place itself in avowed antagonism to the representatives of English rule on every conceivable question that could come before the Parliament, in which case all government would be at a standstill; or Pitt and his colleagues must make up their minds to the destruction of the *status quo*, they must assent to Ireland being governed by Irishmen in an Irish Parliament modelled after the English pattern, and they must allow a Ministry to be formed in Ireland which would reflect the opinions and carry out the policy of the majority in the Irish Parliament. To consent to such a change would have been to surrender every shadow of Imperial control over the island, to establish an independent Legislature with uncontrolled powers, and to erect a native Government answerable to the majority of a native House of Commons. Such a change would have been tantamount to an absolute revolution in Ireland, it would have been equivalent to a concession of Home Rule in its fullest and most undisguised form, and there would practically remain, under this enlarged Constitution, no connection between the two islands save the vague and unsubstantial link which the Crown would continue to supply. Such being, in the eyes of responsible statesmen in Ireland, the inevitable result of continuing to countenance a policy of concession, it is small wonder that Clare and the leading exponents of the Castle policy should have pressed upon Pitt the necessity for a Union, or that the latter should have acquiesced in the expediency of the suggested course.

It may naturally be asked, however, if such were the views of Irish Ministers in endeavouring to procure a Union, how was it that a considerable section of Catholic opinion could be found which was favourable to the measure? That such a section of opinion did exist cannot be doubted; but we think that Mr. Lecky has, perhaps, exaggerated the sympathy with which the action of the Catholic leaders who countenanced the Union was viewed by the bulk of their followers, and in our judgment the majority of the latter would certainly have preferred an extension of Catholic liberties under the Parliamentary régime inaugurated by Grattan. Their leaders, however, saw the impossibility of this. They knew that Clare's influence would prevail with Pitt to prevent any final measure of Catholic Emancipation from being submitted to a local Parliament, and they

they appear to have believed that a Union would be followed immediately by such a measure. In this belief they were probably encouraged by private assurances as to the state of Pitt's mind upon the subject. Although it was the influence of Clare which had led Pitt to contemplate a Union, there is no doubt that, in embracing the proposal, the English Minister was guided also by motives, which differed from those of his adviser, and were concealed from the knowledge of the latter. Pitt had early become persuaded of the abstract justice of Catholic Emancipation; his difficulty was as to the mode in which that boon could safely be conceded to the Irish people. In 1793 he had considered the project of a Union, and had advanced as one argument in its favour that it would remove whatever dangers might be supposed to lie in concession to Catholic claims. He was convinced that in an Irish Parliament emancipation would be attended by the evils which Clare anticipated; but he believed that in an Imperial Parliament, where the Irish representatives would contribute less than one-sixth of the whole House of Commons, the influence of the Catholics could no longer be dangerous. The evidence adduced by Mr. Lecky confirms the impression that, in the instructions given to Lord Cornwallis for his guidance in negotiating the preliminaries of the Union, the Lord-Lieutenant was empowered to approach the Catholic leaders in a conciliatory spirit; and though no direct promise was made to them, the notion was skilfully conveyed that, while the English Government had resolved to make no concessions to the independent Parliament, much might be granted when once a legislative Union should be established. It is, we imagine, highly probable that assurances much more explicit would have been given, had not Pitt been aware that any programme of Catholic relief would be certain to meet with serious opposition in a quarter where opposition was particularly difficult to cope with.

Before the Union, as well as after it, George III. entertained the same rooted objection to Catholic Emancipation, which, in the year after the former measure was carried, led to Pitt's resignation of office. Here again the influence of Clare becomes plainly visible. In 1795, immediately after the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, the Irish Chancellor, for the purpose of placing an effectual bar in the way of any subsequent attempt to revive the policy which Fitzwilliam had endeavoured to champion, entered, through the medium of Lord Westmorland, into private correspondence with the King. In a series of letters he laid before the Sovereign certain alleged constitutional objections to
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any measure of emancipation. He had always laid stress upon the inviolability of the Protestant Constitution of the United Kingdom. 'I consider,' he said in 1793, 'a repeal of the Act of Supremacy in any of the hereditary dominions of the Crown of Great Britain to be as much beyond the power of Parliament as a repeal of the Great Charter, or a repeal of the Bill of Rights.' These views he urged with success upon the willing mind of George III.; and, as Mr. Lecky says, Clare deserves to be remembered in history as probably the first considerable statesman who maintained the doctrine that the King would violate his coronation oath, the Act of Settlement, and the Act of Union with Scotland, if he consented to a measure allowing the Catholic electors to send Catholic representatives into Parliament. Pitt, therefore, well knowing the King's settled convictions in regard to this matter, could not authorize Lord Cornwallis to do more than give general assurances of the friendly disposition of the Ministry with a view to conciliating Catholic support.

The policy of these conciliatory assurances, and the wisdom or justice of holding out hopes which Ministers could have no security of their own ability to fulfil, have been much discussed. Mr. Lecky considers that Pitt, when he found in 1800 that he could not venture to bring forward a dual measure of Parliamentary Union and Catholic Emancipation, should have deferred the introduction of the former until he should be in a position to offer the latter. This was Canning's advice. But Mr. Lecky also considers that, having resolved that a Protestant union should be pressed forward, it was essential that Catholic support should be secured for the measure by indirect promises in the way we have endeavoured to describe. We do not share this view. We think the promises were not needed. The difficulties which the authors of the Union had to face were mainly parliamentary, and were due almost altogether to the opposition of the borough-mongers. The Catholic leaders, however reluctant they might be to assent to a Union, without any guarantees of future concession, could not have ventured to oppose it actively. The country was cowed by the measures taken to suppress the Rebellion, and any violent resistance on the part of the people would only have furnished Clare and his friends with a new argument for the necessity of the measure.

The views expressed in the foregoing pages are those which, in general, we have long held concerning the most striking episodes in the history of the Grattan Parliament; and impressions derived, partly from the historical sources ordinarily accessible to the average student, and partly from independent investigation,

investigation, have been confirmed and strengthened by a careful perusal of the impartial pages of Mr. Lecky. Without agreeing with all the conclusions of the historian; believing, as was remarked at the beginning of this article, that he has rather understated than exaggerated the case for the Union, and that his deductions from his own premisses are less favourable to English policy than those premisses warrant, we yet consider that the account contained in the nine lengthy chapters, which the author has devoted to the story of the independent Parliament, will bear us out in the following reflections upon the lessons which are taught us by the history of that assembly.

The Grattan Parliament was, in the first place, a concession wrung from England in an hour of weakness, and acquiesced in by the English statesmen who assented to it, from that *fainéant* spirit that has so often fatally influenced English councils, and led to results ultimately most injurious to the interests of the country for whose welfare England is responsible. The revolt of the American colonies, and their successful assertion of independence, besides seriously crippling English resources, and rendering England's rulers doubly fearful of the danger of neglecting to conciliate Irish disaffection, gave a degree of plausibility to a policy of acquiescence in the demand which Flood and Grattan had long been urging. But it is plain that, at the time when the concession was made, the English politicians who granted it believed they were presenting Irish patriots with a mere toy. And had they maintained the basis upon which the Grattan Parliament was created, a toy that institution must ever have remained. The independence of the Irish Parliament was not at all the same thing as the independence of the Irish people, and was never intended to be so. The Parliament, to which was confided the liberties claimed in Grattan's Declaration, was a Parliament friendly to English ascendancy. It was an assembly filled, as we have already pointed out, with the representatives of all the most stable classes in the island. It was impossible to imagine that a House of Commons, composed of country gentlemen, of the nominees of great noblemen, and of barristers aspiring to the bench by favour of the Government, would be an assembly levelling in its tendencies. In truth, no assembly more aristocratic in its sympathies, more Conservative in the ideas of the majority of its members, has ever existed than the Grattan Parliament as it was prior to 1793. Its general tendency, as shown by its attitude in respect to the Regency, was far more favourable to the power of the Crown and the preservation of the prerogative, than

than that which characterized the contemporary English House of Commons. The acrimonious opposition offered by Grattan to Pitt's proposals in 1789 was due mainly to the circumstance, that the Irish statesman was in close alliance with Fox, and not to any solid or sincere objection to the proposition of the Government. Even the leaders of the patriotic party were known to be perfectly loyal to the English connection, and had no particular desire, at that time at all events, to foster extravagant claims. The heated debates which took place were often merely the struggles of parties fighting for place, and certainly possessed no international significance. The two sections in the Irish Parliament prior to 1793, however acute the personal differences which might separate them, were as cordial and unanimous in their attachment to the British Crown, as were English statesmen of all parties in their devotion to the maintenance of the Union prior to 1886. Questions involving the substitution of a Catholic for a Protestant ascendancy, or tending to establish national independence in any Separatist sense, were as remote from the minds of such men as Lord Charlemont and the Duke of Leinster, as the Disestablishment of the Church of England is remote from the policy of Lord Salisbury. The only bone of contention, which caused any serious trouble, was the commercial question; and, in reference to the restrictions imposed upon Irish trade, the demand put forward was not for separate control of Customs, but simply for equal trade privileges with England.

The Grattan Parliament was therefore an assembly which, as originally constituted, might probably have been entrusted, with perfect safety, with a larger share of legislative initiative than in practice it possessed. But the peculiar relations, which subsisted between the Government and the House of Commons, provided, had they been necessary, additional safeguards and securities. The position, in which the Irish Parliament of 1782 stood as regards the Crown, really resembled more closely the relations that existed between the English Parliament and the Tudor Sovereigns, than the Constitutional arrangement that prevailed in England in the eighteenth century. The Chief Secretary, the most important member of the Government, though seated in the Lower House, was as little amenable to the Constitutional censure of Parliament as Cardinal Wolsey was to the Parliament of Henry VIII. His business was to submit to the House of Commons measures decided upon, not by Ministers representative of a majority of the House, but by the English Cabinet, after consultation with the Lord-Lieutenant. So long as Government possessed a majority
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in College Green, and prior to 1793 it did continuously possess such a majority, the decrees of Westminster or Downing Street were always certain to be registered in Dublin. Of course, successive Lords-Lieutenant strove to consult and conciliate Irish opinion, and the measures resolved on in London were naturally framed with a careful eye to the opinions entertained by Grattan and his followers. But the essential point is, that, whenever there was a divergence of view between the popular party and the Government, the latter could be secure of a triumph.

Not only was the legislative machinery worked from England, but the appointment of all the higher officials was in English hands. The Lord-Lieutenant and his Chief Secretary, then as now, were, of course, the nominees of the English Cabinet, the representatives of whatever English Party might chance to be in power. The Chancellor, throughout the whole of the eighteenth century and for long previously, was always an Englishman, until Clare was appointed; and his strong English sympathies had been well tried when he received the seals. The Bishops were appointed from England, and the Primate, who then took a not unimportant part in political affairs, was always a personage connected by close ties with England. The Castle officials were thoroughly English in feeling. The independence of the Parliament of 1782, hedged in, as we thus see it to have been, by all kinds of restrictions upon any national impulses which might have swayed it, consisted simply in its being constitutionally entitled to reject the policy recommended to its adoption by English statesmen. But, inasmuch as there never was a majority opposed to that policy, the independence of the Parliament, for all practical purposes, went for nought.

It may naturally be asked, however, if this estimate of the Grattan Parliament be correct, how was it enabled to gain that hold upon the affections of the people which, for a time, it undoubtedly possessed? Those only will require an answer to this question to whom the idiosyncrasies of Irish character are altogether unfamiliar. The Grattan Parliament easily appealed to the fanciful and picturesque notions of the Celtic race. Remote as it was in the character, creed, and even in the nationality, of those who sat in it, from what a truly Irish assembly would have been, it was still in the eyes of the people the native Parliament of Ireland. It possessed a nominal independence, sufficient to make it an object for the genuine Irish love of show, and of patriotic sentiment. Irishmen delight in spectacle and display; often they even seem to prefer
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sham to reality, the shadow to the substance. It was so with their native Parliament. The Irish people delighted in the fine sentiments that, clothed in the gorgeous rhetoric of Grattan, appealed to their most grandiose aspirations. They were proud, and justly, of the matchless exhibitions of eloquence which dignified the arena of debate. The populace of Dublin, which may be said to bear something of the same relation to the Irish people that the Parisian mob does to the French, revelled in the opportunities for demonstration which the annual opening of Parliament, or the progress of some great debate or party struggle, were sure to afford. Though there was at times little reality in these parliamentary displays, the orations which they produced, the magnificence of the eulogiums upon the spirit of Irish freedom which Grattan loved to pronounce, filled the people with the liveliest satisfaction. Some allowance, too, must be made, in accounting for the favour with which this assembly was regarded, for the material benefits that accrued to the metropolis, and in a measure to the country at large, from the existence of a Parliament in Dublin. The wealthy magnates, who sat in it, of necessity resided in the capital for a large part of the year. They were closely interested in the country and kept in contact with the people, and the commercial classes in Dublin, of course, profited largely by the residence within its boundaries of so many gentlemen of fortune. An aristocratic society was maintained in the capital, which to this day contains the evidences of the prosperity which the Grattan Parliament brought to it. The chief mansions in the city, now deserted by the descendants of their founders and converted into public offices, as well as almost all the best residential squares and streets, date from the time when the city was thronged with all the opulence of Ireland.

But while the Grattan Parliament as originally constituted was a body which could threaten little danger to imperial unity, while its sessions provided for the people a succession of attractive pageants, and numerous occasions for the effervescence of a not too noxious excitement, its character was liable to be totally changed as a result of the Relief Act of 1793. We should be sorry to be understood as arguing that the admission of Catholics to the franchise was necessarily a source of danger to the connection between Great Britain and Ireland. Many of the Catholic leaders were men of approved loyalty, and many of the advocates of Emancipation honestly believed that the moderate views of the leaders were fairly representative of those of the bulk of their followers. The admission of Roman Catholics to the franchise was dangerous,
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not because they were Roman Catholics, but because, in addition to being Catholics, the newly-enfranchised voters were anti-English in sentiment. The masses in Ireland had never become reconciled to the rule of the Saxon invader, they were permeated with an intense spirit of nationalism, which, so long as they were powerless to give expression to it, remained a harmless sentiment, but which, so soon as they were placed in a position to give effect to it, became a real source of danger. The harm lay in the admission, not of Roman Catholics, but of the disloyal, to the franchise; and the Roman Catholics, from causes we need not here discuss, were, unfortunately, disloyal. It was the knowledge of this fact that convinced Clare of the inevitable necessity for a Union, from the moment of the passing of the Relief Act. He knew that the sham freedom, which might please a people while they were powerless to secure a more real liberty, would cease to satisfy that people when the weapon of the franchise was once placed in their hands. He saw that demands would ere long be made, wholly inconsistent with the arrangement of 1782, which must prove absolutely subversive of the system of management of Irish affairs from London, and must ultimately lead to a really dangerous separatist movement.

Such are, we think, a few of the conclusions which may be fairly drawn from the narrative furnished by Mr. Lecky. They show that the Act of Union was not merely desirable, but that it was practically forced upon Pitt by the compulsion of circumstances, by the ominous development under the Grattan Parliament of principles and impulses absolutely antagonistic to Imperial unity. But the pages of this authentic history do more than justify the expediency of the Union as a measure designed to avert the danger which in 1800 imminently threatened the destruction of the integrity of the Empire. The period of the Grattan Parliament has been fondly described as the golden age of Ireland. Irishmen to-day love to look back to those times, to recal the forgotten splendours of the Irish capital, the brilliancy of Irish society, the distinction of the Viceregal court. They are proud to revive the memories of more enduring national glories; to dwell upon the glowing eloquence of Flood and Grattan, of Curran and Plunket; to laud the calmer patriotism of Charlemont, and to rejoice in many ways in the recollections of the epoch of their country's liberty. We have shown that this freedom was but a phantom, and that the vain-glorious references of Irishmen of to-day to the short-lived independence of their country, are dreams and delusions which only Irish patriotism could accustom itself to believe

believe in. But for Irishmen who truly love their country, still more for Englishmen who desire duly to discharge their responsibilities to Ireland, a still more important lesson is to be learned. Studiously as Mr. Lecky has suppressed all indications of his personal opinions on contemporary Irish politics, careful as he has been to give a judicial and impartial tone to his comments upon the facts he has recounted, it is impossible for any fair-minded reader to miss the moral of his pages. The Grattan Parliament was an experiment in concession to Irish ideas, tried under precautions and limitations, which could not now by any possibility be imposed upon any parallel endowment of the demands of Irish nationalism. If a body so loyal in the sentiments of most of its members, so conservative in its instincts, so ballasted by solid and orderly classes, which have now lost all influence over Irish society, and have almost entirely disappeared, could plunge the country into the chaos of a bloody rebellion, what guarantees can the most credulous Englishmen find in the fair promises of modern agitators for the security of the connection and the peace of the island, under an independent Parliament of the type which modern Home Rulers would alone be content to greet? And, assuming the attachment of the present leaders, whoever they are, of the Irish race to the Constitutional Union, through the Crown, with Great Britain, who can say that they will exercise a more potent, restraining influence upon the populace than did Grattan and Charlemont, the idolized leaders of the last century? We discern in this history the fullest confirmation of those ideas of Irish policy which throughout the whole of the present century, until 1885, were held by every English statesman, and which are still cherished by the majority of the English people, and guarded by the leaders of the Unionist party. The danger of concession, when concession is not made safe by the firm hand of a resolute ruler, is abundantly illustrated in the history of those twenty years of nominal independence. If the lessons, which have been given so often since 1868, of the results of weakness of purpose in dealing with the Irish people, have not availed to convince any Englishman who will candidly study them of the criminal folly of withdrawing from Ireland the benefits of a firm and fixed Government, the story of the Relief Act of 1793 and the Fitzwilliam incident should serve to show to what uses a too generous and confiding trust in Irish gratitude will be put by the more turbulent of Ireland's patriots. If there are those whom the criminal intimidation practised in Ireland during the last ten years has not been sufficient to impress with a sense of the untrustworthiness of
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the Irish people when not effectively controlled by civilized laws, if the agrarian crimes that have stained the soil of Ireland through the century are not sufficient to indicate the spirit in which the larger section of the inhabitants regard the minority, the horrid story of the Rebellion and the atrocities committed in it, a hundred years ago, sufficiently prove that the fears of Irish loyalists as to their fate in an independent Ireland are not without historical justification.

We would close this review as we began it, by expressing our sense of the magnitude of the obligation under which Mr. Lecky has placed the whole thinking public of Great Britain and Ireland by his faithful narration of the true history of this eventful period, and especially by his labours in unfolding the hitherto imperfectly known story of the Rebellion and the passing of the Union. We do not think that this work has greatly enlarged our general knowledge of the broad facts of the case. To Irishmen, at all events, those facts have long been fairly familiar. But by the fulness and accuracy with which he has set out the details which his industry has discovered, Mr. Lecky has rescued the story of the Union from the risk of further misrepresentation. No writer in the public press, no speaker on a political platform, may any longer pretend to give credence to the time-honoured misconceptions of the character of the Grattan Parliament, which have so long been suffered to pass without authoritative contradiction. We commend these volumes to the attentive perusal of every one who desires a right knowledge of a crucial period of Irish history, and a clear conception of the character of Irish national sentiment. And we believe that no reader who approaches the work in a fair spirit will withhold his assent, as he closes Mr. Lecky's pages, from the historian's concluding remark, that the most conspicuous lesson to be drawn from Irish failure is 'the folly of conferring power where it is certain to be misused, and of weakening, in the interests of any political theory, or speculation, those great pillars of social order on which all true liberty and all real progress ultimately depend.'

ART. II.—1. *Studies in European History, being Academical Addresses delivered by JOHN IGNATIUS VON DÖLLINGER, D.D.,* late Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Munich. Translated at the request of the Author by Margaret Warre. London, 1890.

2. *Briefe und Erklärungen von J. von Döllinger über die Vaticanischen Decrete, 1869–1887.* Munich, 1890.

3. *The Pope and the Council.* By Janus. English translation. London, 1869.

THE year which has just closed has deprived the religious world of two of its most conspicuous figures, Newman and Döllinger. Born within a year of each other,* they ended their long pilgrimage of nearly ninety years at an interval of a few months. They had seen three generations of men; the reign of Napoleon, the Revolution of 1848, the Vatican Decrees. To the one, outward events were but the waves beating against the ship of the Church; to the other, they were a part of the discipline of the Church, ordained as she was to mingle with and colour the stream of human affairs. The one began his life as a member of a 'schismatic' Church, and ended it in peaceful possession of the highest Roman dignity; the other commenced his long career of study as a defender of the Roman Church, and died excommunicate. To the one, authority was the ultimate judge; to the other, reason also was the guide of conscience and the interpreter of authority; and in this difference lies the separation between their minds and their fortunes. A little more or less, and Newman might have been the outcast and Döllinger the Cardinal; for it is partly choice and partly chance which ranges Erasmus and Pascal on the side of Rome, and Calvin in the opposite camp. But the difference between the minds of the two men who have passed away was deeper than can be expressed by the dignities or the anathemas of the Roman Church, and the end of each was the natural result of the life. Newman was acute, imaginative, logical; content with the deductive method even to paradox; occupied more with the problems of humanity than those of history, and interested rather in religion than theology; a poet, not a man of massive learning—a more beautiful, if not a more venerable, figure than Döllinger. Newman will be remembered when Döllinger is forgotten, for the sacred fire of genius burns in all that he wrote, and he helps men to feel by feeling with them. But as a man of learning and a historian (and

* Newman was born Feb. 21, 1800; Döllinger, Feb. 27, 1799.

Döllinger acknowledged his merit in that line of literature) Newman cannot be mentioned in the same category as Döllinger. To Newman, indeed, it may be said that legend was as good as history, when the character of a saint or a period of the Church was concerned; not that he was indifferent to the claims of truth, or unfair in judging the adverse cause, but because to his mind the supernatural was as familiar as the natural, and he did not apply rigid tests to facts, the outcome of which fell in with his belief. He was always true to logic, but he did not always insist on the validity of his premisses. And so, though as we read him we are dazzled and hurried along, half consenting, by a magnificent display of rhetoric in logical forms, our assent is won rather by force than by persuasion. Take, for instance, one of the finest passages to be found in Newman's works, the comparison in the 'Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine' of the Church of Rome in modern times with the primitive Church of Christ. The parallel is admirably drawn, but it contains only points of agreement, and with a few alterations of facts it might apply as well to Quakerism or Judaism as to Catholicism. The method of cumulative argument is a favourite one with Newman; and there is no method in which the premisses have to be more carefully weighed.

This is not the case with Döllinger. His arguments carry conviction by weight, not brilliancy. He surveys the whole field, and he is one of the few who have the right to say, as he did, that some historical inductions are of the nature of mathematical proof. Broad, rational, and practical, his intelligence comprehends not a view nor a portion, but the whole of his subject. He knows the facts and what has been said of them. He is a historian rather of the type of Ranke than of Mommsen or Stubbs; a scholar whose knowledge is powerful by its extent and depth, rather than by the glance of genius, or by the force of accuracy and the insistence of detail. It might be interesting to speculate what would have been Döllinger's career if he had lived in Berlin instead of Munich, and had been brought up as a Protestant. The theologian in him, to some extent, cramped the historian, at least in choice of subjects. But though he cared much for dogma, he cared more for truth. He deserved the praise given him by the University of Oxford in 1871, 'that in treating controversies he had accomplished the difficult task of showing himself rather a judge than a litigant.' He deals with Church questions of the early and Middle Ages as freely as Milman, and (in his later works at least) from much the same point of view.

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A priest and a devout Catholic, it would be impossible for him to be indifferent to religious truth, as set forth by the Church of Rome; but his conclusions are for the most part those of a philosopher rather than a theologian. He makes a saving clause for theology, but his conclusions show that the bent of his intellect is scientific, whatever his religious creed may be. And in this he differs from Newman. It was his fate to come into antagonism with the ruling powers of the Church to which he owed (and never refused) obedience. He was opposed to the monarchical and centralizing tendencies of Rome. He will be remembered with the champions of liberty in earlier ages, the objects of his admiration whether Catholic or heretical, Grosseteste, Gerson, Sarpi, Bossuet, all those who had maintained the rights of national churches; for Döllinger was, as he called himself, 'Germanissimus Germanorum,' and it was as a supposed advocate of the national rights of the Church in Germany that he was first looked coldly upon by the Roman Curia.

He comes before us as the latest instance to show the world how unchangeable is the principle of the Roman Church, to allow no learning and no government beyond her pale, unless under protest. That so orthodox and pious a divine should have died under ecclesiastical censure is a fresh proof that Rome has abandoned none of her pretensions, and that, if she ever regains her old authority, princes may again have to go to Canossa and enquirers to the stake. A short notice of his life may throw some light upon the character and the studies which are incompatible with the Roman rule of faith, and may be not without instruction in showing the modern tendencies of Catholicism.

Joseph Ignatius Döllinger, the son of a well-known physician at Bamberg, entered the priesthood at an early age, and was already at the age of twenty-seven known as a learned theologian. The year 1826 saw his first important work, a dissertation on the Eucharistic doctrine of the first three centuries; and for nearly forty years after this date he was looked upon as the champion of Catholicism in Germany, entering the lists with such antagonists as Ranke himself; but always earning the reputation of a fair-minded disputant, one whose love of truth was as great as his erudition, and who was never led into dishonesty by the exigencies of controversy or the desire to make out a case for the Church. This polemical attitude was forced upon him by his position as a sincere Catholic and a learned man. His natural bent was that of an enquirer, not an apologist;

and in the course of enquiry he arrived at results which were not in agreement with his earlier works. Thus when he was asked not many years ago to re-edit his book on Church History, published in 1838, he replied that he had learnt so much in the interval that the whole work would have to be re-written. A progressive character of mind is looked upon with suspicion by ecclesiastics, and accounts for the growing dislike in which he was held at Rome. We cannot regard it as altogether a subject of regret that Döllinger began life in harmony with the Ultramontane party. It is a gain, not a loss, to a historian to be religious; and it may well be that the defensive habit of mind secured him from the extreme views so common in Germany. In the book before us there is little to distinguish the writer from the spirit in which Ranke writes; and there is little doubt that the hostility, which he incurred in connection with the Vatican Council, freed his hands, and showed him that his way of thinking had been throughout his life liberal rather than orthodox, though piety and humility and loyalty to his Church had kept him within the bounds of obedience.

This is not the occasion for a review of the whole compass of Dr. von Döllinger's work—we will only say in passing, that his writings, besides their principal function of elucidating history, had from the Catholic point of view a polemical, and from the liberal side a political, bearing. Thus he dealt with the question of mixed marriages, the emancipation of the Jews, the Tractarian movement, the separation of Church and State, as well as the history of the primitive and medieval Church and the Reformation. The volume of Lectures before us, translated from the original (no unworthy tribute to the great scholar's memory) by Miss Margaret Warre, touches on several sides of German history, on some aspects of the medieval Church, and on the influence exercised by Madame de Maintenon upon the Gallican Church. It is the work of a Churchman; but a Churchman who held that the Church has to take as well as to give, and must be willing to learn from philosophers and statesmen. The book is interesting also, as containing Döllinger's latest thoughts on many subjects of importance.

We have spoken of the Revolution of 1848 as characteristic of the second age of Döllinger's life. In the term 1848 we include the action of Lamennais, twenty years earlier, as well as that of Montalembert, when the two friends parted company. Döllinger tried to combine the two. In loyalty to the Roman Church he thought with Montalembert; in his desire to free the Church from State interference he agreed with Lamennais, who
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had endeavoured in 1830 to gain the assent of Rome to his schemes for Church reform. But he did not yet perceive that Lamennais' action as well as his own was incompatible with the policy of the Curia. Döllinger had no great personal sympathy with Lamennais, whom he distrusted as a fanatic, and possibly disliked as a Frenchman. But he approved Lamennais' principles, the freedom of the Press, of association, and of education, and the doctrine that State and Church ought to be separate and independent, with its corollary, that the Church had suffered in liberty and spirituality whenever (as in France) it had enjoyed State patronage, and that the temporal sovereignty of the Popes was an excrescence and a burden on the Papacy.

The twenty years which followed were occupied partly with political life, but much more in that unceasing literary labour to which were devoted nearly twelve hours of every day. Döllinger never professed to be, like his father, a great teacher; but his lectures on Church History were greatly valued by students, and his fame as a historian and his reputation as an ecclesiastical leader increased year by year. Like Ranke, he was well acquainted with the general literature and politics of his time, as is shown, for instance, by his book on 'The Church and the Churches'; like him, too, he was consulted by sovereigns and statesmen, and regarded as a man of the world as well as a scholar. The breadth and soundness of his culture are borne witness to by his numerous English friends, and especially in some interesting papers by Dr. Plummer of Durham, lately contributed to the 'Expositor.*' Nothing was too minute, nothing too remote for him; and to every subject he brought the same temperate judgment and the same kindly and impartial temper.

The years between 1830 and 1860 were among the happiest and most prosperous of Dr. Döllinger's life. His reputation as a scholar was spreading over Europe as well as in Germany. He was the counsellor of princes, and exercised an influence in the affairs of his country. He enjoyed great honour there and held high official positions. He was even dignified at Rome with the title of 'Monsignore.' A wide correspondence brought him into contact and familiar intercourse with learned men of all countries, among the chief of whom may be mentioned Lord Acton, Dr. Liddon, Bishop Forbes, Dr. Pusey, and Mr. Gladstone. His learning was of that fruitful sort which brings the resources of the whole mind to bear on each point, and which is continually enriching itself from its own stores.

* Nos. III., IV., VI., VIII., March, April, June, August, 1890.

He was in harmony with the spirit of the age; and as yet he had no quarrel with the religion in which he had been brought up, and with the Church in which he served as a priest.

Meanwhile he was advancing to the conclusions to which the work before us shows that he finally arrived. That the fabric of Papal rule rested in great measure upon legends and forgeries, was shown in the work on 'Papal Fables' published in 1862. Other studies led him to the expression of the belief that the promise of Christ rested with the Church, not with the Papacy; that Popes had erred in matters of faith, had contradicted and anathematized each other; that they had interfered unjustly with the rights of sovereigns and nations; that Councils had been browbeaten and coerced, among them the Council of Trent; that the Papal Curia and the Popes themselves had been corrupted by the possession of temporal power; that the Italianizing of the Church had done mischief; but, above all, that the personal infallibility of the Pope was a dangerous doctrine.* He was coming by degrees to a belief that the Church had something to learn from the Churches, and that unity was to be sought in reunion rather than in the reduction of all dissentients to the Roman obedience.

Italian affairs caused him to break silence. He visited Rome in 1857, and saw with his own eyes the Pope's subjection to foreign authority, and the threatened downfall of the temporal power.

'It was in the ruins of the Colosseum' (says a writer of the 'Saturday Review' of January 18, 1890), 'one beautiful moonlight night, that he stated to an intimate friend his settled conviction that great changes were impending, that the days of the temporal power were numbered, and that the Papacy itself would have to undergo very considerable transformation. Not long after, the cannon of Magenta and Solferino proclaimed the downfall of the Austrian domination in Italy, and the removal of the chief hindrance to the political unity of a country in which there could be no room for a body politic constituted like the Papal State.'

These views were propounded in a series of Lectures delivered in the Odeon at Munich in 1861. Döllinger was then at the height of his reputation, as the acknowledged leader of Catholicism in Germany; and the Papal Nuncio attended one of the lectures as a compliment to the lecturer. But he did not sit till the end; and from that day Döllinger must have known pretty well what the result of his action was likely to be.

When Dr. von Döllinger undertook, in 1863, without license

* See Janus, 'The Pope and the Council,' *passim*.

from Rome, to call together a Congress of German Catholic divines to consider the affairs of the Church as they affected his country, he must have known that he was taking the bull by the horns; and in such a contest the bull usually has the advantage. So it was in this instance. Pius IX., who had succeeded in destroying the last vestiges of national rituals, and had established Concordats in all Catholic countries, and hierarchies in England, Holland, and America, was not likely to look kindly on a movement which pointed towards the reconstruction of a German national Church. For the present he made no sign; and the Congress on breaking up received the Apostolic blessing. But a few months later * Pius IX. addressed a Brief to the Archbishop of Munich, discouraging the re-assembling of the Congress, and formally pronouncing against the subjection of Church authority to the claims of modern science. In the words of Lord Acton, 'the Brief affirms that the common opinions and explanations of Catholic divines ought not to yield to the progress of secular science, and that the course of theological knowledge ought to be controlled by the decrees of the Index.' †

Direct opposition was as distasteful to Döllinger as to his English friend. But his future course was henceforward marked out. As a writer ‡ in the 'Allgemeine Zeitung' remarked a year ago, with these lectures began the περιπέτεια of Döllinger's life; and we may date from this point of time the commencement of the third or Vatican period of his life, during which his conscience impelled him to stand forth as an opponent of Papal authority in the interests of Church authority.

'From this time' (says the writer already quoted) 'Döllinger's action belongs to the history of the times.' He did not protest publicly against the Syllabus, but waited till further action should come; though in the meantime he made no secret of his feelings. In the words of Newman in 1837, when treating of the fall of Lamennais, he belonged to 'a party within the Church at variance with the policy of its present rulers, living upon historical recollections and ancient principles, and rife for insurrection,' § or at least determined to question that policy. His principle, however, was to speak the truth, but not to rebel against lawful authority: and to the end of his life he never questioned the Pope's authority to command. Like Lamennais, he drew a distinction between obedience

* December 21, 1863.

† 'Home and Foreign Review,' vol. iv. p. 683.

‡ Herr E. Kupffer, 'Zu Döllinger's 90^{tem} Geburtstag,' *Allgem. Zeitung*, February 28, 1889.

§ 'Essays Critical and Historical,' Essay III. vol. i. p. 133.

and assent: but such a distinction is not willingly recognized by Rome; and so prominent a man was not to be suffered to remain unpronounced.

No one who wishes to know what is involved in a secession from the Church of England to the Church of Rome should omit to study the 'Syllabus of Errors,' put forth by Pope Pius IX., together with the Encyclical *Quanta cura*, on the 8th of December, 1864. We are inclined to think that many of those who have taken that step have not done so. They have taken off their shoes at the vestibule and lowered their eyes before the shrine; and once within the temple, they have not dared to enquire whether reason and conscience were in accord when they asked to be admitted.

The Syllabus of 1864 is the latest development of the Roman Catholic idea. It concludes with the condemnation of the error that the reconciliation of the Pope with modern civilization is possible or desirable.* The upholders of enlightenment, therefore—all, that is, who desire to see the truth of facts established, all unprejudiced enquirers into history or science—must either secede from the Church, or be content to see their works put upon the Index, and themselves treated at best as undutiful children of the common Mother. 'From the beginning of the Church' (said the learned editor of the 'Home and Foreign Review,' when closing that publication in 1864 in consequence of Pius IX.'s Brief mentioned above), 'it has been a law of her nature that the truths which eventually proved themselves the legitimate products of her doctrine have had to make their slow way upwards through a phalanx of hostile habits and traditions, and to be rescued, not only from open enemies, but also from friendly hands that were not worthy to defend them.'†

Lord Acton could submit to this in the interest of peace, and in the belief that obedience is as necessary as faith, discipline as doctrine. Newman no doubt rejoiced in anything which would exorcise the hated spectre of Liberalism. But to the Protestant mind it is a strange attitude for the infallible teacher of truth to take up, to oppose 'the progress of secular science,' and yet, as point by point is affirmed, to recede and recede, to accept as true what he has anathematized as untrue, or, at least, forbidden as dangerous to faith and morals. The very appreciation of current opinions which the Syllabus displays is

* 'The Pope and the Council,' p. 20.

† 'Home and Foreign Review,' vol. iv. p. 686.

a measure of its hostility to progress: and by progress we do not merely mean the advance of democracy, but the removal of the obstacles which hinder knowledge; the most formidable of which is the 'dead hand' of ancient error.

Döllinger, then, held, with all the world outside the pale of the Roman Church and the majority of the laity within it, including the governments of all Catholic countries, that the Popes had in times past made great encroachments and aggressions upon the civil power, and that their pretensions, in spite of political weakness, were continually increasing; that by the Syllabus of 1864 many of the most certain conclusions of history are contradicted, and freedom of opinion, the liberty of the press, equality of rights, 'freedom of religious profession, worship, and teaching, freedom of political rights and duties before the law,—these, with the people's right of taxing themselves and taking a part in legislation and municipal self-government, the dominant principles and ideas which interpenetrate all existing Constitutions,'* are declared to be antagonistic to the Papal system.

'Thus Church and State,' proceeds Janus, 'are like two parallel streams; one flowing north, the other south. The modern civil Constitution, and the efforts for self-government and the limitation of arbitrary royal power, are in the strongest contradiction to Ultramontanism, the very kernel and ruling principle of which is the consolidation of absolutism in the Church.'

Döllinger, and multitudes of good Catholics with him, were distressed at seeing it laid down now for the first time that there was no room for difference of opinion in the Church. He held that the Church was infallible; but he knew that Popes had contradicted Popes, and was therefore convinced that not in them did infallibility reside. Primacy dwells, so he believed, by divine ordinance in St. Peter and his successors. But the transformation of Primacy into Papacy had split the Church into three bodies, the Roman, the Eastern, and the Protestant Churches, divided, and at enmity with each other. 'Henceforward,' he says, 'we must renounce that dearest hope which no Christian can banish from his heart, the hope of a future reunion of the divided Churches both of the East and the West,† for neither the Eastern Church nor the Protestant bodies would ever agree to the inflated pretensions of the modern Papacy.'

The Syllabus of 1864 was the prelude to the Vatican

* Janus, 'The Pope and the Council,' p. 21; Eng. transl.

† Ibid., Preface, p. xxvii.

Council of 1869-70. The intention to call the Council, if it existed in 1864, was kept secret till the mind of the universal Episcopate had been sounded on the question. Only a few months before the meeting of the Council was this intention allowed to be known, and Döllinger lost no time in protesting. The way for the Council was prepared by articles in the '*Civiltà Cattolica*,' the inspired organ of the Roman Government, in which it was intimated that the Catholic world desired the definition of the doctrines of the Syllabus, the Assumption of the Virgin, and the Pope's infallibility.

Döllinger's answer (for that it was his no doubt was entertained then or afterwards, though other names, such as Huber and Friedrich, have been associated with his) was given in the articles in the '*Allgemeine Zeitung*' entitled 'The Council and the *Civiltà*,' which appeared in March 1869. In these, in the 'Letters from Rome' during the Session of the Council, and in the 'Pope and the Council' itself, a work which instantly attracted the attention of the world, he showed himself not merely an 'Inopportunist,' but an uncompromising enemy of the obscurantists, the 'Neri' of the Papal Court. Pius IX., with Italian sagacity, recognized his opponent. 'I know,' he said, 'that they do not think much of me in Germany. Dr. Döllinger is the Pope of the Germans.'

'The Pope and the Council,' however, is not a heterodox work, judging it from the doctrinal point of view. Ultramontanes and Protestants alike misjudged it as being heretical in its tendency. It is Liberal but not unorthodox, and has no meaning except as the work of a Roman Catholic. The book was answered by Dr. Hergenröther, who was rewarded for his pains by the gift of a Cardinal's hat.* It was, however, easier to 'minimise' the meaning of the term *ex cathedrâ* than to meet Döllinger's army of facts.

Neither common sense, nor the fear of 'making the heart of the righteous sad,' nor respect for history, could restrain the 'insolent and aggressive faction' whose organ was the '*Civiltà Cattolica*.' The history of the Vatican Council may be read elsewhere; as all know, it resulted in the definition of the dogma of Papal Infallibility.

Many who, like Newman, Hefele, and Dupanloup, had deprecated the action of the Roman Court, now made their submission, declaring, and no doubt with perfect sincerity, that their private judgment was subject to the voice of the Church.

* 'He is a learned man,' said Döllinger to H. P. L., 'and I am glad to think that I have been the means, however indirectly, of making him a Cardinal.' ('Guardian,' January 22, 1890.) Cardinal Hergenröther died in Nov. 1890.

To Döllinger and those who agreed with him a case of conscience was proposed of the most painful and anxious nature, made all the more difficult by the surprising obedience with which the dogma was accepted by the Catholic world, and especially by the German Bishops. Döllinger saw before him the dilemma of denying the convictions of his intellect and conscience, or consenting to be excluded from what he, as sincerely as Newman, believed to be 'the one fold of Christ.' It would have been an act of faith to embrace the new dogma. It was a greater act and a harder exercise of faith to believe that God would justify conscience in the end and restore unity to His Church.

The Archbishop of Munich, under the influence of the Papal Nuncio, demanded Döllinger's submission. His answer was given in a Letter to the Archbishop, dated March 28, 1871; an indignant protest, though written in a tone of respectful deference to his superior. He asks for a formal hearing from the Archbishop, and declares himself ready to prove five theses. That the new dogma is founded upon an erroneous and novel interpretation of three texts, *tu es Petrus; pasce oves meas; confirma fratres tuos*: and that to assent to this would be a breach of his oath as a priest to interpret Scripture 'according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.' That the doctrines of Papal Supremacy and Infallibility had not been known in the Church for a thousand years. That the common seminary teaching, under which the consenting Bishops had been educated, and on which they had based their consent to the new definition, was founded on false proof-passages, furnished by Jesuits such as Liguori and Father Perrone. That the extent of the Papal power and infallibility had been defined by Councils and Popes, as early as the fifteenth century, in a contrary sense to the new dogma. That the recent dogmas are incompatible with the constitutions of European States, especially Bavaria; that by giving the Pope *totam plenitudinem potestatis* over the whole Church in faith and morals they abolished the authority of Bishops, and destroyed the ancient Episcopate of the Church. He goes on to compare the Vatican Council to the Robber Synod of Ephesus* as having acted under constraint; and declares that neither as a Christian, nor as a theologian, nor as a historian, nor as a citizen, could he accept the dogma. On this refusal he was excommunicated. 'If,' he said, 'I had been brought up to say that black is white if the Jesuits say so, I would submit; but my whole life has been a protest against such a tyranny.'

* 'Briefe und Erklärungen,' &c., p. 104.

Döllinger's friends, Friedrich, Reusch, Von Schulte, and others, found themselves in the position of belonging to no Church at all. They could not join any Protestant community, for they were Catholics, and Roman Catholics, by conviction, and believed schism to be sinful. They did not believe themselves to have forfeited sacramental grace. They were somewhat in the position of Gardiner and other English Catholics in the reign of Henry VIII., but so much the worse off as they had no national ground to stand upon. They resolved then to form themselves into a body of 'Old Catholics,' resting upon the doctrines of primitive Catholicity, and trusting to the ultimate reunion of Christendom and the concession of Rome. A distant prospect, to be sure, but was not the Church of Israel bidden to return and wander for forty years in the wilderness?

Döllinger did not at first approve their conclusion. It savoured too much of schismatical action to please him, and he never formally joined the new community, though he is commonly credited with the founding of the 'Old Catholic' body. He dissuaded his friends from setting up a new sect, and would not enter their combination; not only because he did not pretend to be a practical man, but also because he thought disunion was not the right way to union. But he did not attempt to control their action, and as time went on he approved it; and though he never officiated as a priest in the Old Catholic communion, he saw the necessity of their combination, and justified the steps which they took to organize it, including the consecration of Bishops. He attended their services, and took part in their deliberations. He wrote in 1874: 'As far as concerns myself, I reckon myself by conviction as one of the Old Catholic community; I believe that it has to fulfil a higher mission, to which it is appointed.'* But he could write as late as 1887: 'I do not wish to be a member of a schismatical society; I am isolated. . . . I persist in regarding myself as a member of the great Catholic Church.'† We believe that he was right, both in avoiding at the moment what looked like schism, and in allowing what was done when it appeared to have promise of permanence. As a priest he was bound to canonical obedience to Rome. As an honest man he could not say that 'two and two made five.' Newman blamed Lamennais from his own point of view for accepting the

* In a letter to Archbishop von Steichele, March 1st, 1887, he repeats this parallel, adding that 'deceit and fraud, spiritual coercion, deliberate oppression under colour of free deliberation, are worse things than corporal ill-treatment and noisy clamour, such as took place at Ephesus.' ('Briefe und Erklärungen,' &c., p. 133.)

† Ibid., pp. 150, 151.

judgment of the Pope and 'interpreting' it by his own private judgment. 'My private conscience tells me that this is wrong; therefore, though the Pope seems to say it, he says something different.' Döllinger did not take this line. He boldly concluded, 'The Pope says it, but he is wrong. He is my spiritual superior, for he holds the primacy of the Church of Christ; therefore if he excludes me from the Church, I must obey.'

But when his abstention would have discouraged his friends, he sacrificed his personal wishes to theirs and drew nearer to them. Believing, as he did, that Oriental Christians and Protestants were, though in error, not excluded from the Catholic Church, he could not refuse his sympathy to those who agreed with him in fundamentals. He valued the friendship, as he shared the convictions, of many Anglicans, as well as of those who called themselves Old Catholics. He took no prominent part in their action. But in 1874 he presided at a Congress held at Bonn, the object of which was to promote the reunion of Christendom; and he was always ready with sympathy and advice for those who sought it.

Henceforward, too, he felt freer than before to pursue his studies and give expression to his convictions: and his later writings and reported conversations show a great advance in the direction of Liberalism. He entirely puts off the Catholic apologist, and appears in the more congenial character of a student of general history. He was not forgotten at Rome. Leo XIII. is said to have made some overtures to him, regretting the violent action of his predecessor. 'Tell him,' he is reported to have said, 'to come back to us, there is a new Pope.' 'Yes,' was the cautious answer, 'but the old Papacy.'* Döllinger knew too well the persistency of the Jesuits, and that, if he were received into favour, he would, like Dionysius's critic, have to go, sooner or later, to the stone quarries again.

So he lived for nearly twenty years, honoured and beloved, but cut off from the ministrations of the Church which he loved, and which he trusted would some day be purified. His position was not unlike that of Newman, when he believed that the Church of England was like that of the Church of Israel, condemned to worship at Dan and Bethel, and cut off from the one true Temple and the ministrations of the sons of Aaron.

The work before us is chiefly concerned with the antagonism between the Church and the world, and particularly as exhibited in Germany. The author's antagonism to clerical rule is that

* 'Expositor,' April 1890, p. 276.

of a historian and a German, rather than a theologian. It is the history of doctrine, rather than doctrine itself, which was interesting to him. If there is a common thread running through these Essays, dealing as they do with so many different subjects, it is the interference of the Church in secular matters, whether in medieval times in Germany at large, or later in Bavaria, or in France in the time of Louis XIV., or again in Italy or Spain. The spirit of enquiry is so strong in him that he writes rather as a Protestant than as a Catholic, Old or New; and we cannot be surprised to find that the Rome of his ideal made it impossible for him to maintain his allegiance to the Rome of the Jesuits and the Syllabus. Whether he writes of medieval fables, of the action of the Church against the Empire, of the Reformation, the Thirty Years' War, or the reign of Louis XIV., his sympathy is all for the Liberal side of the question. He belonged in spirit to those who 300 years ago called themselves Expectants, and 'wished for the day' which was to dawn with the calling of a General Council; or who now-a-days believe with 'Janus,' 'that a great and searching reformation of the Church is necessary and inevitable, however long it may be evaded.'

The Roman Catholic Church claims a double sovereignty, of faith and of morals. She claims to rule both by doctrine and discipline. We will leave out entirely the first claim and all that depends upon it: though it was on the ground of doctrine that Dr. Döllinger was excommunicated, the present volume treats of other subjects. Again, discipline is private or public; with the former the individual conscience alone is concerned. The public exercise of discipline raises the great question of the Middle Ages, the temporal power of the Papacy; and to this we propose to devote the remaining pages of this article, taking, as far as possible, the course marked out by the Lectures under review.

Clericis laicos infestos oppido tradit antiquitas, the last word of the secular domination of Rome, is also the keynote of its decline. Let us take a glance at the institution in its prime, and then consider briefly the reason of its rise and fall. For the obedient Catholic it is enough to say, 'thus it was ordained;' the Protestant or philosophical enquirer desires also to learn what were the steps by which the Church rose to that eminence. To the one it is a history of direct and miraculous guidance, to the other it is like another chapter in history, subject to the common conditions of human action, and subject also to the shaping of Providence through those conditions.

In the year 1300, on the occasion of the Jubilee proclaimed by Boniface VIII., Dante, with Giotto at his side, saw crowds of pilgrims passing each other in an endless stream to and from St. Peter's across the bridge of St. Angelo. In the church, at the tomb of the Apostles, stood priests with rakes in their hands,* *rastellantes infinitam pecuniam*, 'raking in countless sums of money' thrown on the pavement by the faithful. Boniface VIII. was to all appearance the full inheritor of the power of Innocent III. He had destroyed his enemies at Rome, the Colonna family, and established his own nephews as princes in their stead. Abroad he was preparing to call in France to balance the power of the Empire in Italy. He had interfered not without effect in elections to the Empire and the Crown of Hungary; had excommunicated Frederick of Aragon and excluded him and the Sicilians, his subjects, from the benefits of the Jubilee; had claimed as suzerain the right to dispose of the kingdom of Scotland, and in a more visionary manner of the Empire of the East; had not scrupled to quarrel with the two most powerful kings of the day, Philip IV. of France and Edward I. of England, and had reduced them to accept his arbitration† and stamp his award by the sanction of an interdict. He had proclaimed that the Pope was set over the nations and the kingdoms to root out and to pull down, to destroy and to overthrow, to build and to plant. But he had miscalculated the forces against him, the anger against Roman corruption, the growing sense of nationality in Europe, the hostility of canonists and legists, the rebellion of the mendicant orders. He strained the bow too hard, and it broke in his hands.

Whence came this sovereignty? More than any other it rested on 'opinion, the queen of the world,' and was less helped or hindered by material conditions. Hence its speedy fall: hence its persistence in another form to our own time. Two centuries ago, Bunyan could speak of the two giants, Pope and Pagan, as sick or dying. At the present day the Prisoner of the Vatican has millions more of devoted subjects than in the ages when sovereigns were vassals of the Holy See, and kingdoms trembled at the threat of Interdict. Opinion raised Rome to supremacy, opinion brought her down; and the same power may have strange reverses yet in store.

The beginning of the Roman Pontificate is as obscure as are

* See Villani, viii. 36.

† He was accepted as arbitrator as 'Benedetto Gaetano,' not as Pope. But as 'Janus' says, to speak of the Pope as *doctor privatus* is as if one spoke of 'wooden iron.'

the beginnings of most institutions. Rome being beyond all comparison the capital of the world, Eastern and Western, the Church of Rome rose to eminence as soon as Christianity became one of the ruling powers of the world: Greek in language and origin, the Church of Rome kept up a constant intercourse with the other principal seats of Christianity, and never became provincial or national like the Latin Church of Africa. When Constantine transferred the seat of Empire to Byzantium, the Bishop of Rome was brought into stronger relief than before by the fact that Rome was to some degree a Pagan city. The Bishop of Rome naturally took his place at the head of the Christian society of the Western capital, and remained there when Rome had become entirely Christian. Thenceforward he was the representative of imperial majesty in the ancient imperial city. The Apostolical Sees of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, became obscure or extinct; that of Constantinople tried in vain to establish an equal position with Rome. Councils were presided over by Roman legates, or at least precedence was yielded to them above the Bishops of other Churches. In the Trinitarian, the Pelagian, the Nestorian controversies, the Bishop of Rome, if he did not sit as judge, confirmed the decrees of the Fathers of the Church in Council. The quarrels between the Eastern patriarchs exalted the Roman See to the position of a universal arbitrator. The 'primacy above all,' *πρὸ πάντων πρωτεία*, was specially affirmed at the Council of Chalcedon in 381.

The Pope was now Primate of Christendom, but not sovereign. Innocent I. (A.D. 402-417) took a step forward. 'Upon the mind of Innocent,' says Milman,* 'appears first distinctly to have dawned the vast conception of Rome's universal ecclesiastical supremacy, dim as yet and shadowy, yet full and comprehensive in its outline.' The moment was fortunate. Within ten years of the accession of Innocent I. Rome was taken by Alaric, and out of the wreck of shattered Paganism arose the Christian city, the seat of the Popes, henceforward to represent to the eyes of the world the vanished glory of the Empire, 'the ghost of the deceased Roman Empire, sitting crowned upon the grave thereof.' 'The capture of Rome by Alaric was one of the great steps by which the Pope arose to his plenitude of power.'†

The Barbarians came down upon the Empire. In that catastrophe (surely the greatest calamity that has ever befallen

* 'Hist. of Latin Christianity,' Book I. ch. i. p. 84.

† Ibid., p. 103.

the world) all but the Church was ruined or mutilated. As the Barbarians wearied themselves in vain to destroy the aqueducts of the Campagna, and drank themselves of the water which they had wished to divert from the city, so they were unable to destroy, though they could shake and mar, the foundation of Imperial organization, and in the end accepted its civilizing power. They destroyed the African Church, it is true, by massacre and burning, but they submitted to the majesty of the Popes as something mysterious and aloof from earthly power. The Church shared in the general decay of learning and intelligence, and became barbarised herself in the very act of christianizing the Barbarians; but the power of Paganism was gone, and in its place arose the Papacy.

Twenty years after Innocent I. a contested election to the See of Rome showed that the Imperial right still held good in doubtful cases. Episcopal elections were by theory in the hands of the clergy and laity of the See, but the Emperor claimed and exercised the right to confirm elections and decide disputes. Appeals, however, came to Rome from every part of the world, and the judgments delivered in answer to these, garbled and falsified as they were, are the foundation of the Decretals on which the law of the Church is based. The Papal rights were ratified by Imperial decrees and the laws of the Empire. The right of appeal, thus transferred from the Emperor to the Pope, was one of the steps by which the Popes added temporal to spiritual power.

Leo I. the Great (A.D. 440-461) set forward the pretensions of Rome beyond those advanced by Innocent I. He obtained from the Emperor Valentinian III. an acknowledgment that the Pope was the ruler of the Universal Church, and the sanction of the State to carry out his decrees. Under Theodoric (A.D. 500), the election of the Pope was committed to the clergy and people of Rome, but subject to the sovereign's confirmation.

The re-establishment of Imperial power in Italy by the victories of Belisarius and Narses brought with it, for a time, the humiliation of the Papacy. Popes were deposed, summoned to Constantinople, bound, dragged about the streets, even, it is surmised, murdered. Rome was merged in Constantinople, and subjected to all the vicissitudes of palace intrigue. The Emperor's nominee entered on the Papal dignity without any protest. Towards the end of the fifth century the Popes had fallen lower still, from being the nominees of the Byzantine Emperor to becoming the subjects of the Exarch of Ravenna. The North of Italy was devastated by the ferocious Lombards, whose ravages resembled those of the Danes on our own coasts.

Amidst the anarchy and division, which seem inseparable from Teutonic institutions, and which make the history of Germany so difficult and so dreary, the Roman unity of the Church was at once an example and a tower of refuge. Gregory the Great arose; and the See of Rome recovered, as if by miracle, its ancient dignity. 'It is impossible to conceive,' says Milman, 'what had been the confusion, the lawlessness, the chaotic state of the Middle Ages, without the medieval Papacy; and of the medieval Papacy the real father is Gregory the Great.'*

Gregory the Great was the greatest organizer of the Church in ritual, doctrine, and discipline, that the world had seen: a Christian Bishop in his own city; in the world a Patriarch of the West exercising authority in all parts of Europe, the guardian of Rome and Italy against the East and Barbarians. His ritual has bound the Church together in its daily offices and solemn functions for twelve hundred years. His assertion of authority over Bishops of the East and West was the model for future Popes. He is the universal adviser, the composer of differences, the converter of nations, the reconciler and rebuker of heretics, the protector of slaves and Jews. At Rome he appears almost as sovereign. 'He alone,' says Milman 'could protect Rome and the remnant of her citizens from barbaric servitude; his authority rested on the universal feeling of its beneficence; his title was the security afforded by his government.'†

The growth of ecclesiastical property in Italy; the remoteness of the seat of Empire; the commanding and unique position of the Roman Church, and the character of Gregory himself, caused the Papacy to become, as Professor Creighton says, 'a national centre to the Italians.'‡ The same historian points out how the missionary activity of Gregory I. and his followers led to the formation of Churches beyond the bounds of the Empire and immediately dependent on Rome. Such were the Churches of England, Germany and Scandinavia, and Burgundy. The Merovingian kingdom of the Franks had little intercourse with Rome. But the Frankish Church was organized by St. Boniface by Papal command, and the usurpation of Pippin was sanctioned by the same authority. Bishops stood with the other nobles round the shield on which Pippin was raised aloft, and the holy oil was poured upon his head by the hands of Boniface. The Franks were invited into Italy by Pope Stephen II., and Pippin's donation of the Exarchate of Ravenna established the Pope as a temporal prince.

* 'Hist. of Latin Christianity,' Book III. ch. vii.

† Ibid.

‡ 'Hist. of the Papacy,' vol. i. p. 8.

The final severance of Rome from the Byzantine Empire was completed by Charles the Great in the foundation of the Roman Empire of the West. Leo III. conferred the Imperial crown on Charles, and immediately afterwards did homage to the new Emperor, whose successors were to reign for a thousand years with a supremacy which none but the successors of Peter could rival. Charles the Great introduced Roman conformity as far as possible into his dominions; but he never ceased to be sovereign, and his ecclesiastical policy was that of Constantinople or of the Tudors. He appointed Bishops without regard to right of election. His Capitularies dealt as freely with ecclesiastical as with civil affairs. He presided at a Council, he sat in judgment on the Pope himself, at Rome. He founded Archbishoprics, Bishoprics, and convents by his own authority, the holders of which were his vassals by the same tenure as other beneficiaries, and subject to the same imperial visitation.

Nicolas I. was the first Pope who was crowned as well as consecrated (A.D. 858). His bridle was held by Lewis II., when the Pope visited that Emperor in his own camp. He maintained that the Imperial power was granted by the Holy See with the Imperial Crown; and sent his Legate across the Alps to compel King Lothair of Lotharingia to take back his repudiated queen. Nicolas I. is a signal instance of the advantage often reaped by the Holy See, when a Pontiff of pure morals and high courage contends with weakness, division, and vice.

To the age of Nicolas I. is referred the compilation or the authoritative acceptance of the famous *False Decretals*, a forgery of Frankish origin,* betraying at once the unscrupulous ambition of the clergy, willing to exalt the Pope at the expense of their Metropolitans, the barbarous and unlettered stupidity of an age which could be deceived by such an imposture, and the low tone of morality which could permit virtuous men, like Nicolas I. and Hincmar, to accept it and on occasion avail themselves of it. The *False Decretals* are now given up by all Roman apologists. The only defence set up is, that they could not have existed had they not been in accordance with the spirit of the times, and that, though the facts appealed to were false, the principles were true. But it is obvious that the codification of an opinion leads to its acceptance as a dogma, and is sure to be the foundation of further deductions.

Modern readers, looking at the Middle Ages from a historical

* Compiled, according to Döllinger, by Alderich, Bishop of le Mans, about the middle of the 9th century. See 'Allg. Zeitung,' April 1890.

point of view, find it difficult to realize what was the state of intelligence and morals which produced the theology and philosophy of those times. A great deal which was written and believed was, as Professor W. K. Clifford used to say, 'neither true nor false, but nonsense.' Leo XIII., on his accession, ordered that the works of St. Thomas Aquinas should be the foundation of Catholic education. But those who teach the '*Summa theologiæ*' are aware that it does not fit in with the methods of reasoning now accepted by all the world. The deductive method is now used only when premisses have been settled by the most rigid induction. In medieval times, the basis of deduction was an undigested mass of texts mistranslated and dis severed from their context, quotations from the Fathers, decrees of Popes, childish notions of science laid down as axioms, analogy pushed to absurd conclusions, and, above all, monstrous and ever-growing forgeries. The pseudo-Isidorian Decretals are the most conspicuous instance of this. But in truth the Papal system was so constructed, and rests upon this chief corner-stone.

'Gregory VII.' says Janus,* 'collected about him by degrees the right men for elaborating his system of Church Law. Anselm of Lucca, nephew of Pope Alexander II., compiled the most important and comprehensive work, at his command, between 1080 and 1086. Anselm may be called the founder of the new Gregorian system of Church law.'

Anselm of Lucca was followed by the Cardinals Deusdedit and Gregory of Pavia. These busy advocates invented what their successors improved. The Popes, one by one, built further structures upon these, and the edifice was completed by Gratian in the twelfth century. His *Decretum*, published at Bologna,

'displaced all the older collections of canon law, and became the manual and repertory, not for canonists only, but for the scholastic theologians, who, for the most part, derived all their knowledge of Fathers and Councils from it. . . . In this work the Isidorian forgeries were combined with those of the Gregorian writers, Deusdedit, Anselm, Gregory of Pavia, and with Gratian's own additions.' †

All reasoning was based on authority, by deduction or by analogy. The philosophic doubt did not then exist which teaches enquirers at the present day to investigate every fact from contemporary evidence; to judge the words of every ancient writer by considerations of the meaning of words, the growth of ideas, the national, local, professional, and personal circumstances in

* 'The Pope and the Council,' p. 102; Eng. transl.

† Ibid. p. 142.

which

which he wrote, the view he himself took of his authorities, his motive and his personal character; to consider the influence upon thought of institutions existing and tendencies growing at the time. Medieval writers accepted as of equal authority and security a prophecy of the Sibyl, a doubtful Apostolical Constitution, a text from the Bible (*e.g.* the well-known 'nunc autem regnum meum non est hinc'), mistranslated, misunderstood, and misapplied; a forged Decretal, a false Donation, an argument from the number of the planets, the cardinal virtues or the theological virtues, a metaphor such as that of the keys or the two swords, a scrap from Plato's 'Timæus,' a line of Virgil, a physical statement of Aristotle delivered at second-hand, through an Arabic translation, or at best one made by a contemporary Greek. It was in vain that Roger Bacon cried out upon 'false authority' as the ground of all ignorance—ignorance professing to be knowledge and 'tongue-tying' art. Bacon was silenced and imprisoned, without books or writing materials, for ten years. And the authority which condemned him has never submitted itself to correction. It lives and thrives in the world; and its latest triumph is the dogma of Papal Infallibility, alike contrary to history, to common-sense, and to that sense of personal responsibility without which piety is superstition.

From the pontificate of Nicolas I. to that of Gregory VII. is but a step. But the interval of 120 years is a period of decline, during which the Papacy became the prize alternately of the nobles of Rome and of Tusculum. 'Rome and the Papacy entered upon a period of shameful degradation, during which the Papal Chair was disgraced by a succession of criminals and the favourites of designing women, whose election was not infrequently brought about by the murder of their predecessors.'*

The sanctity of the Holy See was in abeyance. It was 'as if Christ were asleep in the ship;' but the love of God and the fear of Hell were strong enough in the world to restore the spiritual power, if a great man should arise.

Such violent contrasts are not without parallel in the Middle Ages. Great as were the power and pretensions of the See of Rome in the tenth century, they rested on a groundwork of barbarism, superstition, and ignorance. The Counts of Tusculum were as worthy to confer the Papacy as the nobles of Germany, and the purifying of the Holy See, which took place at the hands of Otto III. and Henry III., was carried out at the expense of its independence.

* Döllinger, 'Essay III.,' p. 6.

'Otto

*the gulf between the position and rights of a Gregory I., and the pretensions and plenary power of a Gregory IX., or between 600 and 1230, is as wide as from Peter to Christ. . . . Gregory IX. declared, on the strength of the forged Donation of Constantine, that the Pope is properly lord and master of the whole world, things as well as persons, holding *rerum et corporum principatum*.*

In the period of full Papal domination, kings were deposed and appointed by the Pope's decree. Interdicts were laid successively on all Christian nations. All Christendom was sent forth again and again to the Crusades. The military Orders and the mendicant Orders were set up to defend the Papacy by temporal and spiritual weapons. Learning was directed and set forward on the lines of the Church by the Canonists of Bologna and the Schoolmen of Paris. Infinite sums of money were sent to Rome as first-fruits, fees on appeal, Peter's pence, Saladin tithe. Papal legates and impropiators had their hand in every king's treasury and every subject's pocket. England was called the Pope's farm. A third, perhaps half, of the soil of Europe belonged to ecclesiastics. A great part of Germany was ruled by them as sovereigns. The authority of Metropolitans and Bishops was reduced to anarchy by dispensations, exemptions, and privileges, tending to exalt the monks and centralize power at Rome. In every part of Europe sovereigns were browbeaten by legates, and the fattest benefices granted to Papal nominees. Even to such sovereigns as Lewis IX. and Edward I. the power of the Pope was a formidable rival, and upon weak sovereigns he trampled at his will.

Never was power more completely acquired, founded as it was in the best feelings of human nature, however misdirected and ill instructed. Never had the Church of Christ a fairer opportunity of setting up the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth. And what was the result? A general outcry against the wickedness of Rome; the oppression, the pride, the hard-heartedness, of the Roman clergy; above all, their avarice. The Papal Curia stank in the nostrils of Christendom.

*The whole system of religion and of divine worship had assumed a financial character. The Roman clergy expected payment for every service performed. Thus, in defiance of all laws of the early Church, the whole system of perquisites, fees, and priests' dues arose; the world's complaint that at Rome everything was a matter of traffic, and that without payment not the smallest favour could be granted, echoed there unheard.†

* Janus, 'The Pope and the Council,' p. 160; Eng. transl.

† Ibid. p. 73.
Nor

Nor was avarice the only Roman vice. Instead of exercising a fatherly rule over Christendom through the lawful hierarchies of the nations, the Popes in their greed for power had lost the means of exerting it. Nothing is commoner than the complaint that discipline had ceased to exist, and that the lives of the clergy were worse than those of their flocks. Having lost the power to lead, the Popes fell into the common error of irresponsible rulers, mistaking repression for discipline,

‘Blind guides that scarce themselves can hold
A sheephook,’

and gave over the care of souls to the Inquisition, taking henceforth as their motto, *compelle intrare*, instead of *pasce oves meas*.

This was not the system which Charles the Great and Pope Leo had intended to build up. The medieval conception of Empire and Papacy is a noble embodiment of the City of God. It never existed at all except in a barbarous age. It was as ideal as the hope of a Pope Angelicus, who was some day to come and restore all things. But it was Dante’s ideal. ‘The belief in the Empire and the Papacy as two health-giving institutions, of which the one would be restored and the other purified and reformed, formed the groundwork of Dante’s teaching, and that which lay nearest his heart.’* According to the doctrine of his treatise ‘de Monarchia,’ the Imperial power came directly from God, the fountain of all authority, and was in no way subject to that of the Pope, except as far as the Emperor owed to the Pope the respect of a son. Roman avarice is the Wolf of his vision. ‘Poverty, the bride of St. Francis, had been for eleven hundred years without a suitor, and to his teaching now so few of his order listen, that a little stuff may furnish out their cloaks.’ For the Popes, indeed, Dante had little respect.

‘History told him of no Pope who had really brought about any permanent reform in religion or morals . . . a Pope like Gregory VII., supposing Dante to be acquainted with his history, must have been displeasing to him, as having been the opponent, not only of the Emperor, but of the Empire itself, and as having been the cause of its decay. Every Pope since then, as matter of fact, had followed more or less in the footsteps of Gregory with regard to the Empire. . . . Dante was forced into becoming a prophet because, convinced as he was that the Empire and the Papacy were the two pillars ordained by God to support law and order upon earth, he yet saw the world in

* Lect. IV., ‘Dante as a Prophet,’ p. 95.

those days corrupted by their having become the very opposite to what they should have been.'*

'In numerous passages scattered over the three parts of the "*Commedia*," and sometimes in a trenchant tone of profound indignation and with words that scorch like fire, Dante depicts the prevailing corruption of the times, of which he considers the Popes to be the chief authors. It is they who, through their evil example and constant misuse of religion as a means to serve their own cupidity and ambition, have utterly corrupted both clergy and laity, and led them to a like destruction. The Papacy has become a power continually exciting to war, and itself carrying on war; it wields the secular sword together with the spiritual weapons of the Ban and the Interdict; it places the spiritual symbol of the Keys upon its war banners. . . . The Papal Curia has been turned into a market where everything is for sale, and Christ is daily put up for auction. . . . "My place of burial," says the Apostle, "is full of the stench of blood." For the Popes "write but to cancel."†

Not only avarice, but worldly ambition and the love of domination brought about the catastrophe of Anagni.

'In the East all was lost. The Latino-Byzantine Empire had crumbled to pieces. The possession of the Holy Places, the Christian principalities in Palestine, all that by untold sacrifices had been fought for and won during the last two hundred years, had now been forfeited and destroyed, and it was only too apparent that the chief blame for this annihilation of Christian hopes rested upon the Popes. The wars which they had perpetually carried on or instigated, the squandering upon alien objects of the funds collected for the Crusades, the yielding to the dynastic and territorial interests of the two Capet lines . . . had led to results which to the feelings of that generation were equally painful and humiliating. . . . For the sake of annihilating the house of Hohenstaufen, of breaking the German power in Italy, and bringing the peninsula into bondage partly to France and partly to the Papacy, the Mohammedans had been permitted to conquer, and to establish their rule in the Holy Land.‡

All this is the reverse of the medal. It is incredible that so detestable an institution as that described by the enemies of the Papacy should, in the name of Christianity, have held power for so many centuries. Granted that everything said against the Papal system in the Middle Ages is true, there still remains the fact that the Papacy was an institution based upon a principle never lost sight of by those who administered it; the principle of a divine guidance of the world, exercised through a power superior to the common interests and passions of secular rulers.

* Lect. IV., 'Dante as a Prophet,' pp. 98, 101.

† Ibid. p. 104.

‡ Ibid. p. 106.

Chivalry, as has often been said, was the christianizing of the spirit of war. No doubt in consecrating war Christianity contracted some stains of blood. But it was the Church, bearing in its bosom what remained of the Roman Empire, that converted Vikings and Berserkars into Paladins such as Godfrey of Bouillon and his companions. It was the Church, and particularly the Holy See, that gave an example of a court of appeal open to all the world, the awards of which professed to be given in accordance with the precepts of the Gospel. The Holy See rebuked sovereigns for cruelty, arrogance, and licentiousness; discouraged slavery and protected the poor; taught the duty of almsgiving, of prayer, and the provision for public prayer: it instructed rich men to give their wealth to the poor, and to endow churches and convents and hospitals; it was the nurse of indigent learning, indeed the only patron of learning. From the Church proceeded the sciences of theology, of law, of medicine; from the Church, art and literature, and whatever science existed amidst the general ignorance.

Before we can judge rightly of such an institution as the mediæval Papacy, we must become familiar with the times in which it existed: otherwise we shall be dazzled and bewildered by the contrast of things apparently incompatible. We must remember that the same age which produced Anselm produced Rufus; that St. Hugh and King John were contemporaries; that the Gothic Cathedrals which are the glory of Christendom, the poems of Dante, the frescoes of Giotto, were created in the same age which witnessed the Sicilian Vespers, the extermination of the Albigenses, the cruelties exercised against the Templars and the Jews; that in these same cathedrals ugly demons and licentious grotesques are found carved side by side with saints and angels, just as in the 'Decameron' and the 'Canterbury Tales' the nobleness and baseness of humanity are combined in the same work; that the Schoolmen mingled sublime speculation with infantine ignorance of facts and methods.

We must bear this in mind, or such men as Gregory VII., Innocent III., Richard Cœur de Lion, St. Francis, Simon de Montfort, will seem to us rather monstrous than human. In the Papacy were combined some of the best and some of the worst characteristics of human nature; but we have only to look at the mass of ferocity and anarchy at large in Christendom, to be convinced that in the main such an institution, based on principle, administered on system, and referring all to an ideal, did more than anything else existing in the world to create a
regard

regard for unseen sanctities, a spirit of mercy, and that regard for right which Bishop Stubbs considers to be the distinguishing feature of medieval history.

It is probably easier for a Protestant historian than for a Catholic to form a fair judgment of the medieval Papacy. A Roman Catholic, whether now or then, is likely to be an apologist or an assailant, and Milman is a more equitable judge than Döllinger. It was so even more than now five centuries ago. Petrarch is as fierce as Dante in his attacks upon the Curia. Luther himself uses no stronger language against Rome than Gerson; and Chaucer and Boccaccio spare the clergy as little as Latimer.

But all agree that the Avignon period was one of the meanest and most corrupt phases of the Papacy. The world had grown tired of Papal pretensions. The Bull 'Unam Sanctam' of Boniface VIII. (A.D. 1302) declares that the Pope holds the two swords, the spiritual and temporal, of which he delegates the latter to secular princes, and that 'it is absolutely necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff.' Three years later the Pope himself was an exile at Avignon, and a dependant of the King of France. This exile from Rome, and the Great Schism which followed it, weakened the Papacy. The growth of national as opposed to feudal institutions, and the consequent legislation in France, England, Spain, and elsewhere, tended in the same direction; whilst the anti-Papal writings of Schoolmen, among whom John Gerson, William of Occam, and Marsilius of Padua, are most conspicuous, helped to establish the conciliar principle,* brought into action in the next century, as the most hopeful expedient for the reform of the Church. But neither the democratic institution of General Councils nor the oligarchy of Cardinals prevailed against the Papal autocracy. The deification of the Papacy proceeded, as the moral and spiritual character of the Popes declined.

After Avignon, however, pretension to temporal power had to be modified. Instead of Bulls like 'Clericis Laicos,' or 'Unam Sanctam,' we have statutes of Provisors and Præmunire, and Pragmatic Sanctions; and the Papal power is weakened by General Councils and compromised by Concordats. The temporal authority of the Holy See in European politics perished before the Reformation. But though the days of the temporal dominion over Europe were at an end, the Church had been united by the termination of the Great Schism, and

* See Creighton, 'Papacy,' vol. i. p. 41.

the acceptance of councils as the voice of the Church. Rome, weakened in secular power, was never greater in external splendour and dignity, never stronger in spiritual authority.

Driven from the position of universal sovereignty, the Popes, when restored to Rome, turned their attention to Italian politics and schemed to become Italian princes. The worst result of this was that the temporal power was valued by successive pontiffs as a means of establishing their own families. Then came the pagan Popes, the magnificent patrons of art; then with the new learning the homage of the medieval world came to an end, and the Reformation began.

The Renaissance and the Reformation altered all. The Church was paganized as well as the world. Religion woke up in the Northern nations, and took the form of Protestantism. The Council of Trent had left half Christendom, as it were, *in partibus infidelium*. For the re-establishment of Roman power in Protestant lands a strong organization and a central authority were indispensable; and the machinery of this was provided by the Jesuits. The influence of the same order led to the gradual suppression of National Churches.

We find in the centuries which follow interference enough with temporal affairs. The whole history of the Inquisition is a history of clerical encroachment; the excommunication of Tudor sovereigns, the intrigues of Jesuits and seminary priests in the end of the same century, the donation of England to Philip II., are all instances of the same. But with the exception of the last mentioned, they are exercises rather of interference than of authority.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the monarchical principle prevailed everywhere, except in England and Holland; the interests of dynasties overshadowed those of nations. Diplomacy and officialism flourished; national action was paralysed. This condition of Europe suited Rome, where the autocratic principle had always been strong, and had been asserted with success by the Jesuits in the Council of Trent. The Gallican Church of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the object of Döllinger's warm sympathy, but the ascendancy of Madame de Maintenon was the prelude to the reign of Louis XV., during which Romanizing bishops were introduced by the King and Cardinal Fleury, and the Church of France ceased to be Gallican.

Not the least interesting part of this interesting book is that in which the reign of Lewis XIV. is reviewed, and in particular the character and influence of Madame de Maintenon.*

* Lectures XI., XII.

Her personal character does not concern us here. But if Döllinger is right, it is to her more than to any one else, and to her confessor Godet, that we must attribute the entire devotion of the King's public action to what he considered to be the interest of religion. Lewis XIV. had always been a dutiful though a troublesome son to the Church—one whom it was worth while to humour and purchase as a patron and champion at the expense of some affronts, and the sacrifice of some direct obedience. Lewis XIV. left the traditions of his house to become the ally of Spain, Austria, Bavaria, and Savoy, in their task of destroying Protestantism. He allowed himself to be persuaded by his clergy that all his wars were wars of religion; and that in sacrificing millions of lives to his ambition, in ruining the prosperity and repressing the energy of his people, in teaching them that glory was better than honesty and orthodoxy more valuable than conscience, he was doing God service. It appears to us that our author rates too highly the Stoic pride which made Lewis XIV. play with such admirable dignity the part of the King. The false ideals fostered, if not created, by Lewis XIV. have caused more mischief in Europe than the bigotry of Philip II., whom all the world is agreed to execrate. That mischief is not worked out of the European system to this day. As Ranke said,* the Germans in 1870 were fighting against Lewis XIV.

Madame de Maintenon, if she did not approve of the wars of Lewis XIV., did nothing to stop them—perhaps she could not—and something to encourage them. Dr. von Döllinger ascribes to her the recognition of the Pretender, and the offer of the Spanish crown to Philip V., the two chief causes of the War of the Spanish Succession and the consequent ruin of France. She respected her conscience more than her judgment; and her conscience was entirely at the disposal of her directors.

* Unfortunately, it was not to the peace-loving Fénelon, the enemy of unjust and aggressive warfare and the ardent sympathiser with the griefs of the impoverished people, that she entrusted her conscience, but to priests like Gobelin and Godet de Marais . . . both of whom were imbued with the idea prevalent among the clergy, that the King was called by God to minister to the extension of the Church, to obtain by the sword the victory over schismatics, and to convert heretics by all the means of coercion which lie within the hand of an absolute monarch. Thus the predominance of those spiritual and secular influences was secured which encouraged the continuance of war.†

It was Madame de Maintenon who encouraged the King to

* Döllinger, 'Essays,' p. 265.

† Ibid. pp. 282, 283.

exercise severity against his Protestant subjects. We may charitably believe that she did not know what horrible crimes were committed under his commission; but she was as firmly set as the King himself upon the complete extirpation of Protestantism.

‘Without a word of disapprobation, she mentions the breaking of the King’s word, . . . when he commanded the severest penalties and cruelties to be resorted to without mercy, including confiscations, dragonades, slavery in the galleys, imprisonments, and abduction of children from their parents. All that she would have granted them is expressed in the words, “imperceptible mitigation.”’*

It was Madame de Maintenon who encouraged, or at least did not oppose, the disgrace of Fénelon, her former friend; who actively approved of the suppression of Port Royal—of which, by the way, our author does not say a word—and who procured from Rome the condemnation of Quesnel. It is a poor set-off to all this evil that she weaned Lewis XIV. from a licentious life. Madame de Maintenon’s private virtues did more harm to the world than her husband’s vices. We cannot refuse our admiration to her self-sacrifice, her womanly tact, her sincerity, her moral courage, her serenity and patience. But her heart did not correct the errors of her understanding. She may not have been (as Sir James Stephen called her †) ‘the very type of mediocrity out of place:’ but she had more intelligence than wisdom, more conscientiousness than intelligence, and there is no more fruitful seed of evil than a sense of duty perverted by false ideas of religion.

France, the teacher of Europe in the eighteenth century, at all times the originator of ideas, was crushed into conformity, but not consent, by absolutism in State and Church. By the Bull ‘Unigenitus,’

‘the very vitals of the Gallican Church were poisoned . . . a lasting breach made between the clergy and the laity. . . . The system of coercion and repression exercised henceforth by and over the clergy estranged them more and more from serious studies, causing them to shun knowledge, and reducing them to a state of intellectual impotence, which rendered them utterly incapable of entering the lists in the literary contests, provoked by the powerful and aggressive adversaries of religion which arose in the secular world.’ ‡

There was no room in the system carried out by Lewis XIV. and Madame de Maintenon for an alliance of piety and

* Döllinger, ‘Essays,’ p. 389. † Stephen, ‘Essays,’ p. 333 (1883).

‡ Döllinger, ‘Essays,’ pp. 319, 320.

intelligence; the teachers of the succeeding generations were Voltaire, Diderot, and Rousseau; and the orthodoxy of the Grand Siècle was succeeded by the atheism of the Revolution.

Thus the conduct of the Church fell to the Jesuits, who still hold it. The Jesuits, 'the controlling spirit of the Church,'* were the object of Döllinger's ceaseless hostility. 'The Jesuits,' he writes, 'are incarnate superstition combined with despotism.'† Opposed to science, to liberal theology, to national rights, they have made the Church Italian instead of Catholic; have abolished the liberties of the Gallican, the Spanish, the German Church. By degrees they got into their hands the Papal elections; reduced all national usages to the Roman model; monopolized education into the hands of their order, exalting the deductive method of argument at the expense of Science, and ignoring alike Bacon and Newton, and the progress of discovery and invention; destroyed Jansenism, Quietism, and Molinism; put an end to the Huguenot movement; inspired the persecuting policy of the Emperors and Bavarian princes in the Thirty Years' War, and the dragonades of Lewis XIV.

Dr. von Döllinger draws attention to the fact that in France, as well as in Austria, Spain, and elsewhere, the Papal autocracy had been allied with civil despotism. From Philip II. of Spain to Ferdinand II. of Naples one system prevailed in priest-ridden and king-ridden countries, the system carried out in France by Lewis XIV. What was done by the secular government in France and Austria was effected for Spain and Italy by the Inquisition. The policy of the Jesuits from the date of their institution till the present day has been the same. The result has been that the breach between the Roman Catholic religion and the progress of secular learning and political science has ever widened; until we see in these days, on the one hand, Liberalism degenerating into anarchy, and science into universal negation; on the other, the dogma of Infallibility, and Pius IX. declaring against freedom of worship, progress, and recent civilization.

In his work on 'The Reunion of Christendom,' published in 1872, Döllinger utters this remarkable prophecy:—

'The time will come . . . when the Petrine and Pauline‡ Churches will develop into a Johannine Church, or, as used to be said in medieval times, to the period of the Father and the Son will succeed

* 'Briefe,' &c., p. 105.

† Ibid.

‡ I.e. Protestant.

the age of the Holy Ghost. . . . I do not only believe, but know, that the rule of this order (the Jesuits) in Germany will not be of long duration; that their brilliant victory, I mean especially the battles won on 18th July and 31st August, 1870,* will at no distant future be turned into a defeat. The clear testimony of history leaves no doubt about it.'†

Döllinger, as we have said, hoped for a reunion of Christendom, not from a return to Rome, but from combined action on the part of the Eastern, the Protestant, and the Roman Confessions. Reunion is to be found by looking for points of agreement, not of difference. The fundamentals of Christianity are common to all. Baptism admits all; invincible ignorance is by common confession a bar to heresy. 'The existing Churches must learn and receive of one another, and set a higher price on the doctrines and creeds which they have inherited and confess in common than on what divides them.'‡ 'We must shake hands,' he said, 'over the hedges of doctrinal confessions.'

What Rome cannot or will not do, Christendom may do; but the time is distant, and hope is long deferred. Will the Pope Angelicus ever appear?

* The dates of the dogma of Papal Infallibility and the submission of the German Episcopate.

† 'On the Reunion of Christendom,' pp. 13, 139.

‡ Ibid., pp. 13, 14.

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 4. *The Science of Ethics*. By Leslie Stephen. London, 1882.
 5. *The Data of Ethics*. By Herbert Spencer. London, 1880.

IN the long story of the making of England, no word has exercised a mightier influence than Duty, with all that it implies. 'The infinite nature of Duty' has been to this imperial and self-centred race a religion, a code of laws, and the heart of that intense yet not wholly inhuman pride which has stamped Englishmen all the world over, as it did the Romans, to whom in so many ways they bear a resemblance. The Nelsons, Wellingtons, and Gordons of this nineteenth century nail the signal to their masts, thunder it over the battlefield, make it their staff of pilgrimage and rod of empire in the African wastes. The Howards, Wilberforces, Shaftesburys, bear it in their bosoms as a gospel of life; and neither faint nor weary until they have accomplished the task it has laid upon them. The Faradays and Herschells are drawn by its magnetism to scientific discoveries of highest moment, undegraded by ambition. The poets hymn its sacred name with Wordsworth and Tennyson; the prophets, as little resembling one another in style or temperament as John Henry Newman resembled Thomas Carlyle, are yet agreed that Duty is the supreme utterance of the voice of conscience; that its dictates are those of 'the aboriginal Vicar of Christ'; and that following it we have a clue to the labyrinth in which man is entangled. But the analytic philosopher is not satisfied, and he asks, 'In what, after all, does the nature of Duty consist?'

There never was a more astounding transformation scene than follows upon this simple-seeming question. We have learned, chiefly from Carlyle, that it is the nature of English genius to be 'inarticulate.' It can, apparently, do anything, from writing Shakspeare's tragedies to founding empires under the Southern Cross, on condition of not being required to explain what it does in terms of philosophy. It is dominated by influences and powers which it seems to be incapable of understanding, and the very existence of which it obstinately denies. The Low Dutch temperament, as we know it in these islands, is enthusiastic, eccentric, full of unquenchable fire, adventurous

in the extreme, sensitive (as its landscape-painting proves) to every aspect of Nature, to sea and sky, to storm and tempest. The history of English enterprise is a daring romance, choke-full of improbabilities and individual traits of character, in virtue of which every league of salt water has owned the British flag, and one-seventh of the habitable globe has come under its sway. Yet, when we ask the most eminent thinkers of the same race,—for such, it would appear, we are to account the late Mr. Stuart Mill, and the present Mr. Herbert Spencer,—to furnish a philosophy which shall be not unequal to these transcendent facts, the result is so jejune and feeble, so intellectually commonplace, that we could wish the native metaphysician were not merely inarticulate, but had lost the gift of speech altogether. For enthusiasm he offers us mechanism; for indomitable will, ‘motive-grinding’; for the high heroic career, which scorns emolument, a calculating or already calculated pursuit of ‘agreeable sensation’; and by some process of diabolic chemistry he boils down Duty into a mess of pottage called ‘the greatest happiness of the greatest number,’ for which no Esau coming from the field, though he were but a tired farmer’s man, would exchange the meanest of his God-given inheritances. Over against that Puritanism which, severe and forbidding in its lineaments, has yet been a power of moral goodness in the nations it has ruled, stands, like a figure of grave irony, the ‘Sensism’ or ‘Utilitarianism,’—it has a thousand expressive names,—in whose blank denial of the Divine and the supernatural Milton would have described the last of the Antichrists, and Carlyle did perceive the ‘everlasting No,’ whose main business, stretching over a couple of centuries, it would be to clear out by fire ‘the jungle of superstition,’ and then itself fall to soot and ashes.

And this, we make bold to affirm, is the truth of the matter. There is no criticism so conclusive as to let a system, whether of metaphysics or any other, explain itself at length, describe its own problem, and state in terms chosen by its author the solution he has to propose; after which, we have only to ask whether between the beginning and the end, the *data* and the *quæsitæ*, there is a true equation. If life was given at the outset, we shall reasonably expect it in the outcome; if the Infinite or the Absolute, what man will satisfy us when his alembic yields only the Finite as the reward of his patient distillations? The dissecting table may be the final stage in materialist surgery; but our demand that life should be, so far as possible, explained, is by no means met when life has been abolished. ‘L’homme,’ remarks Bayle, ‘est le morceau le plus difficile à digérer qui se

se présente à tous les systèmes.* It may be easier to digest him when the wonder and the mystery of his nature have been left out; only it is in virtue of them, and not of the ashes at the bottom of our crucible, that he is man. To leave them out is to analyse him, and human society by consequence, into jarring atoms with chaos for their dwelling-place. And England, which was built up to its present greatness by men who believed in Duty as a revelation, the highest that could be given, from out of the heart of Eternity, will be pulled down into the dust if, as various signs portend, a religion of agreeable sensations (for as many as can compass them) be recognized and acted upon by the governing majority.

Worse, far worse, it is than 'a curious symptom of this time,' that 'the pursuit of sensuous good, of personal pleasure in one shape or other, should be the universally admitted formula of man's whole duty.'† It means, according to the boast of Mr. Leslie Stephen, that 'the theory of an independent or autonomous conscience' is 'part of an obsolete form of speculation.'‡ So convinced is Mr. Spencer that we are witnessing 'the decay and death of a regulative system no longer fit,' that he throws aside his other work, important as he deems it, in order with the greatest possible despatch to fill up the 'vacuum' which has opened in front of society.§ In the Paris School of Medicine it has been lately prophesied that 'when the rest of the world has risen to the intellectual level of France, the present crude and vulgar notions regarding morality, religion, divine providence, and so forth,—there is much virtue in an etcetera, and here, as it happens, not a little suggestion of vice,—'will be swept entirely away, and the dicta of science will remain the sole guides of sane and educated men.'|| What the 'dicta of science' thus construed will warrant the new generation in believing and practising, we shall endeavour to find out in the sequel. But we may affirm generally that they are things of which an apostle has told us that it is a shame to speak. The assailants and defenders of the established morality agree as to the likelihood of a widespread revolution in the maxims of conduct, and consequently in conduct itself, should the 'scientific'—or, in plainer terms, the materialist—basis of ethics be substituted for the religious and 'transcendental.' We propose to examine what the new system is, and on what grounds it is put forward. And then, if it appears not to satisfy the problem which it

* Sterling, 'Secret of Hegel,' ii. p. 612.

† Carlyle, 'Miscellanies,' iii. p. 90.

‡ 'Science of Ethics,' p. 314.

§ 'Data of Ethics,' pp. iii. iv.

|| *Vide* Lilly, p. 38.

undertakes to solve, we will briefly indicate the doctrine for which, after burning up 'the jungle of superstition,' it will have to make room.

Such an enquiry need not deal chiefly in abstractions. It should keep in touch with the realities of life, nor lose sight of the world around us, in which all theories of morals must prove at last the worth that is in them. Their test is to be sought neither in Utopia with dreaming idealists, nor in Laputa among the inventors who turn out poems, as Mr. Jevons' logical piano does syllogisms, by machinery. This cardinal truth, that experience is the touchstone of ethics, we are happy to observe, has been kept in view throughout the learned and suggestive volume on 'Right and Wrong,' the title of which we have placed first at the head of this article. Its author, Mr. W. S. Lilly, whose treatise on 'A Century of Revolution,' published last year, was by far the most thoughtful contribution to the study of politics which the centenary of 1789 called forth, has in these pages drawn up what we may perhaps describe as an abstract and brief chronicle of the moral characteristics of the time. It is a powerful statement of principles; and if caustic and trenchant in the estimate of the prevailing ethical creed, as exhibited in all the provinces of life, from journalism to marriage and the Royal Academy, the question remains, not whether its censure is severe, but whether it is not well founded. Mr. Lilly has nothing but philosophical scorn for the morality of the swine-trough, even when the trough is gilded and decorated, and the manners of those that crowd about it are, in other respects distinguished. His contention, that all forms of Utilitarianism must be resolved into a setting of the senses above the spiritual nature of man, and are, in fact, Materialism more or less skilfully disguised, appears to have given great offence in the quarters to which it was directed. But the true offence is not in the charge, however formulated; it is in the fact, long ago pointed out by Schiller, that 'a boundless duration of Being and Well-being, simply for Being and Well-being's sake, is an ideal which belongs to appetite alone, and to which only the struggle of mere animalism, longing to be infinite, gives rise.'*

On one point Mr. Spencer is perfectly right. When the 'regulative system,' which took for its standard the 'infinite nature of Duty,' has been discarded as 'no longer fit,' a vacuum instantly appears which clamours to be filled up with something

* Schiller, 'Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen,' 24; 'Werke,' xii. p. 84.

real. The infinite has been disowned; and what remains but to strive, as manfully as we may, to choke the abyss with the finite? But the finite, in practice, becomes by a fatal necessity the visible—that which can be weighed and measured; nay (as Bayle suggests *cannot* be done with the real man), which can, by artfully devised formulas, be cooked and digested. And so we must cram with matter what the spirit has left empty and hungry. ‘Fine words butter no parsnips,’ the old English proverb tells us. Apparently they will serve to trick out specious, unsatisfying systems, such as Particular Hedonism with its ‘maximum of beautiful moments and pleasant sensations,’ which is the doctrine of Aristippus; or Rational Utilitarianism aiming at the Greatest Happiness, &c., otherwise called Altruism by those who consider that pleasure intended for others is morally good, because it is not intended for one-self. But Mr. Spencer will convince them that, unless the pleasure comes home again, it has no moral justification, agreeing after all with Bentham when he roundly declares that ‘to obtain the greatest portion of happiness for himself is the object of every rational being,’ and that ‘it is, in fact, very idle to talk about *duties*,’ we should talk about interests.*

There can be no mistake as to the genuine meaning of such assertions; nor will any one who has impartially studied the Utilitarians, from Bentham to the last edition of ‘*The Data of Ethics*,’ complain that they are caricatured in Mr. Lilly’s strong but just asseveration that they found the rules of conduct upon concupiscence, taking the word in its proper technical sense; or again, ‘upon the laws of comfort,’ as Professor Huxley has intimated; or, finally, with Mr. Spencer, on ‘the agreeable consciousness that results from the healthy exercise of the energies of our nature,’—the said energies being reducible, in the opinion of that philosopher, to a ‘redistribution of matter and motion,’ as we learn from Section 29 of his ‘*Data*.’ Perhaps there is no better justification of Mr. Lilly’s argument than the terse sentence, in which Mr. John Morley defines ‘the good man’ as ‘a machine whose springs are adapted so to fulfil their functions as to produce beneficent results.’ Mr. Morley is not here using a figure of speech. When he says machine, he means it, for ‘what is nature itself,’ he enquires elsewhere, ‘but a vast machine, in which our human species is no more than one weak spring?’† The identity of mechanics and morals is the very forefront of all these systems.‡

Before entering, however, upon the criticism of theories which

* See Martineau, ‘*Types of Ethical Theory*,’ ii. p. 285.

† Lilly, pp. 43, 47.

‡ Martineau, ii. pp. 3–37.

we hold to be not only false, but in the highest degree pernicious, we think it well to cite a passage from Mr. Lilly's volume, in which the fundamental doctrine of ethics has been stated with a clearness very seldom observable in current literature. We should be curious, indeed, to see a counter-statement from the adversaries of that doctrine at all as luminous:—

'The desire to do right as right,' it is here affirmed,—'that alone is morality. The idea of "right" or "ethical good" is a simple aboriginal idea, not decomposable into any other, but strictly *sui generis*. It cannot be resolved into the idea of happiness, or of pleasure, or of greatest usefulness; neither does it mean "commanded by the Deity" or "imposed by social needs." It admits of no definition save in terms of itself; which is equivalent to saying that it is an ultimate, like the perception of sweetness or of colour. It is innate, in the sense that every human being has the capacity of acquiring it. But it is not due to experience as a cause, nor does it depend for its obligation on calculations taken from experience. At the same time it has definite relations to various other ideas, while perfectly independent of them as to its essence. . . . Right, as such, differs from comfort, delectation, and expediency as such, . . . as hearing does from seeing, or feeling from intellect. The ideas are incommensurable; they have no common standard; they cannot be reduced the one to the other by any process of computation. "I ought," never does mean "It is pleasantest for me, or for thee, or for all of us." It has therefore nothing to do, in its own nature, with Egoism, Altruism, Utilitarianism, or any method of reckoning consequences, save the one moral consequence, good or evil. Its only "because" is a moral because.'*

Bearing in mind this explicit credo of ethics as a guide through the tangled brake of controversy, let us now ask ourselves what it is that the exponent of any moral system is called upon to take along with him as data. There is the idea of 'Right,' to begin with, aboriginal or derived, but certainly like itself and like no other. In the remarkable language of Mr. Stuart Mill, it holds within it a claim which 'assumes that character of absoluteness, that apparent infinity, and incommensurability with all other considerations, which constitute the distinction between the feeling of right and wrong and that of ordinary expediency and inexpediency.'† Absolute, indeed, that law must be which commands, without appeal from its dictates, that we should make utter sacrifice of ourselves rather than yield to wrong-doing, even though the self-

* 'Right and Wrong,' pp. 117-119.

† 'Utilitarianism,' 2nd edit. p. 81. Mr. Mill is speaking of rights which we have, but his words apply equally to rights which *have us*.

sacrifice were eternal and irreparable. 'Whatever power,' exclaimed Mr. Mill, in a well-known passage—when protesting against the conception of a Deity whose principles of government could not be sanctioned by the highest human morality—'whatever power such a being may have over me, there is one thing which he shall not do—he shall not compel me to worship him. I will call no being good who is not what I mean when I apply that epithet to my fellow-creatures; and if such a being can sentence me to hell for not so calling him, to hell I will go.* To have thus trampled under foot base fear, appealing from every form of it to Truth and Righteousness in the nature of things, is to have done, once for all, with 'systems of happiness,'—let us hear Schiller again:—'whether they have for their object the passing day, or the whole of life, or what renders them no whit more venerable, the whole of eternity.' Infinite obligation, which is not to be bought off by any bribe, divine or human, not though the world were given—'one pure and perfect chrysolite'—in reward for treason to it! Kant has affirmed that time and space are necessary forms of sensible intuition. In like manner, but *à fortiori*, obligation is the necessary form of that 'Right' which we call Duty; and no scheme of morals ought to satisfy us, or indeed can do so, which resolves the infinite and absolute of its commands—the 'categorical imperative'—into motives of which the sanction lies in their consequences. The philosophy, whose deepest rebuke to wrong-doing may be summed up in the word 'imprudence,' does simply not contain, and therefore will not account for, the moral 'ought,' as we find it in experience.

Or take it on the other side. 'Thou shalt' and 'thou shalt not' make up the whole duty of man. There is something infinite too in wrong-doing, and from generations immemorial the conscience of the world has borne witness to it in that sense of sin which Mr. Herbert Spencer takes to be a surviving form of 'devil-worship.† But perhaps the judgment of introspection (which is here supreme, for it is the appeal to self-evidence) will agree rather with Cardinal Newman when, in a passage of singular power and tenderness, he argues that if we feel responsibility at transgressing the dictate of conscience, it is because 'there is One to whom we are responsible, before whom we are ashamed, whose claims upon us we fear . . . the image of some person to whom our love and veneration look, in whose smile we find our happiness, for whom we yearn, towards whom we direct

* 'Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy,' p. 103.

† 'Data of Ethics,' p. 40.

our pleadings, in whose anger we are troubled and waste away.* Out of that all-pervading conviction of guilt, dreading retribution, and striving to expiate its offences by repentance and self-inflicted chastisement, have been developed the religions of the human race, whether terrible and grotesque, or gracious, humanizing, and full of divine pity. That guilt which has made the tragedy of mortals, that crimson stain upon the hand of Lady Macbeth, or upon her husband's, which would 'the multitudinous seas incarnadine,' yet remain crimson as ever, is a dreadful fact; and how shall we esteem the 'Data of Ethics' that will not keep *this* datum, with all that it implies and prophesies, in view? The shallow optimism of these latter-day prophets is enough to strike one dumb. If they will be deaf to the voice of Jehovah 'thundering out of Zion,' can they not at least give ear to the testimony of the daily newspaper, of the police-court, and the convict-prison? There was a time when whole nations, like Scotland after the Reformation, went almost mad from brooding over the problem of evil, and the wrath of a Righteous God. Philosophy, more humble than the traditional religion, laid its hand on its mouth when that problem was named in its hearing. It was thought to be unfathomable, the secret of the Most High. And now turn to the volumes of the Utilitarians, and see with what a light and airy logic it is disposed of to the satisfaction of 'the Greatest Happiness of the Greatest Number.' Our mildest criticism of such a book as the 'Data of Ethics' may perhaps be expressed in the sentence with which Cardinal Newman puts on one side 'the religion of so-called civilization' as inadequate to the needs of man's nature, viz. 'that it contradicts informants which speak with greater authority than itself.'† Tell a guilty man, fresh from the commission of his crime, that, after all, he has only been highly imprudent, and has acted against the Greatest Happiness of the race, and then see what comfort you have given him. Had he been merely imprudent, he would not now be cowering in the shadow of that huge eclipse, out of which he shall never more emerge.

And thus the whole question opens upon us. Man appears as a responsible being, holding of the eternal and the infinite, 'in the hand of his own counsel,' free to choose good or evil, yet bound, under penalties of an order utterly transcending mere feeling, to cleave to the good. As Kant has affirmed, the 'ought' of moral righteousness differs in nature and essence from physical necessity. It has nothing in common with the

* 'Grammar of Assent,' 6th ed. p. 109.

† Ibid. p. 396.

pressure of impulse or of sensuous motive. It simply does not take interest into account. It creates and is the everlasting stay of a world in which moral personalities alone live and move and have their being. As there is a realm of Art, the law of which is the Beautiful, distinct in its absolute conception from the realm of the useful or the convenient, so there is an order of facts and ideas which only the moral, the Ethical Good, can govern or interpret; and he that would explain it by some other notion has passed it by altogether, like the man without an ear for music to whom a symphony of Beethoven is but a succession of mathematical ratios or vibrations of the air. Righteousness, moral obligation, power of choice, sense of sin, presentiment of retribution—such are the data which every treatise of Ethics must go upon. And if the idea which they embody is an ultimate, to deal with it as derivative and secondary is, when we ask for bread to give us a stone. Mr. Lilly speaks the words of soberness and truth in declaring that 'this new morality' which deduces ethical principles from 'the laws of comfort,' or from 'needs personal or racial,' or from the interests of the individual or the community, is no morality at all. The French professor who enquired, after reading the *'Phèdre'* of Racine, '*Qu'est-ce que cela prouve?*' was not one whit more irrational than our 'scientific' moralists deluding themselves with the fancy that, when they have calculated the results of an action and found them convenient (in their notion of what is convenient) for the human race, they have explained the nature of goodness.

Very instructive, however, it is to learn that their calculation breaks down or cannot be verified. When the particular Hedonist enunciates as his end and rule of conduct the sum of pleasures, valued in proportion to their pleasantness,—and he always mean pleasantness to himself, not to man in the abstract,—it is probably not difficult to show him that the conception of right-doing thus established will oblige us to revere Nero and Caligula as highly moral personages, and to admit nameless vices into the category of virtuous action. For who can demonstrate that to Cæsar Borgia, Napoleon, and Augustus the Strong, their vices did not bring the sum of pleasures on which their hearts were set? But with the Utilitarian the argument might appear more complicated. It has seemed, to Mr. Stuart Mill for instance, that the 'rules of morality for the multitude' may be regarded as 'positive beliefs of mankind as to the effects of actions on their happiness,' and as such should be provisionally accepted even by the philosopher. While Mr. Spencer, going a step in advance, has upheld against Bentham

Bentham that we cannot indeed construct a table of virtuous conduct for ourselves, but that neither do we need, seeing that the experience of the race, stored up in our brains by heredity, has supplied us, in Mr. Lilly's appropriate if satirical phrase, with a 'ready reckoner,' which we have only to consult as the occasion arises.

If it be so, remarks Mr. Sidgwick, himself a distinguished Utilitarian, 'the long controversy between the advocates of Virtue and the advocates of Happiness will have been finally settled.' But he adds immediately, 'the assumption on which' that reconciliation of methods could alone take place 'is unwarranted.' The moral rules of common sense, he declares, cannot be taken for 'the consensus of competent judges as to the kind of conduct which is likely to produce the greatest amount of happiness on the whole.' Nay, he believes that those very rules need 'a thorough revision,' if we would do away with the divergence between common sense and a true Utilitarian code of morality.* The perception of rightness, he had already affirmed with Mr. Spencer, is not gained by 'conscious inference' from utility; and now, according to this remarkably cautious thinker, the inherited rules of virtue are so inefficient as guides to happiness, that they need a 'thorough revision.' Could there be more ample acknowledgment of the primordial and indisputable difference between the two codes which it is here desired to identify by merging the higher into the lower? Unless, perchance, the discrepancy 'of a very curious kind' between the old morals and the new, which Mr. Sidgwick appears not to discountenance some pages further on, may be thought to clench the argument even more forcibly. 'A. and B.,' observes our tranquil philosopher, 'are supposed to see that the happiness of the community will be enhanced (just as the excellence of a metrical composition is) by a slight admixture of irregularity along with a general observance of rules; that is, by a little of what is commonly blamed as vice, along with a great deal of what is commonly recommended as virtue; and, convinced that others will supply the virtue, A. and B. think themselves justified, on Utilitarian grounds, in supplying the vice.' It 'does not seem,' to Mr. Sidgwick, 'that this reasoning can be shown to be necessarily unsound.'†

Thus we have arrived at a standard of qualified corruption, or prudent lasciviousness, which, far from lessening the Greatest Happiness, does actually enhance it. The only consideration is, to what extent men may demean themselves as goats and

* Sidgwick, 'Methods of Ethics,' 1st edit. pp. 429-435.

† Ibid. p. 451.
monkeys,—

monkeys,—or why not as tigers and rattlesnakes?—in order to reach that consummation. Might not the gladiatorial sports be restored, on *these* Utilitarian grounds,—of course within limits? Or vivisection of otherwise unprofitable human creatures, taken from the workhouse, for example,—could it not be permitted with a State license? This and much more is logically deducible from such accommodating premisses. Had we space, it would be pleasant to compare Mr. Sidgwick's colourless style with the heat and glow, for example, of M. Renan in the passage with which he rounds off his introduction to '*Les Apôtres*,' pleading there for the right of all contradictions to exist, on the ground that humanity has need of them all. '*Lucrèce et Sainte-Thérèse, Aristophane et Socrate, Voltaire et François d'Assise, Raphaël et Vincent de Paul, ont également raison d'être*,' thus he concludes, '*et l'humanité serait moindre si un seul des éléments qui la composent lui manquait.*'* The same artistic combination of moral good and evil is what Mr. Spencer has in view, did he know his own meaning, when he denies free will in the interest of 'the beneficent necessity displayed in the evolution of the correspondence between the organism and the environment.' 'Beneficent necessity!' exclaims Mr. Lilly with not unmerited indignation; and he rehearses a few of the 'answering phenomena' without which, according to M. Renan or Mr. Spencer, 'humanity would be less than it is,' and which, even in the scientific purism cultivated by Mr. Sidgwick, may be held excusable so long as they do but 'supply the vice' whereby happiness on the whole is diversified and therefore enhanced.† But the sum of these things is that, in the view of such high authorities, the practice of Virtue as at present understood cannot be reconciled in a multitude of instances with the Greatest Happiness of the Greatest Number, and is no sure index to it.

From that verdict of the Utilitarian, though on quite other grounds, we shall not dissent. If Happiness means the sum of pleasures according to their pleasantness, Virtue has nothing whatever to say on that head in issuing her categorical imperative. A world framed strictly with a view to the maximum of agreeable sensations—such as the '*pays de Cocagne*' of reflective and ingenious swine might realize—would eliminate of necessity many acts and all motives now deemed virtuous. The attempted equation, therefore, between the methods of moral goodness and those of pleasure-seeking, disguise the latter how you will, turns

* Renan, '*Les Apôtres*,' p. lxiv.

† Lilly, p. 79. Spencer, '*Principles of Psychology*,' sec. 220.

out in the end to be a plain and gross discrepancy. Along the road of Virtue to the goal of Utilitarian Ethics it is impossible to advance beyond a certain stage. The moral heroes of mankind have chosen to do right in the face of bitterest consequences, with no glimpse of foreknowledge that a surplus of agreeable sensations to posterity would be the result. Whether we look, then, to the virtue that has been hitherto followed, or that which, on the Utilitarian hypothesis, would need to be surrendered, we perceive that the rules of right conduct are far from being accordant with the scale of pleasure.

A difficulty no less formidable looms large on the opposite side when Mr. Mill and his friends address themselves to the Rational Egoist whom they would fain convert. 'As between his own happiness and that of others,' we are told, 'Utilitarianism requires him'—that is, the agent—'to be as strictly impartial as a disinterested and benevolent spectator' would be.* Now it is remarkable that, whereas in comparing Utilitarian notions of the *Summum Bonum* with those of the Intuitionist who makes 'right' an end in itself, we have found them (the word must be permitted us) degrading,—for they make agreeable feeling the heart of goodness,—we here discover them to be ineffective and unwarrantably austere. Ineffective, since the folly, where simply enjoyment is in question, of asking Aristippus to treat himself as a disinterested spectator, is too clear to be argued about. And austere beyond reason, for, the bribe of greater pleasure to himself being excluded by supposition, why should a man put the cup of enjoyment from his own lips that another may drink of it? Where the alternative is to appropriate 'Happiness' for oneself, or else to go without it (as in the struggle for existence takes place again and again), why should not the individual aim at what is desirable for himself, 'leaving the realization of universal good to the care of the universe'? Mr. Sidgwick, who has carefully studied this position, admits that 'however it may offend our sentiments,' it 'is certainly very difficult to assail with argument.'† And, in fact, what would the argument amount to? 'I cannot reasonably think that whatever is good I should have rather than another,' it is said. But why can I not? Can I reasonably think that the other should have it rather than I? If the only desirable end is Happiness, to whom is it desirable? Mine to me, surely, as Dr. Martineau argues in a passage of great cogency; else that which was the motive power by definition in the systems born

* Mill, p. 24.

† Sidgwick, p. 461.

of Egoism and of Utilitarianism is gone. But 'my happiness is no more desirable to me than yours is to you' is not equivalent to this other statement that 'my happiness is no more desirable to me than yours is.' And so Bentham proclaims, with earnestness and *naïveté*, that 'himself must necessarily be his first concern.'

From 'each for himself,' therefore, to 'each for all,' no road has yet been engineered, nor can be, so long as the struggle for existence implies that some must be sacrificed to make room for their more favoured antagonists. 'What,' Mr. Lilly pertinently enquires, 'are the laws of conduct binding on the less endowed individual in that struggle? Is he to execute himself with a smiling face? Where is the justice? How bring home to him the obligation?' In a death-grip which carries with it annihilation to one of the combatants, it is clear that the surplus of agreeable feeling will not be on the side of the loser. Is he bound, in the name of pleasure, to court defeat? For 'cool self-love' to become equal, as Utilitarians maintain it should, in heroic conjunctures, to complete self-sacrifice, is first a delusion, and, secondly, an emptying out of the meaning of the words from which we started. Imagine a man with the sound use of reason choosing death to 'increase his vitality'! It is impossible to be disinterested by virtue of self-interest. The sympathy which is but refined Égoism is perhaps the meanest and most detestable form of hypocrisy that one human being could practise towards another. But, in any case, and Mr. Sidgwick candidly allows it, Rational Egoism will not cover absolute unselfishness. Do not, then, such purely unselfish moments occur in men's lives? The explanation of them is not 'cool self-love'; neither is their austere and taking beauty the result of Utilitarian joint-stock company measures for the fabrication of world-wide happiness. Average rules carry with them no binding force. If I am to pursue pleasure because it is pleasant, I shall, at all costs to my fellow-creatures, pursue my own; and when I am told that such self-regarding conduct thwarts the progress of evolution, I ask not unnaturally, What is evolution to me that I should throw myself under its Juggernaut wheels, and be crushed for my pains? * One may laud the exercise of Altruism in an Egoist so long as it helps him to enjoy more agreeable sensations than he otherwise would, but not when it whets the knife and prepares to lay him on the sacrificial altar.

Bentham and his followers were fond of parading self-love

* Lilly, pp. 84, 85; and Martineau, vol. ii. pp. 309-329.

as the root-principle of right conduct. To Mill and Austin it appeared that disinterested benevolence was the one ethical motive. And yet these radically opposed systems have been preached to modern Englishmen under the name of Utilitarianism. Is it too much to ask that things which are thus wide asunder should be designated by words as clearly contrasted? Of the whole doctrine exhibited in volumes like Mr. Mill's and Mr. Spencer's, one is compelled to say, *ludit in ambiguo*. Every word has a double sense; and pleasure, especially, now means 'pleasure to me'; again, 'pleasure to you'; here 'agreeable sensation,' there 'the attainment of any end whether accompanied with sensation or no,' sometimes 'that which is to be preferred,' at others 'that, whatever it be, which determines our action,' and, finally, to make confusion worse confounded, 'the choice that we ourselves determine.' How is it possible from this witch's caldron to fish up the precise ingredient that our ethical cooks are recommending to us when they affirm that pleasure is the rule of life, or that to pursue after virtue is to secure happiness? Such words are worse than unknown terms, for their meaning alters every moment. Were it not so, disputants would have observed long ago that the system of Rational Egoism, construed in the dialect of agreeable sensations to the subject of them, could by no possibility change into a doctrine which overlooks the subjective consciousness altogether, or which prescribes its annihilation as the means to happiness in somebody else.

However, the fact is, as thoughtful readers will admit, that Utilitarians disregard the struggle for existence, and are optimists as far as they dare be. The arguments employed in his 'Data of Ethics,' Mr. Spencer tells us in so many words, 'are valid only for optimists.' He is led, observes Mr. Lilly on this passage,

'to discourse copiously on the "ideal" society and the "straight" man; inconvenient questions about the real society and the crooked man, about crime, vice, pain, disease, and misery in general, being put by. . . . The question for Hedonists being whether it is worth while to aim at such pleasures as life at present affords—whether morality, even as they account of it, brings an adequate reward, he answers, "I waive that point; I am addressing none but optimists." But surely this is to put himself altogether out of court.' (Page 93.)

Yes, out of the court of experience, though not of the *à priori*, or deduction of one empty formula from another, in which his soul delights. Mr. Spencer's employment of 'integration and disintegration' to throw light on chemical and dynamical problems, has resulted more than once in stupendous blunders; but

but he prefers the *à priori* to mere facts, and leaves verification to those who cannot dispense with it. And so he finds it possible to reconcile the interests of any one with the interests of every one; for how, in an ideal world, could they clash?

In this remarkable way does he propose to fill up the chasm which, as we learnt from him a little while ago, is yawning beneath the feet, not of an ideal society, but of the men and women that now are. In that future state, permanent Altruism 'will be' sympathetic gratification. But as the 'highest type of man' exists only in the highest type of society, we cannot be surprised if Christ and the martyrs to the ideal in the past were of an inferior formation, since it is evident that, as 'actions are completely right only when they are immediately pleasurable,' neither the Crucifixion nor the sufferings of the saints will come under this category. It might have afforded some consolation to one who laid down his life for his brethren that his conduct was, at all events, completely right; and some Utilitarians would perhaps grant it. Not so Mr. Spencer. He is made of sterner stuff, and he asks the racked and tortured witness for 'the true, the just,' whether his action in submitting to be rent asunder is 'immediately pleasurable.' If not, he affirms, there is something lacking to it. This is how Mr. Spencer verifies first principles by experience. But his point is that pain, in a perfect world, should be neither suffered nor inflicted. To which we may perhaps reply that in the actual world, which is the only one we know, and which we take to be founded on reason, it is constantly both suffered and inflicted; whence it would not be unscientific to conclude that pain is not the only nor the worst evil, as pleasure is neither the highest nor the most real good in that world. Mr. Spencer never can escape out of the region of 'feeling.' To him, emotion is the supreme of realities (for the Unknowable is a mere blank), and he finds it too much for a wise man that the universe of experience, though fulfilling at every step the law of evolution, and therefore undoubtedly 'as good as it can be,' should abound in pain and misery. For such a world he has no ethical code; but for Laputa he has one. And it consists in the prophecy that 'pleasure will eventually accompany every mode of action demanded by social conditions.*' As Voltaire would say, his lip curling maliciously while he thought of his 'Candide,' 'All will be for the best,—the pleasant best,—in the best of all possible worlds.' And Mr. Spencer deems this to be 'the establishment of the rules of right conduct upon a scientific basis'!

* *Data of Ethics*, p. 186.

It might have been worth his while to establish beforehand the basis whereon he intended to build his lofty edifice. Is it so certain that pain is on the way to extinction? Mr. Spencer has of course decreed that there can be no 'theological hell.' But he has not yet reckoned with the grave dictum of the author of the 'Analogy,' that 'things are what they are, and their consequences will be what they will be.' Suppose evil should bring forth evil, as it has been known to do? Or that sin when it has conceived, as in Milton's tremendous allegory, should be the parent of Death? Is there any process of integration known to Mr. Spencer whereby these things may become as though they had never been? 'The laws on which this world is governed,' says the high teacher of the spiritual life from whom we have previously quoted, 'do not go so far as to prove that evil will never die out of the creation; nevertheless, they look in that direction;' and he had observed in a preceding sentence, 'The real mystery is not that evil should never have an end, but that it should ever have had a beginning. Even a universal restitution could not undo what had been, or account for evil being the necessary condition of good.'*

There is the ring of solid truth and experience in these formidable sayings, compared with which the gentle optimism of Mr. Mill,—as kind and sympathetic a spirit as our time has known—and the loud-voiced, never-ceasing self-confidence of the prophet of the Unknowable, seem like boyish utterances unchastened by contact with things as they are. What Mr. Spencer calls 'devil-worship,' by whatsoever accident it has entangled itself in the wheels of evolution, is a token that the 'gloom of thunder and eclipse' hangs over the face of the world; and though it may be forgotten in the course of argument *à priori*, it remains to confront or confound the deductions from which it is omitted. Man has something more difficult to accomplish in 'this blind realm,' as Dante would speak, than, by aiming at 'the most evolved conduct,' to 'fulfil all his needs, and rear the due number of progeny, not only without hindering others from doing the like, but while aiding them in doing the like.' Shade of Malthus! But for that timely qualification, 'the *due* number,' one could imagine that respectable clergyman rising from his grave to remind Mr. Spencer that if everybody will insist on 'rearing progeny,' instead of thereby 'furthering the multiplication of happier,'—which it appears that the practice of 'adequate Egoism' is calculated to

* Newman, 'Grammar of Assent,' p. 399.

do,—such criminals will not only retard the Millennium, but will render it for ever impossible. Mr. Spencer may rest assured that statements of so highly optimistic a colour ‘will in many, if not in most, cause astonishment.’ And though he piously affirms that the ‘partial misadjustments’ which he is compelled to acknowledge in the present order of the world, as measured on the scale of pleasure, are not ‘necessary and permanent,’ his only reason for the hope that is in him seems to be the undoubted fact that ‘Biology points to further changes.’ If, however, evolution should continue indefinitely, what ground is there for supposing that the misadjustment will ever be completely adjusted? And if it comes to a standstill, will not that imply such a degradation of all manner of activities, including the vital, to some equally-balanced homogeneous state of the primordial atoms, as will make an end of the human race, and with it of pleasure no less than of pain? The Utopia in which ‘straight’ men will pursue ‘ideal’ conduct is destined apparently to remain where our English poet stored away so many other curiosities:—

‘All the unaccomplished works of Nature’s hand,
Abortive, monstrous, or unkindly mixed,
Dissolved on earth, fleet hither, and in vain,
Till final dissolution, wander here.’

Not by any means surprising is it, with discord like this raging between Mr. Spencer’s imaginary world and the actual experience which alone he has to go upon, if he gives up in despair the attempt to calculate rules of happiness from the canons of virtue. As regards the end itself, he roundly tells Bentham that justice is more intelligible than happiness or pleasure; and, as for the means, he acknowledges, or rather insists upon, a threefold difficulty. ‘Guidance in the pursuit of happiness by a mere balancing of pleasures and pains,’ he does not hesitate to declare, and we agree with him, is in the long run, futile.* He falls back on ‘the experiences of utility organized and consolidated through all past generations of the human race’ whereby we have attained, in his view, to ‘certain faculties of moral intuition.’ Hence, with the solemnity of an ancient lawgiver, he affirms of the ethical science which he has evolved out of his own consciousness that ‘its deductions are to be recognized as laws of conduct; and are to be conformed to irrespective of a direct estimate of happiness or misery.’† *Ave*

* Spencer, p. 166. ‘Indefinite judgment of qualities,’ and ‘indefinite measures of quantities,’ he says, very truly, make the problem insoluble.

† *Ibid.*, sec. 45.

to be, Mr. Spencer? On what compulsion, pray? we might ask. Bentham has ridiculed the notion of a moral faculty as 'ipse dixitism.' But here is an 'ipse dixit' which makes a far larger demand on our faith and obedience than any oracle within our own breasts. For whose 'faculties of moral intuition' are we to trust, in declining to estimate the chances of happiness, or of misery, to which our actions may lay us open? Mr. Sidgwick, we know, is convinced that the present standard of virtuous conduct needs a 'thorough revision.' How does that agree with the trustworthiness of 'the experiences of utility consolidated and organized through all past generations'? And may not the next stage of 'more evolved conduct' which, as Mr. Spencer holds, is certain to arrive, demonstrate that our ancestors, for all their consolidating and organizing, were—not to put too fine a point on it—idiots in certain Puritanisms which they have bequeathed to us? Shall we, then, anticipate evolution and extend our view and our freedom at the same time? Thus, for example, Byron seems to have been of one mind with a certain savage mentioned in Waitz's 'Anthropology,' who when questioned as to the difference between good and evil replied, 'Good is when we carry off other people's wives; evil, when they carry off ours.' Might not a Rational Utilitarian be permitted to make a 'direct estimate' of the pleasure he was likely to attain on these lines, and act accordingly? or must he 'refuse and restrain' himself, by faith in Mr. Spencer's deductions? Again, Brehm reports that 'the negroes in the Soudan not only excuse fraud, theft, and murder, but even regard these acts as quite estimable. Falsehood and deceit seem to them the triumph of intellectual superiority over stupidity.'* This latter opinion prevails, by the bye, in countries more advanced than the Soudan, and is the soul of much modern advertisement. But once we embark on the sea of the 'experiences of utility,' have we chart or compass by which to steer except our individual forebodings of what may happen to us? Will Mr. Spencer undertake to answer Pascal's sarcasm that 'three degrees of latitude reverse all jurisprudence. The meridian decides the truth;' and that it is 'wonderful justice which is bounded by a river'?

Surely, the Lesbian rule itself was rigid and unbending compared with this appeal to the 'experiences of utility' which would go far to justify infanticide in China (or in East London), and promiscuous intercourse in Tahiti and the Sandwich Islands. If we may not indulge in a 'direct

* See Janet, 'Theory of Morals,' Eng. Trans., pp. 311-319.

estimate'

estimate' of consequences, there is no lack of conflicting customs 'consolidated and organized' which will open a door for us, in whatever direction we may choose to break out from the timid conventionalism of our Christian bringing up. And so, after all the parade and pomp of learned terms, we have come round to easy-going Michel de Montaigne, with his ally Raymond de Sebonde. 'Let every one follow the custom of his country,' says the Gascon gentleman, alleging the convenience of not differing from one's neighbours; but, he adds, 'there is no extreme which has not been accepted by some nation as common custom.'* Will the 'Data of Ethics' carry us a step further on the road to perfection? 'Tis a municipal law that thou allegest,' Montaigne would say to its author; 'thou knowest not what is universal.' How now, Mr. Lilly demands with unanswerable logic, if we passionately desire an indulgence not permitted by custom? † Is there any obligation to avoid the penalties which it may entail? 'We shall be called imprudent.' But suppose we do not mind being imprudent, so long as we gratify our desire? Lothario, the man of pleasure, despises the tranquillity of Epicurus, and loathes the self-interest of the timid and respectable herd of greasy citizens. Well, may he not take his pleasure as he likes it? Is it not his humour? What can we say to him?

The sanction of morality—in what sense there is a true obligation, whether in Mr. Spencer's 'deductions,' or Mr. Mill's 'disinterested benevolence'—that is the question. And no system whose motive-wheel is pleasure, interest, or happiness, can give a satisfactory answer. Dr. Martineau has proved to a demonstration that 'social sanctions' of the kind imagined in Mr. Mill's 'Utilitarianism' leave out the morality. They cannot oblige in the court of conscience, but only promise or threaten in the region of mere *immoral* consequences.‡ At precisely the same value must we reckon Dr. Bain's 'uniformities of approbation and disapprobation' (if they are not the same thing) when the element of primordial right, not made but only recognized by society, has been emptied out of them, as he manifestly supposes it ought to be. And when Mr. Spencer undertakes to strengthen the feeble knees of Dr. Bain by suggesting that another ingredient enters into 'the consciousness of duty,' viz. 'the feeling constituted by representation of the natural penalties,' he is, in the first place, proceeding by abstract methods and not by experience; and in the second,

* Montaigne, 'Essais,' l. 2, c. xii. † Lilly, p. 50. ‡ Martineau, ii. p. 328.

as Mr. Lilly points out, he is transgressing the canons of logic by passing from one 'kind' to another—since 'natural consequences,' that is to say, the representation of future pleasures and pains, have nothing whatever in common with the specific experience which we call a good or a bad conscience.*

It may be added that 'uniformities of approbation and disapprobation,' though persisting for centuries in a given society, do not generate the notion of guilt or of virtue in individuals unless they contain it to start with. Offences against good taste or propriety are visited in civilized countries with 'uniformities of disapprobation,' and cowardice in warlike ones excites such contempt that the man who has yielded to it has been known to take refuge in suicide from the taunts of his fellows. But in none of these instances is the offender conscious of guilt or moral delinquency, poignant though his feeling of the 'natural consequences' of his act may be. 'No fear,' observes Cardinal Newman, 'is felt by any one who recognizes that his conduct has not been beautiful, though he may be mortified at himself, if perhaps he has thereby forfeited some advantage; but, if he has been betrayed into any kind of immorality, he has a lively sense of responsibility and guilt, though the act be no offence against society—of distress and apprehension, even though it may be of present service to him—of compunction and regret, though in itself it be most pleasurable—of confusion of face, though it may have no witnesses.'† Here, indeed, is a state of mind and undeniable experience which discloses an obligation to do right transcending all the motives involved in self-interest or in collective interest. Here is a sanction revealing itself as in the nature of things which, while it inflicts the keenest pain on the transgressor, yet consists not in pain, properly so-called, but in the consciousness of a degradation *sui generis*, of 'guilt' or sin, compared with which the utmost suffering (if only *that* be away) is tolerable, and would be welcome.

Mr. Sidgwick, in a sentence pregnant with issues more terrible than he is willing to forecast, bids the Utilitarian 'repudiate as superstitious that awe' of positive morality 'as an absolute or Divine code, which intuitional moralists inculcate.' He would keep it, as we learn in a very needful note, 'for the Utilitarian First Principle,' which, by a fundamental misapprehension, he conceives to be the corner-stone of Kant's teaching.‡ But neither 'moral awe' nor 'moral

* Lilly, pp. 46, 86, 88.

† 'Grammar of Assent,' p. 108.

‡ Sidgwick, p. 439.

law' is inherent in a mere doctrine of consequences; and the shame and self-accusation which Cardinal Newman so powerfully depicts in the words we have quoted from him, are utterly alien to the state of mind which only regrets that it has not promoted, or has even lessened, the Greatest Happiness of the race, by following its own predilections. 'Few minds,' Mr. Sidgwick allows elsewhere with his accustomed candour, 'are prepared to admit as self-evident that one ought to aim' at such an object. The failure to do so, then, cannot bring with it 'self-reproach, poignant shame, haunting remorse, chill dismay at the prospect of the future.' And we shall perhaps not err when we affirm that it never does; and that even the 'greatest of conceivable crimes' from a Utilitarian point of view,—which, as Mr. Sidgwick is good enough to explain, would consist in 'a universal refusal to propagate the species,'—though not at present likely to be committed, would entail very little remorse if it did take place, and that of a kind altogether different from the distress which now follows on crimes of a less fantastic description, and assuredly in the eyes of Utilitarians less heinous.

Nor is it without a certain shock to our sense of logic that we read in Mr. Spencer, after his careful resolution of virtue into pleasure either present or to come, that the intuitions corresponding to moral sentiments have 'a general authority to be reverently recognized.'* 'Reverently!' we exclaim, how came 'reverently' there? Is there scope for reverence in the tables of interest? or anything worshipful in the 'redistribution of matter and motion'? Reverence is a word strangely out of place in Mr. Spencer's treatise, with its altruism consisting in a 'waste of tissue for the benefit of others,' and its 'higher egoistic satisfaction' put forward as the true account of the life and death of Christ and all heroic men; with its appeal to the 'surplus of emotion' and 'kinds of sentiency,' as explaining how virtue is but pleasure in a 'more evolved' condition; and its unparalleled assumption that the heart and conscience of man are at bottom only a system of mechanics.† The most significant, and we may justly affirm, the most ludicrous circumstance in all this 'ipse dixitism' of Mr. Spencer, is that not for a moment does he realize what is patent enough to students of a less prosaic turn; namely, that of morality, in the sense universally acknowledged,—and it is the only rational sense—there are not so much as the elements in his 'Data of Ethics.' When a man had fulfilled

* 'Data of Ethics,' p. 172.

† Spencer, pp. 30, 74, 103, 147.

all its behests, he might feel himself to be a refined Egoist or a gratified Altruist, or a combination of both; but that he had been obeying the categorical imperative which is of the essence of Duty, neither his conscience nor that of any spectator, however 'disinterested' or 'benevolent,' would dream of affirming.

Striking it is to reflect that while no trace of the ethical 'ought' can be discovered in these wide-weltering lucubrations on the 'Principles' of all things knowable and unknowable, another kind of obligation enters in; and we are made captive to a hard Determinism which, on Mr. Spencer's view, there is no escaping. Hear the words of the philosopher in his 'Principles of Psychology.' 'Memory, Reason, and Feeling,' we are there told, 'simultaneously arise as the automatic actions become complex, infrequent, and hesitating; and Will, arising at the same time, is necessitated by the same conditions.* Again, 'the changes which at each moment take place in his'—that is to say, in man's—'consciousness, and among others those which he is said to will, are produced by this infinitude of previous experiences, registered in his nervous structure, co-operating with the immediate impressions on his senses.'† And, lastly, free-will is said to originate in a 'subjective illusion,' 'strengthened by a corresponding objective illusion.' Mr. Mill, though he does not employ the word 'necessarily' in the crass materialistic sense which appears to give Mr. Spencer such keen satisfaction,‡ holds it to be 'a truth of experience that volitions do, in point of fact, follow determinate moral antecedents with the same uniformity and with the same certainty, as physical effects follow their physical causes.'§ And he denies 'compulsion' in the case of human volitions, only just as much as he denies it of 'all other phenomena.' In short, according to this luminous philosopher of the Utilitarian school, the will is no more necessitated to move in a given direction than a billiard ball when it is struck,—and no less.|| Even Mr. Sidgwick, who lays down with an energy very rare in him that 'it is impossible for me to think,' in the moment of 'deliberate volition,' that 'my volition is completely determined by my formed character and motives acting upon it,' and who reiterates that he 'cannot believe' the conviction of freedom at such a time 'to be illusory,' concludes after a few pages that there seems to be 'no general connexion between systematic ethics and the disputed

* 'Principles of Psychology,' sec. 217.

† Spencer, *ubi supra*.

‡ Mill, 'Utilitarianism,' pp. 93, 94.

§ *Vide* Lilly, p. 136.

|| Mill, 'Exam. of Sir W. Hamilton's Philosophy,' p. 517; and see the Duke of Argyll's 'Reign of Law,' 16th edit. pp. 309, 432.

question of Free Will.* In spite of his previous admission of its being the 'natural and primary view of the matter,' that if a man 'has not merit or demerit, it is repugnant to the moral reason and sentiments of mankind to reward and punish him,' and that 'on the Determinist theory, "ought," "responsibility," "desert," and similar terms have to be used, if at all, in new significations,' he is still of opinion that in systematic ethics we need take no general regard of Freedom.† It is, of course, well known how Bentham proposed to banish the word 'ought' from 'the vocabulary of morals' altogether. But his purpose was not by any means to enlarge the bounds of liberty. Where 'ought' is abolished, 'must' reigns without restriction; for it is the same writer who magisterially asserts that 'Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, pain and pleasure. It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do, as well as to determine what we shall do. On the one hand the standard of right and wrong, on the other the chain of cause and effect, are fastened to their throne.'‡ Finally, with the conviction that he is uttering the most obvious of truisms, Mr. John Morley characterizes 'the doctrine that the will is free' as 'virtually unmeaning.'§

Now let us suppose that this newest of the Evangels, with or without Hartley's 'vibrations and vibratiuncles,' but involving the denial of free-will, of a morally binding obligation, of the distinction between pleasure and virtue, and of all truly disinterested pursuit of right and avoidance of wrong, has been accepted by society at large, not indeed with the religious or conscientious reverence which 'registered experience' has no power of calling forth, but as making the creed of a nobler time uncertain and robbing it of the public sovereignty which it held for so long,—what are likely to be the consequences?

'Positivism, Phenomenism, Materialism,' Mr. Lilly observes with profound truth, are 'a revolt against Reason,' as Reason was defined by Coleridge when he termed it 'the power of universal and necessary convictions; the source and substance of truths above sense, and having their evidence in themselves.' Consider a world denuded of such faith, intellectual and moral! It is, to an unhappy extent, the world we live in. 'Now that moral injunctions are losing the authority given them by their supposed sacred origin,' observes Mr. Spencer in a jubilant

* Sidgwick, pp. 51-57.

† Dr. Martineau speaks with admirable force of the 'necessary distortion of language' hence resulting.

‡ Bentham, 'Principles of Morals and Legislation.'

§ Morley, 'Miscellanies,' i. p. 146.

tone, 'the secularization of morals is becoming imperative.' Imperative, or only inevitable in a society bent on its own ruin, Mr. Spencer? At any rate, it is proceeding rapidly. Not only is there, in the hearts as in the conduct of many called 'pessimists,' a 'despairing abandonment of all attempts at a higher life;' but in the great multitude who follow the scientific leaders and teachers set over them, a growing conviction shows itself that, the Ten Commandments being obsolete and 'utility' the fashionable standard, the best thing a man can do is to take his pleasure where he finds it.

In some vigorous and well-considered chapters, Mr. Lilly contrasts the ideal of a society based upon conscience and morality as expounded by the ancient teachers, with that which is now 'emerging' under the influence of Hedonist and Utilitarian Ethics.* 'In a world of mechanism,' he declares with great force, 'Right is a meaningless word, for it has neither subject nor object.' Hence in the penal legislation of to-day, exemplified by the new Italian code of Signor Zanardelli, punishment is merely preventive or deterrent, but has ceased to be retributive, 'a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.'† Hence too, if we may believe Lord Lytton, 'the justice which finds place in public morals is totally different from the justice which relates to individuals; and consists mainly in moderation and kindly prudence.'‡ Or, in the strong language of Carlyle, 'Men are to be guided only by their self-interests. Good government is a good balancing of these, and, except a keen eye and appetite for self-interest, requires no virtue in any quarter. To both parties it is emphatically a machine; to the discontented "a taxing machine," to the contented "a machine for securing property."'[§] The force of numbers, disguised as public opinion, and holding no reference to the moral law, is, in Mr. Lilly's view, now dominant; and men like Mr. Morley regard it as the source of right and justice in the public order. 'A natural right,' we are assured, 'is a mere figment of the imagination,' or even 'a metaphysical entity.' 'All rights,' Mr. Matthew Arnold was eager to grant, 'are created by law, and are based on expediency, and are alterable as the public advantage may require.' A more serious-minded man would have perceived, in admissions like these, the door opened to that 'coming slavery' against which Mr. Spencer cries his loudest, but which no philosopher of our time has done more to

* Lilly, pp. 122-236.

† Ibid. pp. 122-138.

‡ Inaugural Address at Glasgow University, 1888.

§ Carlyle, 'Miscellanies,' ii. 105, 106.

pave the way for. The duties of property having been forgotten by such capitalists and others as believe in no morality but that of money, we cannot be astonished if a struggle on the widest scale has begun between 'those who produce without enjoying, and those who enjoy without producing.' 'The very notion of a *justum pretium*,' so Mr. Lilly declares, 'has well-nigh died out of the popular mind, which sums up its code of commercial morality in the maxim: "Buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest."'* And 'much of the wealth of the rich classes in modern Europe,' we are assured by an economist of name, 'has been gathered together, and is kept up, by dreadful deeds of cruelty, extortion, and fraud.† We have heard the 'Bitter Cry of Outcast London' and that of many another great city, where Victor Hugo's words are too truly verified, and 'the Paradise of the rich is made out of the Hell of the poor.' But where is the remedy, if interest and not justice be invoked on either side? Revolution or counter-revolution will avail not one jot, until it is well understood that labour and ownership must be made 'a common good to the community,'—*must*, because they ought to be such, and because the order of reason is the order of justice.

But even more than the material prosperity of nations is at stake, thanks to all-conquering Hedonism. The family itself is threatened, and 'pure affections breathing household laws' are to be exchanged, in accordance with Mr. Karl Pearson's prophesyings, for 'a new sex relationship.' The 'movement for sex equality,' this frank Utilitarian proclaims, 'must surely and rapidly undermine our current marriage customs and marriage laws.' For, 'legalized lifelong monogamy is in human history a thing of yesterday, and no unprejudiced person . . . can suppose it a final form.' And, that we may not misapprehend the kind of development he has in view, Mr. Pearson warns us explicitly that 'the sex relationship of the future will not be regarded as a union for the birth of children, but as the closest form of friendship between man and woman.' 'Children apart,' it seems to him 'unbearable that Church or society should in any official form interfere with lovers.‡ It was looked upon as extremely significant by readers of Mr. Mill's 'Autobiography,' that he suggested a widening of the lines in this matter, with special reference to Auguste Comte. The practice, in more than one American State, of 'divorce while

* Lilly, p. 195. † C. S. Devas, 'Groundwork of Economics,' sec. 261.

‡ Pearson, 'The Ethic of Free Thought,' pp. 431-443; and see Lilly, pp. 209 *seq.*

you change trains,' and in North Germany of a dissolution of marriage on the flimsiest of sentimental pretexts, points in a similar direction. Mr. Karl Pearson's advice has an air of greater boldness and simplicity. Let there be no marriage, but only Free Love.

'Si tibi legitimis pactam junctamque tabellis
Non es amaturus, ducendi nulla videtur
Causa, nec est quare coenam et mustacea perdas.'

Spare the wedding cakes, and lay to heart Mr. Cotter Morison's panegyric of 'the barren prostitute,' above 'the prolific spouse.' Mr. Bradlaugh, too, will add his 'uniformity of approbation' to those who cultivate philosophy on the lines he has drawn out. 'Nothing more conclusively proves the necessity of indissoluble marriage than the instability of passion,' said Balzac.* But Mr. Pearson reassures him, 'every man and woman would probably ultimately choose a lover from their friends; but the men and women who, being absolutely free, would choose more than one, would certainly be the exceptions.' So that we may hope that Free Love will not, as a rule, develop into polygamy, or whatever the relation of multiplicity should be called. Still, knowing the nature of man, when he thinks himself 'absolutely free,' we confess (it may be a foolish weakness) that we are not without misgivings on the subject. We prefer the august ideal which, in a grave and noble chapter, Mr. Lilly sets before us, deriving it from the Roman Jurisprudence, but, as he is well warranted by history in doing, transfiguring it in the light of the Christian faith: 'Nuptiæ sunt conjunctio maris et feminae, et consortium omnis vitæ; divini et humani juris communicatio.' In such high language another world than that of evanescent passion discloses itself, and Mr. Pearson's 'sex-equality' falls back to the level of brutishness from which he would fain lift it.

'The age,' it has been remarked, 'has neither height nor depth; it lacks an ideal perspective.' Most certainly, if the men we have been reviewing are its accepted teachers, we shall deny that it seeks, or even cares about, 'the reason and the essence of things.' 'Now of the heaven which is above the heavens, no earthly poet has ever sung or will sing worthily. But I,' says the Platonic Socrates, 'must tell of it, for I am bound to speak truly when speaking of the truth. The colourless and formless and intangible essence and only reality dwells

* Balzac, 'Le Médecin de Campagne.'

encircled by true knowledge in this home, visible to the mind alone who is lord of the soul. And the divine intelligence, feeding upon mind and pure knowledge, the proper food of every soul, rejoices at beholding reality. . . . In the revolution she beholds justice, and temperance, and knowledge absolute, not in the form of created things, or of things relative which men call existence, but knowledge absolute and existence absolute.* Mr. Spencer would reject this language as oracular and nonsensical; for to him the Absolute Being is unknowable, except when he argues that it must be supremely indifferent to ethical considerations, on the novel ground that since it cannot do what is wrong, neither can it do what is right. The 'Divine Intelligence' does not then, according to him and his fellows, behold 'justice and temperance and knowledge absolute;' nor indeed have we any right to affirm, in Mr. Spencer's philosophy, that such intelligence exists. We are flung back on the notions relative pain and relative pleasure 'as the elements out of which' our moral conceptions 'are framed.'† Immortality is, for Utilitarians of the ordinary type, but 'the dream of a shade.' The existence of what Mr. Sidgwick terms 'the religious sanction,' cannot, he says, 'be demonstrated by ethical arguments alone.' And it has utterly disappeared from the more logical and thorough-going schemes which aim at establishing a new code of conduct on what is, in the last resort, a physical basis; which, as Mr. Lilly proves beyond cavil, restrict our knowledge to the phenomenal universe, and make consciousness and will its fortuitous or necessary products.‡ What is left, in the end, except that from which the disputers of this world have started, namely, the individual with his instincts and his passions? To convert the particular Hedonist, who to-day is and to-morrow is cast into the oven, by recommending him to think of 'that long time when he shall not be,' and to work for the ephemeral race of mortals, themselves travelling with the solar system towards darkness and extinction—what hope is there of this, while men are really able to make the 'direct estimate' which Mr. Spencer forbids? 'I know, in some instances, at all events,' will the Egoist answer, 'the things I shall enjoy if I can get them; but for a Humanity which will not survive beyond a few stages of evolution, how can I tell what will be Happiness; and, after all, what does it signify?' The best thing, says Euripides, would have been not to be; the next best is to shuffle off existence as speedily or easily as we may. Without God

* 'Phædrus,' 247; Jowett's translation, abridged.

† 'Data of Ethics,' pp. 258, 259.

‡ Lilly, pp. 14-36.

or Immortality it is a much ado about nothing; and the end, which is silence, can hardly come too soon. In that case—

Ἐγὼ τὸ μὲν δὴ πανταχοῦ θρυλούμενον
κράτιστον εἶναι φημι, μὴ φῦναι βροτῶν.*

It is demonstrably true that the Ethics taught by Christianity are not, as Mr. Morley thinks, 'a mere appendage to a set of theological mysteries.' The first principles of the moral law are necessary, like the axioms and postulates of mathematics, and do not proceed from the arbitrary will of God. They constitute, in Mr. Lilly's well-chosen phrase, 'the natural and permanent revelation of the reason.' In its own sphere morality is autonomous, 'it is absolutely independent both of religious systems and of the physical sciences.' Nor has any recent writer asserted this fundamental doctrine of Ethics with more convincing arguments or greater dignity of language than Mr. Lilly in his fourth chapter, wherein he follows the footsteps of Kant, while employing a style which appeals with singular force to the ordinarily cultivated intellect. But 'the conception of duty,' as Mr. Sidgwick is 'not prepared to deny,' 'carries with it the implied relations of an individual will with a universal will, conceived as perfectly rational.' † Kant, who in every other part of his teaching shrinks from asserting a knowledge of things in themselves, rises here on the wings of Duty to a firm belief in the Supreme Righteousness and an order of being where Justice shall prevail. Most heartily do we agree with our author when he affirms on his last page that 'the only effective guardian of morality is Religion, which affords it a sanction and a reward, which incarnates it in august symbolism, and utters it in divine command for all those—they are, and ever must be, the overwhelming majority—who cannot lay hold of an abstruse philosophy, but need to be taught as children.' Nor is this to resolve Ethics into a mere system of rewards and punishments. It is simply to assert that the 'nature of things' is true and real, and is the Living God—no empty abstraction, but that which 'was, and is, and is to come.'

The 'infinite nature of Duty' means so much; the 'Everlasting Yea' is not a formula, but the First of realities; not the Unknowable, but the All Holy. It is a high and terrible doctrine, yet men must live by it unless they would sink to the level of brute organisms, attuned merely to pleasure and pain, to 'agreeable feeling,' and 'the demands of the digestive apparatus.' The time has arrived when various sects of

* Euripides, Frag. 285.

† Lilly, pp. 99-115; Sidgwick, p. 216, 3rd edit.

Socialists and Communists, who with the modern philosophy establish society on the 'registered experience' of the kitchen and the larder, are insisting with emphatic reverberation of dynamite and loud oratory, that the interest of the many should take precedence of the enjoyment of the few. 'Who shall eat, and who shall be eaten?' That is the problem which is 'organizing and consolidating' itself in the union of labourers *versus* capitalists all the world over—a problem not to be presented in this tiger fashion except when, thanks to the 'Data of Ethics' and its congeners, we may exclaim with the Roman orator:—

'O Justice, thou art fled to brutish beasts,
And men have lost their reason!'

Would it not be well to return, then, as we are advised in this timely volume, to the true principles of government, to the Conservatism which builds the social edifice, and keeps it standing from age to age in righteousness; to the sovereignty of the moral law over states and cities no less than individuals? Art is degraded, Mr. Lilly tells us with indignant and scathing rhetoric, marriage defiled in that 'common sewer of the realm' the Divorce Court, politics a game of factions, property and labour forms of anti-human competition, and money the great god whom our fathers would have scorned to worship, but who sets the feet of his princes on the neck of ancient monarchies. It is an indictment of the largest, and requires some modification. Mr. Lilly brings in evidence a disheartening array of facts, but he overstates his case, and thus leaves an impression which he probably did not intend to convey. The whole world is not enslaved to self-interest, greed, lust, and luxury. We rejoice to know that there are multitudes who give no heed to Utilitarian preaching and to the defenders of 'Benevolence,' whose main achievement has been with specious phrases to loosen the bonds of order and discredit the moral traditions inherited from a ruder, it may be, but from a less cynical and self-indulgent time.

The coming generation must take up the great problem of to-morrow,—What are the just laws of the acquisition and distribution of that wealth which modern science and civilization have created? Will they enter on it, their eyes bleared with selfishness and their mouths full of abstract formulas, while their consciences are unexercised in judging on the rule of 'Right for Right's sake,' and the foreboding is strong within them that, in the end, the struggle for existence will have its way and justice prove but a word of two syllables in the war of facts? Have we gained only thus much by listening to the syllo-

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gisms of motive grinders who 'assume certain propensities of human nature,' and from them synthetically deduce the science of ethics and of politics? But we must not attribute to Mr. Spencer or the other associates of his school a creative influence which they have not wielded. Their popularity signifies not the triumph of new and original ideas, but that a wave of Lucretian materialism has swept over England, threatening to submerge the foundations on which our national greatness was built. These masters of the sentences, who inspire the morning leaders and shine in all the magazines, profess, indeed, that their Greatest Happiness principle is the golden rule of the New Testament. But Altruism as construed in their philosophy means the corrupting of one's neighbour as oneself in the base pursuit of pleasure. It is right to seek the happiness of others; but to seek happiness is not the definition of Right. The Christian rule is founded on love of justice and moral good, not on pleasure. Neither for ourselves nor for others ought we to wish that a man should be 'Epicuri de grege porcus.' And thus Mr. Sidgwick and those who hold with him, that because Clarke or Kant laid down a universal rule of Benevolence they must have been Utilitarians after all, are simply arguing, as neither Kant nor Clarke did, that the matter of an ethical formula determines its authority, instead of perceiving that it is the authority, exercised by intuition upon experience, which stamps and sanctions the matter adapted to it.*

Truly, the question of the Sphinx remains and is daily confronting us, not whether we ought to do Right, but what is the Right which we ought to do? 'An ethical system,' it has been well said, 'may supply laws, general rules, guiding principles,' but 'who is to apply them to a particular case? Whither can we go, except to the living intellect, our own or another's?' And, therefore, no science of life has been or can be written.† But a great and decisive difference will make itself felt when judgment is to be given, between those minds which apprehend Duty as a law self-certified, 'true and righteous altogether,' and those wherein it seems to be but pleasure under a mask, a more cunning but not a less selfish Egoism. Human nature has not been constructed on the single scale of pleasure 'for self, offspring, and fellow-citizens.' As in the animal kingdom morphological relations are to be maintained without respect to any 'agreeable sensations' which the subject of them may feel, in like manner the relations of justice and equity must be preserved amongst men, and feeling is subordinate to *their*

* Sidgwick, pp. 358, 364.

† 'Grammar of Assent,' p. 354.
maintenance.

maintenance.* Even Mr. Spencer is driven to insist upon the laws of virtue, irrespective of private reckonings as to results. But we shall not know what virtue is, and still less shall we practise it in the face of difficulty, unless with Leibnitz we stedfastly acknowledge that 'Right is moral power, and Duty moral necessity,' and that these are ultimate, not derived from premisses lying beyond them. Not that we shall be satisfied with a Judaic conception of law pressing upon us from without (into which error Kant may perhaps have fallen), nor that Right and Duty are not destined, by a certain instinct of transformation, to pass into the Heaven of perfected love where 'I and Thou' cease to contend with one another. For in the 'kingdom of final causes,' over which rules 'one God, one law, one element,' each is for all and all for each. The Religion of Duty, austere and rugged as the granite foundations of the world, must be clothed upon with living loveliness, with that Christianity which is the incarnation of moral beauty and 'the only æsthetic religion,' as Schiller believed. Nevertheless, when a man losing his life thus shall find it, and self-sacrifice, or 'renunciation,' shall appear as the necessary condition of a true human ascent from a universe of pain and strife to an Empyrean of existence without shadow and without alloy, *sub specie æternitatis*, it will not cease to be as certain as it now is, that Benevolence is nothing else than Right extending its sway over the brotherhood of created things, and that love which is not founded and rooted in justice has no moral value. It was of this law, and all that is contained therein, that Hooker wrote the ever-memorable words: 'Her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world: all things in Heaven and Earth do her homage; the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power.'†

* Martineau, vol. ii. pp. 344-354.

† 'Eccles. Polity,' Book I.

ART. IV.—*The Life and Letters of Adam Sedgwick.* By J. Willis Clark and T. McKenny Hughes. 2 vols. London, 1890.

THIS is, in several ways, a very interesting and useful memorial of a remarkable man; but it might, we venture to say, have been doubled in interest, and more than doubled in utility, if it had been halved in length. No one would object to a couple of volumes or even more being dedicated to a biographical portraiture, when the subject has stood high above the mass of mankind,—a king of thought or action by whom new fields of knowledge have been opened, new conditions of society inaugurated, or the course of the world permanently changed. But until human life shall be lengthened, or a considerable portion of its crowded interests eliminated, two huge volumes, containing nearly twelve hundred pages, must be pronounced inordinate for the record of even the foremost of the lower rank whether of thinkers or workers, however useful they may have been in their generation, or large the troop of friends in whose affections their departure has left a vacant place. Had the old Hebrew ‘Ecclesiastes,’ or the writer of his Epilogue, lived in this day of monster biographies, it may be easily conjectured that his complaint of the numerousness of books would have been supplemented by a sarcastic growl at their bulk. All parties suffer from this undue prolixity of literary commemoration. The quality of the volumes is deteriorated, their circulation contracted, the reader of them bored; while the object of the cult himself, instead of being presented in clear and sharp outline which stamps itself on the memory, becomes attenuated into a confused and washy image, indistinctly discerned and readily forgotten.

In the case before us, the mischief may be partly due to the fact that the work is the joint production of two authors, one of whom undertook the biography proper, and the other the science; in practical independence of each other, we should guess, and light-hearted irresponsibility for the resulting bulkiness. At any rate there is no room here for pleading in excuse that while the bereavement is recent, and the sense of loss bitter, it is difficult to restrict the volume in which affectionate admiration loves to pour itself forth. The lapse of seventeen years was surely ample enough to allow the cooler judgment to control the effusiveness of the heart.

The pictorial illustrations with which the letter-press is enlivened are significant of the scale on which the work is constructed. Besides four portraits or sketches of the subject of the memoir, we find one of his father, another of John Dawson,

Dawson, the remarkable old surgeon-mathematician with whom he read for a few months before entering Cambridge, and a third of Dr. Woodward, the founder of the Geological Professorship of which Sedgwick was the seventh tenant. Then we have two views of the street of his native place, the little town of Dent, and another of the vicarage in which he was born, a drawing of the farm-house in which he lodged while he was a boy at Sedbergh school, a sketch of the old doorway of the school, a view of the house at Norwich occupied by him when in residence as Canon of the Cathedral, and another of a fountain erected to his memory at his birth-place. All this may possibly afford gratification to leisurely readers with whom time is no object, but it can scarcely be called business. Still more flagrant is the waste of room caused by prefacing the biography with a chapter of forty-four pages devoted to the geography, history, and social characteristics of the vale of Dent; and by taking occasion of Sedgwick's election to the Woodwardian Professorship to fill another long chapter with notices of its founder, and of the first six occupants of the Chair. One may be thankful that a line has been drawn somewhere in the range of possible topics, and that the record of Sedgwick's election on the foundation of Trinity has not been expanded into a history of the great College, with notices of its royal founder. Speaking more generally, we should say that the letters selected for publication, charming as many of them are beyond all other contents of the work, are twice as many as are needed to exhibit the writer's personality and character; and that a great deal of space besides is needlessly taken up by trivial details of geological tours, which really afford neither instruction nor entertainment. Occasionally, too, a more severe reticence would have been desirable about unedifying and long-buried contentions, notably the quarrel with Sir Roderick Murchison, and the war of pamphlets with Dr. French, the Master of Jesus College. The account given of the latter incident has, we notice, elicited, and we fear with reason, an indignant protest from one of Dr. French's representatives.

Having thus despatched the least grateful portion of our critical task, from which as wielding for the nonce the bâton of the literary police we have not thought it right to shrink, we pass on with relief to the more pleasing part of our office. While endeavouring to arrive at an estimate of Sedgwick's character and achievement, it must be borne in mind that his bringing up was an entirely rude and rustic one, among the hardy dalesmen of the north-west corner of Yorkshire where it

juts into Westmorland, whose warm blood, simplicity of character, and sturdy features of both mind and body were his best inheritance. He tells us himself, 'I never saw London till I was a Fellow of Trinity College, after six years of University residence.' Here may be found, it seems, the explanation of the singularly dull and barren record of his youth and early manhood, during which he was wearing off his awkward rusticity and ignorance of the world, and slowly growing into familiarity with a more advanced culture and thought. In fact, the only point of interest presented by this portion of his life is the piquant contrast between his strong domestic affections, and his professed contempt, perhaps in part affected, for matrimony. What could be tenderer than his language about his mother! 'The word "Mother" has a charm in its sound, and there was a blank in the face of nature, and a void in my heart, when I ceased to have one. . . . The memory of my dear mother and my dear old father throws a heavenly light over all the passages of my early life.' Yet what more cynical than the language of his early manhood about the tenderest of all relations! To his most intimate friend, William Ainger, afterwards Principal of St. Bees, and Canon of Chester, he writes at the age of twenty-three, 'Marriage may be all well enough when a man is on his last legs, but you may depend on it that to be linked to a wife is to be linked to misery. From the horrid state of matrimony I hope long to be delivered;' and three years later, he rejoices that a friend with whom he is staying 'is not tormented by that bane of domestic happiness, *a wife*.' Yet, if ever a man revelled in female society, especially that of lively damsels, finding in it a stimulus which quickened his faculties and brightened his life, it was Sedgwick in his maturer years. Nor, by his own confession, was even his earlier life free from affairs of the heart. In a letter written in his seventieth year, giving an account of a visit to Matlock in 1818, when he was thirty-three, he says, 'That year I was a dancing-man, and I fell three-quarters in love, but as you know did not put my head through love's noose.' Again, in a playful letter to one of his young female confessors three years earlier, he parenthetically acknowledges, 'I have all my life been thought like Romeo, and, like him, I have been sadly crossed in love.' Not till late in life did he quite renounce the prospect of marriage, and even then with an evident pang, as we learn from a letter written when he was sixty: 'I have now given up all thoughts of marriage, and it is high time, is it not? But, do you know, it is a very hard thing for a man to give up, even at my own time of life.' In the whimsical manner which was characteristic of him, he laid at the

the door of his sponsors his doom to die unmarried. 'Both my godfathers,' he used to say, 'are old bachelors, and my god-mother (God be with her!) is as arrant an old maid as ever whispered scandal round a tea-table. My own destinies were therefore fixed at the font, and I already feel myself fast sinking in the mire of celibacy.' But the lot was of his own choosing. If till middle life want of pecuniary means was an insurmountable hindrance, before he had completed his half-century the obstacle was removed by the offer from Lord Brougham of a valuable Chancellor's living. Commenting on his refusal of this for the sake of his Fellowship and Geological Chair, his biographer remarks, 'Sedgwick made a fatal mistake when he cut himself off irrevocably from marriage . . . In the loneliness which is inseparable from old age within the precincts of a College, he not seldom dwelt upon what might have been, had he been blest with a wife and children.'

Of the truth of this remark the published correspondence offers frequent confirmation. For instance, at fifty-eight he pathetically writes: 'I have been a bad economist of my happiness; I am withering on the ground without fruit or blossom, and am not permitted to live over again in the joys of the young who are near and dear to me.' And again, four years later: 'I am certain that I have not been a good economist of my own happiness. But I am never in good spirits for a day or two after my return from College. 'Tis after all but a cold home.' In less direct ways also the sense of having missed a blessing which might have been his for the asking betrays itself more or less clearly. It may be detected in his delight in romantic love-affairs, and in the weddings of his young friends, and perhaps in the relish with which he promises Dr. and Mrs. Somerville to rig up for them in College 'a regular four-posted matrimonial bed—a thing utterly out of our regular monastic system.' So also in his enthusiastic admiration for the great Swedish singer:—'Jenny Lind has been here . . . Were it not a sin, I should envy the man who is going to marry her. It once or twice struck me how charming it would be to have her at one's side and to teach her English. Is it not said that old men dream dreams?' One passage must be added, for the sake of illustrating the mixture of fun and pathos, which was habitual with him. Informing a correspondent that he had returned to Norwich to assist at the marriage of the Bishop's niece, he goes on:—

'Whenever I am seen in Norwich all the lasses cry out with ecstasy, "There's Professor Sedgwick, and now we shall have a wedding!" I am looked on as Dan Cupid's whipper-in and Hymen's torchbearer.'

torchbearer. A fool may be a wit's whetstone (better a whetstone than nothing), and an old bachelor, if he do nothing else, may warn by his example, and teach men not to do as he has done, but to listen to reason, and learn how to love wisely before the soul is withered in a withered body.'

Another thing to be taken into account, when the limitation or partial failure of Sedgwick's career, in comparison with his great abilities, is to be explained, is the almost continuous ill-health to which he was subject from his early manhood. 'From 1813 to his death,' says his biographer, 'he could never count on robust health for even a single day.' Undoubtedly the scantiness of his achievement as a whole was due, in a considerable degree, to a defect in his native temperament, which with all its energy and emotional force lacked steadfastness and concentration, and never allowed him to be thoroughly loyal to his vocation as a man of science. But the effect of constitutional weakness of purpose, in impairing and limiting his work, was certainly aggravated to a serious extent by the continual recurrence of fits of physical infirmity, which were almost sure to interrupt and postpone the business in hand, whenever it made a call on his powers for peculiar application and sustained self-restraint. This may fairly be pleaded in extenuation of the somewhat severe judgment passed upon him by his biographer, when describing the position in which Sedgwick found himself on his election to the Geological Chair:—

'Most men in the position which Sedgwick now held, with an annual course of lectures to deliver, the value of which had received a substantial acknowledgment from the University—a Museum to maintain—and the almost boundless field of geology before him, a *terra incognita* of which he had just commenced the exploration—would have devoted themselves to their new duties with a singleness of purpose which would have excluded most other interests. But this was what Sedgwick never could bring himself to do. He had no intellectual self-control; he could never shut his eyes and ears to what was going on around him; and we shall continually find his geological work laid aside for long intervals, because he had allowed himself to be carried away by something foreign to what ought to have been the real purpose of his life—something which others less occupied than himself would have done as well [as], or better than he did. . . . The consequences may be easily imagined. Geological memoranda which ought to have been arranged when the subject was fresh in his mind were laid aside: specimens remained for months—sometimes for years—undetermined, or even not unpacked; promised papers were not finished—perhaps not begun.'

To the same effect was the opinion which his brother-geologist, but on a higher level of science, expressed after Sedgwick had explained

explained to him his refusal of the Chancellor's living, and his resolve to hold on to geology till he had brought out a volume on the primary rocks—'a book,' he said, 'with which I have been pregnant for seven or eight years':—

'I know Sedgwick well enough,' wrote Lyell, in his diary, 'to feel sure that the work won't be done in a year, nor perhaps in two; and then a living, &c., won't be just ready, and he is growing older. He has not the application necessary to make his splendid abilities tell in a work. Besides, every one leads him astray. A man should have some severity of character, and be able to refuse invitations, &c. The fact is that to become great in science a man must be nearly as devoted as a lawyer, and must have more than mere talent.'

In his whimsical way Sedgwick pretended to ascribe his valetudinarian habit to circumstances attending his birth which were a favourite topic of his lighter moods. Here is the latest version of them, written to one of his young-lady intimates in his eighty-sixth year:—

'Tis a damp wind that tortures the hygrometrical skin I owe to an old hag of a midwife. I will let you into a secret! In the year 1785 I was introduced into this wicked, freezing, and fighting world by an aged midwife, who wrapped my youthful person in a hygrometrical envelope, which stuck so tightly to me that (with all my rubbing, scraping, kicking, and plunging, for eighty-five long years) I have never been able to shake it off. Here it is—creased and fretted a little—but as close a fit as ever!

We are on safer ground when we accept the more serious explanation given by him, in the way of warning, to the young men of his geological class at the close of his fortieth annual course of lectures, under the impression that he was taking a final leave of them, though in fact he continued to lecture for twelve years more. The notes for the occasion contain the following passage:—'I lost my health by hard reading—by the festive habits of the University—and for five years I was in a condition often of wretchedness. Caution the young men.' It must not be inferred from this frank confession that he was ever given to any excess beyond what was customary in those days of rude conviviality; indeed, for the greater part of his long life he was exceptionally temperate. The mischief was begun early, in his native place where, as his biographer tells us, 'from the young men of his own age, whose ideas of amusement were confined to sport, wakes, and drinking-bouts, he could have learnt nothing but tastes and customs more honoured in the breach than the observance.' Unfortunately the tone of society at Cambridge, during the first fifteen years of the century,

was

was scarcely such as to bring the incautious youth under that discipline of self-restraint, which a few years later was imperiously forced upon him by the break-down of his health. How keen were his regrets may be seen from the utterances of his declining years. 'What a comparative blank my life has been! If I ever conceived a plan, I rarely began it, or I left others to carry it out.' 'With you,' he once wrote to Whewell, 'supply and demand go together in deeds, with me only in words. *Vox et præterea nihil* should be my motto.'

In compensation for physical infirmity Sedgwick's temperament was an elastic one, providing him with an inexhaustible fund of high spirits which found amusement everywhere, and made even his bodily pains a subject of grotesque description. Perhaps his letters during the last third of his life are too full of his ailments, but they are not the less entertaining on that account. Now he is 'as mellifluous as a frog'; then 'my nose is quite indecent—my eyes are two living fountains of salt water; voice I have none that is human, but I sometimes bark like an old toothless mastiff. I am little better than a barking automaton.' He is tormented by influenza, but has his revenge in telling a fair correspondent that 'the influenza is worse than Circe's dose. It turns a man, even a beautiful man like myself (for surely, my dear Kate, you might say of me in Milton's own words, "Adam, the goodliest man of men since born"), into a slimy reptile.' Gout prostrates him, and compels him to make colchicum his meat and drink for a month, till he is 'as stupid as an ill-fed jackass, and as cross as a cat with its foot in a trap.' For a cough he is rubbed and reddened with a liniment which gave him 'a sort of horrible red mange, and made him unfit for a civilized piggery.' At another time he feels as if his 'bones were all gelatinized, and his brain turned into cold starch.' Other personal peculiarities come in for a share of his fun. His handwriting is a series of vicious inclinations. His rugged, dark-complexioned face becomes his 'weather-beaten, time-harried, smoke-dried physiognomy.' *Apropos* of which the well-known story is repeated how Sedgwick, Whewell, and Peacock, were one day standing on the hearth-rug in front of a mirror, and Sedgwick catching sight of the three faces in reflection exclaimed, 'I declare the three ugliest men in England are standing on this rug at the present moment!'

The turning-point of Sedgwick's career was his election to the Woodwardian Chair in his thirty-fourth year. Up to that period he had shown no marked predilection for any particular kind of life-work. To procure a livelihood had been his sole object. 'It was sheer poverty that drove me into harness,' was
his

his own confession. For this he toiled at mathematics, as the most paying line of study, and he was rewarded by the high honour of being fifth Wrangler, and two years later by a Fellowship. Private tuition and a College lectureship in mathematics naturally followed, and he found the duties they entailed a distasteful drudgery. After seven years' tenure of his Fellowship the statutes compelled him to take holy orders; but how little vocation he felt for the sacred office may be inferred from the cool way in which he notified to his friend Ainger his appointment, while absent seven years later on a geological trip, to a small College living, a few miles from Cambridge: 'I found by a letter that I was presented by the College to a small living near Cambridge which I can hold with my Fellowship. A few hours after I reached Cambridge I went up to London to be instituted. To-morrow I read in. . . I fear I shall not have much time for sermons, but I have hired a curate.' From the weary listlessness and 'melancholy depression of mind'—to use his own phrase—engendered by the failure to find any congenial employment for the powers of which he was conscious, the opportune vacancy in the Geological Professorship at last delivered him. That he clutched eagerly at this opening into a freer life, as a drowning man seizes hold of anything that may save his life, is apparent from his manner of informing Ainger of his intention to become a candidate. After speaking of the recent successes of Trinity men, he goes on—

'Notwithstanding this blaze of honours, I am most heartily sick of my connection with the Tuition, and only wish for an adequate motive for resigning all hopes in that quarter. Now such a motive will probably present itself; for it is generally expected in Cambridge that the Woodwardian Professorship will be vacant by the marriage of Hailstone. In case that event should take place I mean to offer myself as a candidate. . . . If I succeed, I shall have a motive for *active* exertion in a way which will promote my intellectual improvement, and I hope make me a happy and useful member of society. I am not such a fool as to suppose that my present employment is useless; and my pecuniary prospects are certainly better than they would be if I were Woodwardian Professor. Still, as far as the improvement of the mind is considered, I am at this moment doing nothing. Nay, I often very seriously think that I am doing worse than nothing; that I am gradually losing that little information I once had, and very sensibly approximating to that state of fatuity to which we must all come if we remain here long enough.'

On the other hand his election could only be justified on the principle, that of a science in its infancy, about which few possess

possess more than a mere smattering of knowledge, a clever energetic man, whose mind in regard to it is still a blank, is likely to turn out as good a teacher as any one else. Only one opponent faced him at the poll, Mr. Gorham, afterwards famous as the hero of the great ecclesiastical suit. Sedgwick's account of his own success is probably more amusing than accurate. 'I had but one rival, Gorham of Queen's,' he said, 'and he had not the slightest chance against me, for I knew absolutely nothing of geology, whereas he knew a good deal—but it was all wrong!' What really determined the voting was not any suspicion of the soundness of Gorham's geological faith, but the attractive character of Sedgwick, which by this time had gained him many enthusiastic adherents: the result, it must be confessed, vindicated the choice. The new Professor flung himself with all his fiery energy into the enterprise of acquiring a practical acquaintance with the science on which he was to lecture in the following spring; and in measure as he learnt himself he taught and continued to teach his pupils, till he had accomplished fifty-two annual courses of lectures without a single intermission.

That Sedgwick ever attained the highest rank as a teacher of his science cannot be fairly claimed for him. Even as a popular expositor, he rather 'fired the imaginations' of his audience, to employ his own phrase, than laid out his subject in clear and logical order. With age his lectures became extremely discursive; personal reminiscences, biographical touches, brilliant bursts and laughter-kindling jokes, being mixed up with the more prosaic details, so as to produce a miscellaneous conglomerate, more delightful in the hearing than profitable for the examination room. With regard to the quality of his intellect, it is not, we think, unfair to say that it was not eminently a scientific one. What he excelled in most was field-work—practical observation of the dip, cleavage, and succession of strata; in this department of geology he did admirable service towards placing the new science on a firm foundation. But in co-ordinating the vast array of facts so as to form out of them a basis for the great cosmical theories which are the inheritance of his successors, he lagged behind his more philosophical contemporaries. He never broke loose from the entanglement of attempted reconciliations with the Biblical cosmogony, never ceased to invoke 'successive creations of the organic kingdoms' to account for the order of life revealed in the rocks and clays: Lyell's great generalization of uniformity was always a stumbling-block to him, and evolution in every shape was to the end hated by him with a perfect hatred.

hatred. It was years before he could discard the puerile idea, that the 'vast masses of diluvial gravel scattered almost over the surface of the earth' were all due to the single catastrophe of the Noachian deluge; and not till after half a century of geological study could he bring himself to ascribe any validity to the evidences for the vast antiquity of the human race, as contrasted with the historical period. Taken altogether, with all his acknowledged quickness of eye for the physical phenomena of the earth's surface, he was rather a journeyman-worker than a master in the field of his science; yet in this subordinate position, by his ardour and enterprise, his racy utterances and social charm, he did more to popularize the subject than many who from the merely scientific point of view must be ranked considerably above him.

It is easy to perceive that Sedgwick's experiences, as hammer in hand—'Old Thor' he used to call it—he climbed the mountains, roamed through the valleys, and scoured the plains in search of geological knowledge, played a leading part in the development of his social faculties. He mixed with persons of every class and every degree of culture, gaily stood the fire of jokes to which the early explorers of the strata were exposed, and made himself at home everywhere. His biographer's sketch of him on his excursions is too pleasant to be passed over:—

'He always contrived to combine a large amount of amusement with business. "That lively gentleman, Mr. Sedgwick," as he was called by a stranger who met him in a stage-coach, had a happy knack of making himself agreeable to everybody with whom he happened to be brought into contact, and his geological tours gave him a wide and varied experience of mankind. With all sorts and conditions of men—quarrymen, miners, fishermen, smugglers, shepherds, artizans, grooms, innkeepers, clergy of all denominations, squires, noblemen—he was equally communicative, and soon became equally popular. He could make the most silent talk, and could extract information and amusement out of materials that seemed at first sight destitute of either quality.'

All the while a deeper education of his inner man was going forward. Till his appointment to the Norwich Canonry in his fiftieth year—Lord Brougham's last act as Chancellor—we find little to remind us of his sacred office; but from that time we begin to observe beneath the exuberance of the social life an unobtrusive piety, which had been rooting itself unseen in the depths of his being. His faith appears to have always remained as simple as in the days of his youth, but with years it assumed more and more the government of his life, and at last filled his heart with a settled peace and hope. From a favourite niece,
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who lovingly ministered to his comforts in the final stage of his earthly course, we have a touching and beautiful account of the closing scenes; of which, since it is too sacred for reproduction here, we are content to remark that it breathes of the humility, trust, and love, which are the most appropriate ornaments of the aged Christian's soul in the prospect of death.

We have said that Sedgwick's own letters form the peculiar charm of the book. It was here that he unbosomed himself without reserve, and unconsciously, but with inimitable skill, drew a portrait of himself. Never was the epistolary pen employed with more *abandon* and ease; never did there issue from it a greater wealth of picturesque and racy expression. Each passing emotion of a peculiarly impressible mind and heart is reflected to the life; and whether the writer is letting off his 'tearing spirits' in excellent fooling, or pouring out his heart in tender affection, or administering wise counsel and consolation, or trenchantly dealing with political and social questions, all is equally unstudied and natural. No extracts that our space will allow would give any adequate idea of the amusement to be found in many of the letters; all we can attempt is to pick out a passage here and there which adds a touch to the writer's portraiture of himself.

His account of the commencement of his residence at Norwich claims the first notice:—

'My residence at Norwich forms a strange episode in my history. Now that I am once again in my old haunts, I can hardly believe that I have not been dreaming. While there, I was in the position of Vice-Dean. In the absence of the Dean I was the official representative of the dignity of the Chapter—called upon to practise a series of formal hospitalities in a queer, old-fashioned, in-and-out, ugly old house. Several times I was afraid of being on my beam-ends, but by some special providence I was saved from shipwreck, and am at last safe in port. Everybody was kind and hospitable; indeed, I have been almost killed with kindness: and all the good old Tory inhabitants of the rookery seemed mightily anxious to see how such a monster as a Whig Prebendary would behave at meals; and you may depend upon it they have all been much built up with the sight. I did, however, contrive to bring together more heretics and schismatics within my walls than ever had been seen before in a Prebendal house since the foundation of the Cathedral. Independents and High Churchmen were seen licking out of the same flesh-pots, and Quakers crossed my threshold without fear and trembling. . . . Friend Amelia [Mrs. Opie] you know well. I like her much; but I never dared to rumple her cap in the way you mention. I have also been much given to preaching, holding forth twice, and sometimes thrice, on a Sunday.'

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It may be inferred that Sedgwick's ecclesiastical predilections were far apart from those of the new Oxford School, the rise of which he had watched with anxiety; and many were the words of uncompromising censure it received from him. Here is his comment on the secessions of 1845. 'You will before this have heard that Newman and more than twenty others of the Oxford School have at length gone over to Rome. Shame on them that they did not do so long since! Their attempt to remain in the Church of England while they held opinions such as they have published only proves that fanaticism and vulgar honesty can seldom shake hands and live together. I pity their delusion, I despise their sophistry, and I hate their dishonesty.' Five years afterwards he sounded an emphatic note of warning against Romanizing tendencies, in the overgrown preface to the fifth edition of his 'Discourse on the Studies of the University'—that curiously made-up volume to which has been wittily transferred the description of a singed sheep's head, as having 'some fine confused eating in it;'—and his estimate of the 'High Church party' never changed. For instance, writing when he was eighty a farewell to Livingstone, he speaks sorrowfully of their 'formal superstitious observances,' and 'the idolatrous element rife amongst us;' and two years later he notes as one of the evil signs of the times, 'the coxcombry and Popish apery of numerous clergymen of the Church of England.' The same attitude of mind prompted his expression of thankfulness to Julius Hare, for his defence of Luther against the 'mincing dilettantes and rabid reviewers who had joined in open-mouthed cry against the greatest and best man who has lived since the days of the first Apostles.'

Indeed, everything new in the Church excited his ire. The Church Congress was 'a great theological Babel,' from which when it assembled at Norwich he fled for refuge to Lowestoft. Convocation fared no better at his hands: witness the following outburst:—

'The debates carried on in the Houses of Convocation often fill me with amazement; sometimes they are dull enough—a kind of pious windbag which ought to stuff a hassock. Then they expose to view seared medieval knick-knacks of antiquated pattern. Then come tricks of art, and new terms of a new logic. Then comes a fermentation and a fire, such as transforms men's nature, and makes meek men into sons of thunder. Does it not seem to you that common-sense has of late seldom found a chair to sit down on within the limits of Jerusalem Chamber?'

Altogether Dean Goulburn was not without justification in saying, 'He was exceedingly narrow in his religious opinions.

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I do not think I ever came across a man so intellectually powerful, and so very highly cultivated, who was equally so.' In illustration he tells a good anecdote. Sedgwick was invited to meet at the Bishop's palace the 'Eastern Bishops,' that is, the Bishops of the Eastern counties who annually met for conference at each other's houses; but misunderstanding the phrase he burst out,—'Eastern Bishops, Sir! no! I wouldn't for the world break bread with such a pack of superstitious rascals!—quite as bad as the Catholics.' This may be capped by another story. The Dean had reinstated in the Choir the ancient lectern, a fine eagle, and requested the Canons to read the lessons from it; but Sedgwick, disliking the innovation, continued to read them from his stall. Whereupon being remonstrated with by one of his female admirers, who said she had quite looked forward to seeing him at the lectern, he exclaimed, 'What? me, Ma'am! me! expose myself before that bird! Nothing shall induce me!' At first even the ordinary Cathedral ritual was extremely irksome to him, but happily the years were speedily passed when he could write of it, 'These long services cut my time to shreds, and destroy the spirit of labour. We have the shadow of Catholicism without a grain of its substance, for not one of the Chapter thinks himself better for these heartless formalities, or nearer heaven. A cold empty Cathedral, and a set of unwilling hirelings singing prayers for an hour together,' and so on. The time came when he was quite a popular preacher during his term of residence, and thoroughly enjoyed his life. His genius for friendship found at Norwich its greatest scope, and as a member of Bishop Stanley's family said, 'He threw a mantle of love over every one, and loved us and was beloved by all as no one in Norwich ever was, or ever will be again.'

The whole story of Sedgwick's connection with Prince Albert, and his flattering experiences at Court, is given in the biography chiefly by means of his own copious letters, and so told it admirably exhibits both the beautiful simplicity of his own character, and the warm regard which he won for himself in the highest place. When the Chancellorship of the University unexpectedly became vacant in 1847 through the sudden death of the Duke of Northumberland, Sedgwick, then Vice-Master of Trinity, and acting for the College in the Master's absence, promoted the Prince's candidature, and after his election became his secretary at Cambridge. The new duties and responsibilities arising out of this office of course 'put geology, viewed as the serious pursuit of his life, still further into the background;' but his chivalrous loyalty to the Queen, and the delight of being
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useful to her husband, made him proud and happy in accepting it. In the brilliant installation festivities which followed he took a leading part, both as Vice-Master of the Royal College and one of the Prince's suite; and when the Queen told him of her gratification at the splendid reception which had been given to herself and her husband, he replied that 'the value of our cheers was this, that they were given in all loyalty and with the whole heart.' A visit to Osborne followed before the end of the year, the particulars of which, even down to the most minute, were related in a diary-letter to his niece with all the relish and simplicity of a child. Several years later it was at the Prince's express desire that he accepted a seat in the 'Royal Commission to enquire into the Revenues of the University,' offered him by Lord John Russell. Two reasons had strongly disinclined him to undertake this uncongenial office: one that he foresaw that 'the Commission will be abused in good set terms, and without any regard to truth, honour, or reason;' the other—a more curious one,—that it was only by the tacit connivance of the Senate that he continued to hold the stall at Norwich with his Professorship, and he feared that if he accepted the office of Commissioner the Senate might turn against him, and some angry member would call on the Vice-Chancellor to do his duty by introducing a grace to compel him to fulfil the conditions of Dr. Woodward's will.

It may easily be imagined how deeply Sedgwick was affected by the death of the good Prince. 'I am very sorrowful,' he writes, 'and have often had my eyes filled with tears:' and when next month he received two large lithographic portraits of the Queen and the Prince, inscribed, 'By command of Her Majesty the Queen. *In memoriam*, Jan. 1862,' he says, 'When I had gazed at those two portraits, side by side, for a few seconds, I sat down and wept like a child.' More touching still was his last interview with the Queen a few months afterwards, a summons having called him to Windsor for a private audience. 'It does seem strange to me,' he tells a friend, 'when I think of it, but I believe I was the first person, out of her own family, to whom she fully opened her heart, and told of her sorrows. After the first greeting, when I bent one knee and kissed her hand, there was an end of all form, and the dear sorrowing lady talked with me as if I had been her elder brother. "He had the greatest regard for you," she said, "and that was why I had a strong desire to talk with you without reserve." Don't accuse me of vanity, above an old man's measure, for writing this. It was assuredly the most remarkable event of my summer's life.' Writing a message of grateful thanks to the Queen afterwards
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through one of her ladies, he says, 'The remembrance of that audience, and the thoughts that spring out of it, are often present with me in the House of God, and still more are they with me when I bend my knees in private, and ask Him to bless our Sovereign.' It is to the same occasion that the following little anecdote refers. On returning to Cambridge, Sedgwick was accosted by a lady: 'You have been to Court, Professor, since I saw you last.' 'No, madam,' he replied, 'I have *not* been to Court: I have been to see a Christian woman in her affliction.'

We have left to the last a special notice of the most fascinating part of the volumes before us—the large collection of letters addressed by Sedgwick to his nieces and other young ladies with whom he had formed intimate and delightful friendships. For the mixture of lively narrative, wise counsel, and overflowing playfulness, we do not know any bundle of letters to surpass these. He did himself an injustice when he once wrote to one of his fair correspondents, 'Ever since I was fifteen (for more than half a century) all young ladies have been to me a most amazing puzzle;' for he certainly knew the way to their hearts. Of what is best in woman, the conception which he loved to impress upon them may in these days of advanced ideas wear an old-fashioned look, but perhaps may be none the worse for that. 'Simplicity, humility, and charity,' he used to say, 'are a woman's best graces.' But 'dragonesses of blues' were little to his taste. 'I think I have heard it said,' he remarks on one occasion, 'that a good woman might have her stockings as blue as you like, only she ought to have petticoats long enough to cover them.' He voted in the minority against the extension to girls of the local University examinations, thinking that 'the plan will be a mere stepping-way to the puffing of second-rate forward chits and Bloomers;' and it is on record that in Hall, after the grace had been carried in their favour, when a brother Fellow remarked, 'I never could have believed that the University would have sunk so low as this,' he replied, 'No, indeed! nasty forward minxes, I call them!' A well-informed woman was the object of his admiration, and to his 'dearest Isabella' and his 'darling Fankin' he gave many instructions in the art of mental cultivation; but, between what he wished them to become, and the woman that tries to ape the man, he drew a strong line of demarcation. When pouring out to Lyell his denunciations of his special *bête-noire*, the anonymous 'Vestiges of Creation,' which for a time he thought must be a woman's work, because of the 'gracefulness of the externals' which covered 'its inner de-

formity

formity and foulness,' he gives full expression to his view of woman's rightful sphere:—

'She longed for the fruit of the tree of knowledge, and she must pluck it right or wrong. In all that belongs to tact and feeling I would trust her before a thousand breeches-wearing monkeys: but petticoats are not fitted for the steps of a ladder. And 'tis only by ladder-steps we are allowed to climb to the high platforms of natural truth. Hence most women have by nature a distaste for the dull realities of physical truth, and above all for the labour-pains by which they are produced. When they step beyond their own glorious province, where high sentiment, kind feeling, moral judgments most pure and true, and all the graces of imagination, flash from them like heaven's light, they mar their nature (of course there are some exceptions), and work mischief, or at best manufacture compounds of inconsistency. The mesmeric dreamer and economist in petticoats is, I think, no exception to this remark.'

At the same time he welcomed the 'petticoated bipeds' to his lectures, and the account he gives of them to one of his fair favourites is delicious:—

'Do you know that the Cambridge daughters of Eve are like their mother, and love to pluck fruit from the tree of knowledge? They believe in their hearts that geologists have dealings with the spirits of the lower world; yet in spite of this they came, and resolved to learn from me a little of my black art. And, do you know, it is now no easy matter to find room for ladies, so monstrously do they puff themselves, out of all nature, in the mounting of their lower garments, so that they put my poor lecture-room quite in a *bustle*. Lest they should dazzle my young men, I placed them, with their backs to the light, on one side of my room. And what do you think was the consequence? All my regular academic class learnt to squint, long before my course was over. If you can't understand this, come and see for yourself; and I will promise you that when you set your foot in my lecture-room, and sit down with your back to the light, you will make them all squint ten times worse than ever.'

The little gallant turn at the close of this extract was very characteristic of Sedgwick. To another of his correspondents he writes, 'Had I not been born forty years too soon, I would have made love to you in such an ardent manner that you would surely have been melted, and I should have carried you in my arms to the altar-rails.' But if not so ardent, the following specimen of excellent fooling in this strain is the prettier, and with it we must bring our extracts to a conclusion:—

'I have found your lost glove and now return it. Call therefore all your lady friends together, and tell them to rejoice with you. But it was cruel of you to ask for it, as it was the only glove of the
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kind in my old College den; and indeed I had watched it and fostered it, with as much care as if it had been the big Punjaub diamond. Now that you have it, pray take care of it. Gloves have done much mischief—sometimes they have been symbols of love—sometimes of deadly hate and furious fight—sometimes they may have symbolized both love and hate—for purring and scratching are often close together. But these are mysteries I have long outlived. All I have to say is—take care of your glove, and keep it safe till the day a priest orders you to pull off your glove, and give your bare hand to the happiest man in England. . . . Had I been forty years younger, I should have cried out with Romeo, "Oh that I were a glove!" or perhaps I might have come with your glove pinned to the left side of my waistcoat, and asked you to wear the man that bore it so near his heart.'

Being such as this biography truly exhibits him, it is no wonder that Adam Sedgwick was the pride of his College, and the idol of his large circle of friends, down to the end of his prolonged life. If it was not given him to lay posterity under a lasting obligation, by bequeathing to it some epoch-making work which should be a possession for ever, the least that can be said is that in his own generation he filled his place nobly, and left many to mourn him whose lives had been brightened by his affectionate and playful solicitude, and their hearts strengthened in goodness by his wise lessons and fair example. Well would it be for the world if there were many more of whom it could be as truly recorded, as it is of him in the Cathedral which knew him so well, that in him met together an imperial love of truth, an illustrious simplicity of character, and an unshaken constancy in the faith.

- ART. V.—1. *L'Empire des Tsars et les Russes.* Par Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu. Paris, 1881 and 1886.
 2. *Pères et Enfants. Terres Vierges.* Par Ivan Tourgénéff.
 3. *Journal de Marie Baskirtsheff.* Paris, 1890.
 4. *Open Letter to the Head of the Russian Synod, Privy Counsellor Constantine Pobiedonosieff.* By Hermann Dalton. Leipzig, 1890.

THERE is no subject, outside our own country and its belongings, which can be said to occupy, puzzle, and distress the English public more than what is heard of Russia at the present day. We hear of ever-recurring tales of injustice, dishonesty, and inhumanity; of the worst scandals, so far as we can learn, unrectified; of the worst corruptions regularly organized and recognized; of a nation with no backbone in the shape of a middle class; with an enormous army of soldiers, and an only lesser army of spies; with an automaton officialism which goes like clock-work, but marks only fraud and wrong; with a vicious and depraved noblesse, and an Imperial family guarded by double relays of police; and lastly, with an unrelenting body of conspirators—respecting nothing and fearing nothing—two stepping into the place where one has fallen. Russia, according to all this testimony, has reached a stage where it is impossible to foresee what she will do next. Nor is there any ancient spirit of gentleness and nobleness to appeal to, or hope to revive. Russia has no youthful Past. She has known no Crusades, no reign of Chivalry; and grand and generous traditions are as much wanting to her history as the Gulf Stream to her climate.

Curious is the present contrast between the two largest States in the world. A stranger will not be three days in the United States before he is asked on all sides what he thinks of America; he may live in Russia twenty years before he is asked the same question about her. Were he to start the subject at a dinner table, he would silence all present. And this from no invariable or distinct fear of consequences, but from ignorance, and habitual banishment of a topic which only the thinking few think about at all. Between these two facts of American inquisitiveness and Russian indifference, will be found that cause which all will immediately guess, and which consists simply in the far from unmixed good of freedom on the American part, and in the entirely unmixed evil of the reverse on the Russian.

No one has entered more profoundly into the causes and effects which are operating in Russia than M. Leroy-Beaulieu,
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well known as a distinguished journalist in the world of political enquiry. We announce nothing new in saying that Russia is cold, flat, and immense—three causes to begin with, from which the author deduces effects historical and national, alike novel and logical. Yet, enormous as is the territory, nine-tenths of which are still so slenderly inhabited that it cannot be called peopled, the inhabitants presenting an amalgam of races unexampled in any other European country—there is a unity of climate, soil, aspect, and language, which no European State one-tenth the size can show, and which marks her emphatically for the home of one people. Nor is there any natural frontier or line of demarcation to limit her boundaries. Two great divisions of soil, and two great contrasts of climate, are the features which break the dead monotony of Russia. The northern half is almost unbroken forest, the southern half almost unbroken steppe; each strengthening the unity of the whole by being indispensable to the other; the north supplying the fuel, and the south the corn; both being alike, an unbroken flat. The forest zone commences from above Archangel, and extends in ever-widening breadth below Moscow to the neighbourhood of Kief; the tree—the larch—that can easiest bear the high latitude leading the way; followed in an increasing scale of variety by other members of the fir tribe—especially by the spruce; by the birch, the logs of which supply the chief firewood in St. Petersburg; by the aspen, the alder, and so gradually by the elm, the lime, and finally by the oak and beech of our latitude. Some portions of this forest region to the north and east hardly know the foot of man; for when the long *terra firma* of winter breaks up, summer converts it into a dismal swamp, through which the rivers find no current, and stagnate into myriads of boggy islands and myriads of shallow lakes. In the government of Archangel alone there are above eleven hundred of such lakes.

The steppe zone lends itself more to the use of man, though from its immensity just as little to his control. The great character of the steppe is that it is dry and treeless—the dryness unfavourable to the growth of wood, and the absence of wood increasing the dryness. Still, the fertility of the soil is such as in great measure to compensate for the want of water. If ever there was a paradise on earth for an indolent race, the region of black earth—the *Tchernoziom*—in latitude 53° to 46°, is that for the Russian peasant. No manure has yet been wanted to make it produce corn enough for the relatively large population which its conditions have attracted; with the increase of the one implement needed, Man, and he with fitting tools, this
region

region could be made to produce corn enough for the whole bread-eating world. And even where the black earth ends, a fertility continues for thousands of miles, covering the earth with various grasses of rampant luxuriance and height, through which the calf, born at one extremity, eats its way leisurely, and emerges the full-grown cow at the other. And this region again could produce meat enough for the whole meat-eating world.

The immense extent of Russia tells its compass in the fact, that its animal life comprehends the two quadrupeds best adapted for cold and for heat—the reindeer and the camel; while between the extremes of heat and cold thus evidenced, the climate by no means agrees with those standards of latitude to which the other countries of Europe have habituated us. Heat and cold here overlap each other to an extent only approximately seen in North and South America. In January the greater part of Russia endures cold, and in July, heat; the regions which lie immediately to the north of the Black Sea having the temperature of Stockholm in the one month, and that of Madeira in the other; while spring and autumn are both too brief to soften such transitions. The same winter accordingly places north and south alike 'under the same snow. In January you may sledge from Archangel to Astrakan. The Sea of Azoff freezes as hard as the White Sea, and the Caspian as the Gulf of Finland. Russia has summers, but she cannot be said to have a southern climate, and a temperate one is unknown. These phenomena are owing to what M. Leroy-Beaulieu calls its huge "Continental size." The ocean is too distant to act, as in our little land, in tempering both extremes of cold and heat; while the configuration of the enormous mass deprives her of that moisture which we obtain from the Atlantic, and detain by the Alps and other minor hills. The flatness of the soil, only partly broken by the Ourals, derives no real shelter from them, while the fact that the same fauna and flora flourish on each side of them precludes the idea of any division of climate. Not till Russia reaches the Caucasian range is she defended alike from the cutting blasts from the Polar circle, and from the scorching winds from Central Africa. The author says cogently that with these extremes of heat and cold, and her illimitable size, Russia is too rude and untractable to have been the cradle of civilization, though admirably fitted to welcome and diffuse it. For, like North America and Australia, Russia, except in her extreme portions, offers a home acceptable to Europeans, where the activity of man can be exercised on the largest scale. Knowing how much

much the external conditions of our small island contribute to form the English character, M. Leroy-Beaulieu's arguments, drawn from the enormous extent of Russia, form one of his most interesting chapters.

That Russia should present such uniformity in her external features and yet offer a varied field for the ethnologist is again traceable to her configuration. The absence of all defined frontier has laid her open to every comer, and nowhere have the alluvial human beds been more mixed and broken up, nowhere is the human zoology more puzzling. For while the entry into her dominions has stood open for all invaders, her structure has prevented their settling into separate States. Where all alike is flat and accessible, no part could be isolated, no corner cut off, no recess appropriated; and so the invader melted soon into the native. The result has been a conglomeration of races in Russia proper, commenced before historical record, which has formed a substance, compounded, like granite, of various particles, but all contributing to its solidity. The Tartar, who conquered and overran the land six centuries ago, was the principal ingredient, and still forms a prominent element, as the proverbial character of Russian diplomacy still exemplifies.

M. Leroy-Beaulieu asks whether the Russian people are capable of civilization. We can only answer, 'Under conditions of freedom and good government, why not?' The outward man, in build, carriage, and manner, is prophetic of fine destinies. The Russian peasant is a tall, manly, and even grand-looking fellow—graceful and picturesque; speaks out like a man, and expresses himself like a gentleman,—that is, in the purest Russian, garnished with many a courteous and humorous, though obsequious phrase; stands upright, walks like a prince, beats his wife like many of our own countrymen; and if he gets 'drunk as a lord,' or as lords used to get, it is because in his hopeless life he has had no other choice of excitement. Once practically free—he is only, like 'Holy Russia' herself, theoretically so as yet—there are no insurmountable obstacles to his progress. If the country be too vast for its present population, time, as with the defect of youth (but always with better government), will cure that. The soil, as M. Leroy-Beaulieu significantly adds, is peculiarly fitted for free labour. No crueller or stupider blunder than that of the institution of serfdom was ever committed, for, unlike that of slavery in the West Indies, it was never needed. It may be that the peasant is as indolent as he is reported, but what slave ever worked harder than he could help? There is another view to be taken of his indolence. We must remember that

that for a man whose land is under deep snow above two hundred days in the year, agricultural labour does not exist for more than four months. But the peasant, with his gift of imitation, is clever with his hands. By nature and choice he is a petty merchant, and many a one fills up his long and dark evenings, under the light of his resinous and luminous splinter stuck into the wall above him, with half-a-dozen trades at which he is an humble adept—the long winter supplying the manufactures for the short summer's frequent fairs. The Russian people are children as yet, 'bearded children' as they have been called, and the longer they remain so under present circumstances the better. All example, whether for good or for evil, flows from above downwards, and cannot, by the law of political gravity, flow otherwise. The lower classes must therefore wait until those above them, 'spoilt savages' as they in their time have been termed, have become wiser and better, before they are exposed to the contamination of their example; and this, alas! presupposes no moderate lapse of time. Let them rather remain barbarous. It is an honest and vigorous barbarism, like that of the ancient Goth before the fall of Rome. The real barbarism resides in the composition and acts of his government, for as yet the people are an inert mass, unmoved by Nihilists or revolutionists, but with a pathetic inertness which points to past centuries of endurance. For notwithstanding the manly externals we have described, poor 'Ivan' is a gentle, submissive creature, with the virtues and vices of an oppressed race, and with the patient and resigned expression of such a race imprinted on him.

We demur, however, to M. Leroy-Beaulieu's interpretation of that expression; namely, that it is owing to the depressing nature of his struggle with the climate. On the contrary it may be doubted whether his climate be so depressing in certain respects as our own. However contradictory it may sound, it is nevertheless true that no one *suffers* from the cold in Russia; and for the simple reason that no one can do so with impunity—to suffer actually would be to perish. No struggle, therefore, can be attempted where the combatants are so unequally matched. The proof lies in the hygienic result. The Russian people know little of rheumatism, and all that numerous train to which we are heirs; they are not decimated by consumption—*die Englische Krankheit*, as it is called *par excellence*;—they catch no colds, and contract no 'chills'; have no conception what a chilblain means; while longevity, the best proof, though consistent with frightful mortality, is well ascertained to be greater in the Czar's dominions than elsewhere. A couple of
winters

winters spent in Russia spoil one for the harder struggle with that raw, damp, uncertain, uncomfortable thing we call winter; for the insufficient heat of our houses—especially of those of the poor—and for the insufficient clothing when out of them. The resigned expression on the part of the poor Russian is owing to another tyranny than that of his climate—the tyranny of subjection for centuries to the power and caprice of a master infinitely more uncivilized than himself.

Our author asks another question—whether, namely, the Russian people be more European or Asiatic in character? Nature has marked Russia for the site of a great empire; has she peopled her with a race capable of forming a great nation, or are they still Asiatics dressed in borrowed European clothes? To ask this of an uncivilized Slav-people, oppressed from time immemorial by incursions from the most backward and barbarous of Asiatics—Mongolian and Tartar races—who could not even till the ground, at last conquered by them in the thirteenth century, and retained under their domination for two centuries and a half—to ask such a question seems superfluous. To the fact that the Tartar rulers exercised their sovereignty with a barbaric mildness, it is owing that the deadening rule of Byzantium, the Greek Church, the modern Slavonian dialect, and the worst vices of both upper and lower Russian classes, have survived to this day. Like the Romans, but unlike the present Czar of Russia, the Khans of Tartary left those they had subdued the exercise both of their language and of their religion. When we consider the millions of human beings who have peopled Great Russia; their passivity and immobility—especially under the rule of ‘the Kites and Crows,’ as the late lamented Lady Verney called the Moscovite sovereigns who preceded Peter the Great—appear incomprehensible, except as the unmistakable characteristics of a people cradled in Asiatic traditions. M. Leroy-Beaulieu does his best to follow the numerous interlaced races that have left their traces on what is now Russian soil, showing us in a roundabout way that the Finns occupied the larger part of what is now called Russia, from Lapland to Hungary—which latter, of all countries, has the greatest present affinity in morals and history with Russia—the Finns themselves, from their intermixture with the Mongolians, only adding to the Asiatic element. The author fails, however, to answer his own question in any direct manner. Nor is it, we venture to think, answerable by any process of enquiry—ethnological, philological, or anthropological—we have no need to go back for proofs; the solution is as evident now as it could have been a thousand

thousand years ago, and confronts us unmistakably in all that follows upon the rule of an absolute Czar. Despotism in itself is Asiatic. Where a man, from his absolute power, is regarded by the ignorant masses with fanatical adoration, as able to redress all their wrongs, if he did but know them; and by the higher classes with a far more abject sycophancy, as able to bestow honours and places, and even, if adroitly flattered, to pay the invariable debts: where such a rule exists, the people, high and low, whether in Russia or Morocco, are not European, but Asiatic. The very words 'Asiatic' and 'European' are moral, not geographical terms, and can only be morally applied. What but an Asiatic people would so far abjure self-respect as to submit to an irresponsible rule? How they can best reform it is no business of ours. They have Moses and the prophets in the form of history: let them study that.

No country in the world has such an immense collection of laws as Russia. They occupy, we are told, twenty-one folio volumes, each containing two thousand pages. But, administered as they are, according to an unwritten code directly at cross purposes with them, it is easy to understand that, instead of being a source of good to his Imperial Majesty's numerous subjects, they are one of acknowledged evil, public, private, and social. Nor, in the nature of things, can it be otherwise. It is not under a ruler, who is himself placed above all laws, that men can be trained to respect and to work them. The Czar could, if he pleased, like the Eastern Sultan in the 'Arabian Nights,' condemn a baker to death for putting no pepper into cheese-cakes—and Russian Czars have done worse things—and his subjects would bow to his will. They would take care, it is true, that no cheese-cakes likely to be tasted by him should be pepperless in future, but they would charge him double for the pepper, put only half in, and steal the remainder. A citizen, who seeks conscientiously to live according to the laws of the land, instead of passing his days, as elsewhere, in peace and quiet, experiences a very different lot, and learns a very hard lesson. If he have money, there are plenty of ways of securing immunity for transgressing the laws; while, with or without money, he is sure to come to grief if he forsake the well-beaten paths of wrong. Of the two opposite courses, to keep or to break the laws, the latter is by far the most expedient. To do in Russia as the Russians do is the only safe course.

As to the much-to-be-pitied illustrious individual who lends himself as scapegoat for the sins and sufferings of his subjects—the man behind the Czar—we shall be assured that, like his murdered father, he is kind and humane, and eminently well-meaning.

meaning. This may be all true, but the public can only judge him by the deeds done in his name. As for the epithet 'well-meaning,' it is as the City of Refuge to the slayer of old, who slew his neighbour 'but hated him not before.' Even under the Levitical law it may be doubted whether the same offence could claim the same refuge every day. Nor is the excuse complimentary. 'Mr. Well-meaning' would have had but scant courtesy from the author of the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' We speak unreservedly, and with right; for the public have to do with the Czar, not with the man, however good he may be. The Czar is not so much a person as an Institution, the essence of which centres in the fatal fiction of one, at best incapable, individual. The personage who is in the position to say, *L'État, c'est moi*, possesses the power, if so minded, to do an infinitesimal amount of good, but also, whether he will or no, an unbounded amount of evil. Indeed, in the nature of things, and especially of present Russian things, he can hardly do otherwise; for even his most venial mistakes, interpreted and carried out by stupidity and corruption, expand, in their effects on the welfare of his subjects, into the dimensions and entail the results of positive crime. As long, therefore, as he retains that unshared power, which, short of revolution or of assassination, only his own will can concede, an absolute monarch must bear the responsibility he assumes, and take the consequences.

It would be useless and painful to relate here any of the particular instances of cruelty and oppression committed under the Sovereign's authority with which the English public is sickened; especially as regards the hideous administration which condemns men, women, and children, to a country 'disinherited by nature' and maltreats them on the road as well as there. They abound in English and American publications,* to say nothing of native works, published beyond the frontiers. It forms no part of the Imperial programme to vindicate itself, or to spare our Western susceptibilities by contradictions or explanations. Still, to give the Czar credit, as it is now the fashion, or perhaps the policy to do, for being ignorant of these charges, would be as grave an accusation as the charges themselves. If he really knows nothing of facts which so vitally affect the welfare of his subjects and his own public and

* See 'Fortnightly Review,' July 1890, "Report on Russian Prison Organization drawn up for the International Prison Congress"; 'Law Messenger.' Also, and more especially, the full, able, and unimpeachable account in the American 'Century Magazine,' "Siberia and the Exile System," by the traveller and eyewitness, Mr. George Kennan, in several numbers, beginning May 1888, and ending April 1889.

private character, then, we may venture to ask, what is it that he does know? A Ruler, who sends on an average about 24,000 of his subjects annually to Siberia, exposed to the double tyranny of the climate and of his corrupt officials—the greater number untried, and the greater number of the men in chains; who sends them moreover for thousands of miles on foot—the distance accomplished being about eighty miles a week, and therefore occupying an amount of time in itself a tremendous punishment—and sends them not only on foot, but virtually barefooted, for the foot-gear he provides scarcely lasts above two days; who further grants such a scant allowance for food, that it is obliged to be supplemented by alms (or by robbery) on the way; and at the end of each weary day thrusts the exiles into prisons reeking with pestilence, and not intended to hold above a third of the number—it is hard to believe that this Ruler does not know these facts, or could not know them if he would. Gaolers with common sense and feeling, however rare, are found even within the Arctic circle, and known to have addressed to the Czar the most urgent appeals against the inhumanity they are compelled to administer; but though demands for better barrack accommodation find ready attention, no notice is taken of the frightful state of the prisons.

But to turn to other chapters in the volume of indictments: the Czar, for instance, cannot fail to know what is familiar to thousands of his servants, that the inadequate pay of his officials furnishes the temptation for the universal corruption. The salary of a judge on the Russian Bench is 40*l.*, but it is notorious that the same individual has secretly purchased his seat for 4000*l.*, no position in the Russian bureaucracy offering a better investment.* Nor can he fail to know that the breakdown on the Kurst-Charkof-Asof line, in November 1888, which endangered his own and the Empress's life, and cost that of nineteen of their subjects, was no real accident, but the inevitable result of a system of peculation, which risks the safety of every structure, whether on land or water, entrusted to Russian hands. Still less, in common justice, can he be unaware of the years that suspected, or at any rate accused, persons are detained in solitary confinement—even in St. Petersburg itself, in the Peter and Paul fortress, in cells below the level of the Neva, before being brought to trial—an instance being known of a wretched being, overlooked by his accusers and cut off so long from light and life, as to have become the sport of his gaolers for having *forgotten his own name!* It is

* 'The Russians of To-day,' p. 78.

indeed hard to believe that 'the sorrowful sighing of such prisoners' cannot reach the Imperial ears; if it fail to do so, it can only be because they are singularly obtuse. But, if it be possible that no councillor or minister of patriotism and intelligence has ventured to open those ears, then poor Madame Tschebrikova has at all events supplied their place by her plain-spoken letter to Alexander III.,* and is doubtless suffering for her heroism in some prison the locality of which he knows.

'Look, Sire, at what you allow to take place; look at what you are doing, either consciously or not . . . and you will see that order, maintained by thousands of soldiers, by legions of functionaries, by an army of spies—that order, in the name of which every word of protestation is suppressed, that this order is not order at all, but a state of administrative anarchy.'

All we have here recapitulated the Czar must know, and a great deal more. Nor can he be called unscrupulous in the exercise of his prerogative. If he can forbid, as by a late ukase, the introduction of the Gregorian or new style, and thus reprove the Almighty for having made the solar year longer than 365 days by 5 hours and 49 minutes, he could surely use his power in a more modest and mundane direction, and rid his country of some of the scandals which now disgrace it. One of the most awful of the curses contained in the 109th Psalm is 'Set thou a wicked man over him;' and this is a curse which the Czar's subjects, from Irkoutch to Odessa, daily experience. That an absolute monarch should know and redress everything that is amiss in an empire of such extent, or in one the twentieth part of its size, is of course a task which God never meant one man should undertake. It may be too much, for instance, to expect him to be cognizant of the tricks of his post-office; of the dishonourable way in which letters, even from private English individuals, utterly above all suspicion, franked to their destination, and entrusted to his honour for safe delivery, are opened; but this ignorance cannot extend to the more important acts of a rule which may be all-powerful, but, unfortunately for his subjects, is not all-wise. The latest administrative scandal—the persecution of the Jews—comes under a different category, and impeaches the Sovereign more directly. Russia has never been famous for toleration, but, as edicts and proscriptions, which have long slumbered, have now in the present reign been put in force with a fanaticism which has aroused the indignation of the civilized world, it would be difficult to acquit the

* Letter to the Czar, the 'Times,' March 11, 1890.

present Sovereign of personal participation in it. He evidently intends to drive out at any cost millions of the most industrious, loyal, and intelligent of his people; and this not only by direct command, but by the double pressure of extortion and starvation. For while the Jews are laid under a course of exorbitant and especial taxation, they are also rigorously prohibited those employments that would enable them to pay it. It is true the Jews have suffered persecution in all Christian countries, and not least in England. But it is the pride of the Russian Court and upper classes to keep on a level in other matters with the present time. They have the latest fashions in every form of luxury; they have railroads, and all that modern science can give. In all these respects they follow those nations which have led the way. Why then imitate the Dark Ages only in those barbarities which other nations have thrown off?

To the same category belong other forms of persecution which, as inaugurated only under the present Emperor, may, not unjustly, be attributed to him. The English public have heard by fits and starts, in sparse paragraphs, through their press, of the persecution which the Czar is carrying on in the Baltic provinces, hitherto considered the most peaceful, loyal, and advanced portion of his dominions. We are enabled to give a fuller version, for the truth of which we can vouch, of the base way in which this persecution is conducted. The inhabitants of these provinces, since they were conquered from Sweden by Peter the Great, have always, both German gentry and native peasants, held the Lutheran creed under regularly appointed Lutheran pastors of earnest and devoted character; their liberty of worship having been guaranteed to them by charter under successive Russian sovereigns. Of late years the world has heard of a movement among the peasantry resulting in numerous conversions to the Greek Church. This movement, far from being of a religious kind as maintained by the Russian Government, has been altogether political, and carried on by deceit and treachery. Duly-instructed emissaries, including Russian Popes, have been sent to these provinces, Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland, expressly to tempt the peasants by promises of free grants of land, and of exemption from all taxes, to abjure the Lutheran and enter the Greek Church. The art of temptation is, as we know, well understood in Russia, and it is unnecessary to say not more honestly conducted, even when ostensibly in the service of religion, than in any other department of the State. The emissaries themselves have received a regular commission of so much per head for every so-called convert, while the poor dupes, thus seduced to take a step beyond recall,
have

have not received one foot of ground, or the remission of a single tax.*

Nor is this all. The persecution has extended to the internal administration of the provinces, which for centuries have exercised a certain amount of autonomy. The Knighthood, or 'Ritterschaft' of the three separate provinces, with a head elected by themselves, called the 'Ritterschaft's Hauptmann,' who from time immemorial have met at fixed periods and transacted local affairs, have been unseated, and their places filled by the corrupt machinery of the 'Tchinn,' the wheels of which are only propelled by bribe within bribe. The Czar must be strangely enamoured of the fatal disease prevalent in his empire to wish such portions as have been hitherto free from its taint to succumb to the same infection. The Baltic Provinces have had comparative immunity from the plague of spies; though from time to time, as is well known, in every Russian town of any note, strange and suspicious individuals have appeared,—generally Poles, and more often women—well furnished with money, and evincing anxiety to study the manners of the local society. Now, however, the humble ranks of servants have been suborned, and all sense of family security has vanished. A further blow has been dealt to the liberty of the subject by the compulsory introduction of Russian as the language of instruction in all schools, in the place of German, which for centuries has been the medium. Accordingly, schools almost as old and popular as Eton and Harrow—that for instance at Reval, known as the 'Dom-schule,' where all the youth of the province have studied their humanities—are now, in self-defence, closed. Thus the wise policy of ancient Rome to leave to the people they subjugated their language and their gods—a policy repeated, as we have said, whether from ignorance or apathy, by the Tartars themselves towards their Russian tributaries—has been now, in this nearly-spent nineteenth century, reversed for the despotic assertion of a lifeless steppe-like uniformity. The reason assigned for this dishonest policy is the fear lest, tempted by their German character, Germany should seek to gain possession of the Baltic provinces.

* It may not generally be known that the laws concerning the maintenance of the so-called orthodox faith are exceedingly severe. No one either born in the Greek Church, or converted to it, can publicly leave the fold without incurring the penalty of imprisonment or Siberia. Nor can the children of parents, one of whom is 'Greek,' ever join any other community. Still, as in other evasions of Russian laws, there are ways of persuading a Russian Pope to set free a refractory lamb. Dissent is therefore an important source of revenue to the Greek parochial clergy, who, unlike the monastic orders, are excessively poor; and to such an extent that more than two hundred sects flourish comparatively undisturbed, though by no means gratis.

But the proverbial astuteness of Russia strangely belies itself by a course which irretrievably alienates the very population she seeks to retain. The hatred now entertained for the Russian rule in these provinces would greatly facilitate any attempt by Germany to appropriate them. As respects the compulsory introduction of the Russian language into the schools and into the University of Dorpat, that had been attempted by the Russian governor Ouvaroff, in 1839, but, to the honour of Nicholas, a petition from the Livonian noblesse setting forth this grievance, opened his eyes, and Ouvaroff was sharply reminded of the Emperor's obligation to observe the existing treaties.* Well would it have been had the present Czar followed his grandfather's example in this respect.

There is, perhaps, a certain superficial fairness in a ruler, who affects to be a Christian both in creed and conduct, in treating Jew and Christian with the same harshness, though the more repugnant when we know that in neither case has it even the sincerity of fanaticism. It is no fanaticism which encourages rival creeds. The 'Open Letter to the Head of the Russian Synod' betrays the fact that the Czar can espouse the cause of Mahommedanism quite as zealously as that of his own Greek Church, and in some sense even more so. While the humble Lutheran Church is tortured with every refinement of persecution under cover of devotion to the Orthodox Communion, that very Communion 'looks on with folded arms while on the Volga, the home of the Tartar, thousands are leaving the Greek Church for Mahommedanism.' A Protestant Mission, once eminently successful among the tribes of the Caucasus, was forbidden by a ukase to continue their pious work, on the plea that the Russian Church wished to undertake it herself. The result of this transfer is seen in the multitudes who have since fallen away from Christianity. Christian schools instead of being increased have been closed, and children taught in Tartar schools have greatly swollen the ranks of the Prophet. And the Czar is answerable for more than this. We should be the first to approve his toleration for his Mahommedan subjects, but it is an insult to the term toleration, which permits, as he does to this day, Mahommedan tracts, burning with fanatic zeal against the Christians, to be freely printed in Russia, and to pass his Imperial censure. Travellers in the East who pay attention to these questions are astonished to find such tracts abounding in the bazaars of Constantinople, and even in distant parts of Asia Minor. Meanwhile the lapse

* 'Fünfzig Jahre Russischer Verwaltung in den Baltischen Provinzen.'

from the Cross to the Crescent, and that by a propaganda from his own dominions, is going on in numbers which no bribed conversions of poor Lutheran peasants from the Baltic Provinces can counterbalance. Such monstrous proofs, both of abuse of power and neglect of power, can only engender something monstrous in their turn, and that monstrosity is the modern Nihilism.

Nihilism affords a curious exemplification of the contrasts observable in Russian life and character—a mixture of the positive and practical with the absurdest theories—a union of noble elements of humanity, and some of its falsest forms. Such as it is, however, it has brought to light certain qualities for which the Slavonic race, with its passivity and intellectual torpor, had been denied all credit—qualities of action, energy, enthusiasm, and devotion to an idea,—in which light, in M. Leroy-Beaulieu's words, 'J'oserais dire que ce triste phénomène fait honneur à la nation qui en souffre.' And this the more as the leaders of the movement are well aware that the cause of revolution in Russia offers only a career in which much is risked and nothing gained. The solution of this enigma lies in the fact, that the more attractive, because the more romantic ranks of Nihilism are filled by the very young of both sexes. Among the number of those arrested and condemned, the oldest are rarely thirty, few past twenty-five, and many minors, even down to girls of fourteen. This passion of youth it is which gives the Nihilist party the aspect of a sect, and the exaltation of a faith, promulgated by ardent preachers and devoted proselytes and martyrs. To the admixture of female votaries is doubtless owing that comparative purity of morals observable among them; many of the young *conspiratrices* (a word coined by the French) of twenty years of age having taken with them to Siberia virtues not even included in their code.

But it is not all Nihilism which is so called, as a little examination under different heads will show. There is the Nihilism of the injured and persecuted—of the lawless and ignorant—of the philanthropic and heroic—and there is the Nihilism of common sense. That of the injured and persecuted takes the revengeful form of assassination and destruction: that of the lawless and ignorant, from which the system derives its name, professes to respect nothing, to believe nothing, and to reject every form of imposed authority, under whatever time-honoured name; not only in laws, government, and creeds, but even in letters, poetry, and art: that of the philanthropic and heroic affects the cause of the People, and aims to know that cause as only it can be known, by identifying themselves with them,

by

by sharing their hardships, learning their work, and living like them and with them. Such is their enthusiastic programme. Thus the annals of Nihilism show instances of young students throwing up their prospects in life and apprenticing themselves as carpenters and locksmiths, and equally of young girls of good manners and education, delighted to obtain situations as sempstresses and cooks, in order better to understand the position of their fellow-Russian man and woman—'Itti v Narod' ('to go to the People') being the expression by which this movement is known. How far this conduces to the object they have in view—the amelioration of the condition of the masses—may be questioned, but it is at all events a noble and pathetic, if also a somewhat idiotic spectacle, these young creatures, especially the tender girls, striving with all their puny strength to make head against the colossal powers of Russian darkness; gentle as doves, though certainly not wise as serpents, but ready, as too many have proved, to die for their opinions. It will naturally be next asked, how the people view these efforts on the part of the superior classes made on their behalf; and it is the distressing, though not unexpected, answer that the greater part remain indifferent, and some prove decidedly hostile, as we shall show, to these attempts to open their eyes to their own miseries.

Lastly, the Nihilism of common sense comprises all those who only desire for their country (all 'desires' being alike 'suspicious') the introduction of just laws justly administered, but whom it suits the Government to include in the proscribed list. Some pains is taken by M. Leroy-Beaulieu to prove that Nihilism owes its rise to the doctrines of Hegel. In single instances he may be right, but in point of fact not one Nihilist in fifty ever heard the name of Hegel; while all Russians, more or less, with their positivist tendencies, may be said, like the English, to be insensible to the attractions of German metaphysics. What is called Nihilism, under whatever head, owes its existence simply to the general discontent caused by every form and grade of injury and injustice; from absolute persecution and wrong, to petty annoyance and interference; from the silliest leading-strings, to the cruelest iron bars. The Jews accordingly are numerous among them. And what makes Nihilism so formidable in the eye of the Government is not the revolver or the bomb—for these weapons are directed against single individuals, and moreover condemn themselves—nor even the creed of the Nihilist proper, whose heartless protest against all that gives hope and beauty to human life renders him a singularly unattractive conspirator; but it is the stir among the young and ardent which gives the cause its real strength.

These

These are Russia's modern Crusaders, and these, not perhaps more unwise than our old ones were, show how young Russia is.

We must look into Russian fiction for the only trustworthy picture of the ways, good and bad, of Nihilism. Ivan Tourgénéff, who was banished to his estates for two years for his political opinions, was the first to introduce both the name and the character in his tale called '*Pères et Enfants*,' as embodied in the person of a certain Bazarof—a colder kind of Mephistopheles, incapable of admiration or respect, not hearty even in his scoffs and sneers, and hardly interested enough in his fellow-creatures to care to pervert them. This worthy considers men old and *passés* by forty to forty-five years of age; ridicules the old-fashioned respect for fathers; would not give *deux sous* for a Raphael; and in his negation of all things only makes an exception for the positive sciences, by which, being a doctor, he has to live. He has not the slightest sympathy with the youthful partisans of the people; despotism has nothing to fear from him; he is the last man to have the courage of his opinions in any way that would compromise himself; and would as little commit a courageous crime as do a noble deed. His negation has but one merit, which is consistency. He is desperately in love with a beautiful woman, '*qui avait exprimé le désir de causer avec un homme qui osait ne croire à rien.*' But even this passion evokes in him no spark of faith, hope, or charity. In short, Bazarof is as detestable as, for the protection of society, he is bound to be.

Having given us the type of the man-nihilist in this tale, Tourgénéff adds that of the woman in his '*Terres Vierges.*' Marianne is a young girl who has made up her mind '*to go to the People,*' and has quietly counted the cost. She is equally gentle and resolute, and the interest of the tale turns partly on the difference between herself and her lover, Njedanoff, who is supposed to share her opinions. They are both employed in the same house, in the service of a high functionary, General Sipiaguine—she in the despised position of his dowerless niece, and he as a tutor. Sipiaguine is the true type of a certain class of Russian officials—proud and pompous, with a magnificent smile, and manners all condescension, and affable superiority; anxious, apparently, to hide his light, lest it should dazzle you too much—at the same time affecting even a little harmless liberality, which does not interfere with the most thorough servility and obsequiousness to the system that is. Being asked what kind of a man her uncle is, Marianne says, '*Mais d'abord ce n'est pas du tout un homme, c'est un fonctionnaire, un sénateur, un ministre.*' It has been the fashion for the Russian noblesse

noblesse to establish factories of various kinds, so as to profit by the virtual interdict which the high duties lay on foreign goods. M. Sipiaguine has established a paper factory near his château, which, between the noble owner and a German manager, did not pay. The German was dismissed and a Russian put in his place, and things went worse still. This was the more provoking from the fact that a yarn factory within a few wersts, managed by an honest man of the name of Solomine, was in a highly prosperous condition. It occurs to Sipiaguine that Solomine might throw light on the causes of his factory's failure. Accordingly, one morning an elegant phaëton with four horses enters the courtyard of the yarn factory, and a servant in gorgeous livery delivers a letter sealed with intricate armorial bearings, from 'his Excellency General Sipiaguine,' begging M. Solomine, in the choicest language, to excuse a stranger for venturing to entreat a visit from him with a view to obtaining his valuable opinion as to the rectification of some irregularities in his paper factory. Solomine is a plain-spoken blunt man, of considerable shrewdness, and not likely to be taken even by the most faultless form of words; but he is the friend both of Marianne and Njedanoff, and has reasons for accepting the invitation. He takes the carriage and arrives at the château. Sipiaguine and he proceed to walk to the factory, when they are joined by a neighbour; a *soi-disant* aristocrat of the name of Kallomeitself, who accompanies them.

Solomine was not long in discovering that the concern was ill-conducted; as usual with all Russian affairs, much money had been expended, with inferior machinery as the result. The fine gentleman looked anxiously at the humble manager, and asked him if there were 'sufficient order.' 'The order is all very well,' was the answer, 'but I doubt as to the profits.' Solomine was in his element. He patted one engine as a rider pats his horse. He touched another with the tip of his finger, and the wheel either stood still or began to turn. He took a little of the pap of which the paper was made in the palm of his hand, and it told him at once what was the matter. As soon as the examination was over Sipiaguine, with infinite urbanity, begs him to stand on no ceremony, but to tell him openly what is amiss. Solomine replies that the manufacture of paper is not in his line, but hints also that industrial undertakings are not in that of *gentilhommes*. 'You regard them as humiliating for nobles?' interposed the *soi-disant* aristocrat. 'Oh, by no means; what is there humiliating in them?' He is asked to explain himself, and answers quietly that nobles are not fitted

for a class of speculation for which a commercial education is requisite; and he foretells that these factories will before long lapse into the hands of tradesmen. At this Kallomeitsef fires up: 'According to you, then, we nobles are incapable of understanding financial questions?' 'Quite the reverse,' replies Solomine in his invincibly dry manner; 'the nobles are masters of finance in a certain sense;' and goes on to explain that the organization of banks and the obtaining of monopolies and railway concessions are more the affair of the nobles; but that the establishing of factories, the opening of *cabarets*, and the lending money to the peasants at 100 or 150 per cent., 'as many noble proprietors now do, these, in my opinion, are not financial operations in the true sense of the word, Monsieur Kolomentsof.' The would-be aristocrat recoiled as from a shock, at this mutilation of his illustrious name, but had nothing further to say. He belonged precisely to the modern race of noble usurers who are the more oppressive from the fact of their not dealing with the peasants face to face, but through agents, who fleece them still further. They were now on their way home, and Kallomeitsef flies into Madame Sipiaguine's boudoir. 'Valentine Mikhailovna! here has been a Nihilist, expounding God knows what awful opinions; and worse still, only listen, he actually talked to your husband for an hour, and never once said, "Your Excellency"—*le vagabond!*'

To return to Marianne and Njedanoff, not only their mutual attachment had been discovered by M. and Madame Sipiaguine, but also their Nihilist tendencies, which come under the category of the philanthropic and the heroic; and to avoid imminent dismissal, they elope together one early morning, and are welcomed as agreed by Solomine, who lodges them in a private part of the yarn factory. From this as from a base of operations, they propose to enter on a system of propaganda among the neighbouring peasants. They are both simpletons, but of a very different calibre, for Marianne is in earnest, and Njedanoff a mere dreamer. The first step is to equip themselves in the costume of the people, so as to avoid recognition and facilitate their proceedings, while Marianne gets the servant who waits on them to allow her to wash dishes, pluck chickens, and perform other household work as a prelude to *se simplifier*, as the expression is. They are in no hurry to be married—that is quite a secondary affair—but meanwhile they exhibit an example not rare with Nihilist couples, of how man and woman devoted to the People can live without the slightest scandal together. We are now introduced to a scene at the house of a neighbouring Nihilist—Golouchkine by name—who invites a few sym-
patheti

thætic spirits to dine with him in order to discuss matters and make up their minds as to necessary operations. Golouchkine is a fat, noisy, vulgar fellow, who has no mind to make up. Markhelof is a bilious, bad-tempered, but determined man. Pakline is a lame, impudent little jester, who sees the absurdity of much that goes on. Solomine, the only sensible one of the party, we know already, and Njedanoff, if he has a mind, has no power of making it up to anything. After the Russian preliminary meal, taken standing, of provocatives to appetite—caviare, oysters (not the freshest), and gulps of 'Kümmel Schnapps' (the Russian never drinks),—they went to table, where plenty of champagne was served and talk began. Markhelof was in a state of irritation; Njedanoff felt a sort of contempt both for his company and himself; Solomine was on the quiet watch, and Pakline was as happy as a king. His impudent sallies amused Golouchkine unspeakably, who never suspected that 'le petit boiteux' was making game of him in a whisper to his neighbour. Pakline understood the situation, and fell foul of every kind and denomination of men, including members of the *Zemstvo* (Municipal Councils). Golouchkine here announces that the Governor of the district to which he belongs is

"an ass of the first order—a veritable blockhead." "Blockhead yourself," said Pakline in an undertone, and then aloud in a serious voice, "Have you remarked whether he lisps, or speaks through his nose?" "What! why?" said Golouchkine, much perplexed. "Don't you know? With us here in Russia all the high civilians ('Tchinovniks') lisp, and all the generals speak through their noses; but only the highest of both classes both lisp and speak through their noses at the same time."

The laughter that ensued and the wine that had been drunk now loosened the tongues of all.

'Njedanoff at first, trying to work himself up—like beating the water with a stick—began to say that it was time to leave off talking and proceed to action. He talked of the ground they had gone over, and then, next moment, without suspecting his own inconsistency, challenged them to show him what they had really and seriously to depend on. For his part he saw nothing encouraging; no sympathy on the part of society; no sense of the situation on the part of the people. Then Markhelof broke in with a long discourse in a dull, provoking voice. "Just as if he were chopping cabbages for *Sauerkraut*," murmured Pakline. As to the real subject of his talk, it would have been difficult to discover it. At one moment he let fall the word "artillery" as if dissatisfied especially with that department; at another, that of "Germans" and "aides-de-camp,"

who seemed equally to irritate him. Solomine next spoke, observing that there were two ways of waiting: the one with your arms folded, the other in taking the necessary measures. "We do want your moderate progressionists," muttered Markhelof. "The devil take your moderates," shouted Golouchkine; "it must be done with one blow. Everything is rotten in Russia—everything." The discussion now degenerated, if it could be said to degenerate at all, into what in the slang of hard drinkers is called "building the tower of Babel." It was a regular uproar.

This is a sufficient specimen of the more contemptible form of conspiracy in Russia; the result of bad government, but one which even the worst government might afford to despise; with no clear idea of the consequences of their talk, and still less of their acts, nor any plan of social organisation in case of success.

We are not concerned to go further with the story than the subject of Nihilism leads us, only adding what we may call the moral. After this dinner, Markhelof in his strong and dogmatic way, and Njedanoff in his weak and impulsive way, both started separately—on a course of propaganda. Njedanoff behaves like a fool: drives to the nearest village, plunges with wild and incoherent words into a group of peasants, who at first only stare at him, then make fun of him, and finally drag him into a public-house, and force him both to treat and pledge them with an amount of raw *vodka* which does them no harm, but which sends him back to Marianne, in a few hours, dead drunk. Markhelof is away for some days, but the fanatical earnestness of his appeal only rouses the peasants, not against the Government but against himself. They beat and otherwise maltreat him and then bind him hand and foot, bring him to the town, and deliver him to the police. Meanwhile Golouchkine is denounced by the servant who had waited on the party at dinner, and in his turn denounces all his late guests, offering in his abject terror large bribes, and promising to go over to the Greek Church. The author is naturally in a hurry to wind up. The police are expected every minute at the factory. His return to a sober condition convinces Njedanoff that he neither cares for the People nor even for Marianne as much as he once thought, and a revolver finishes his life, though not till he has joined the hands of Marianne and Solomine, whose growing attachment has not escaped his eyes, nor those of the reader. Markhelof is condemned to Siberia, and receives his sentence with a calmness which invests his character with dignity.

The moral to be drawn from the tale is this, that, however the iniquities of the Government may tempt the ardent and half-educated

educated of the upper classes to rebellion, there is no reason to fear that the great mass of the people should catch the infection. Instead, therefore, of carrying on a warfare against the weak and harmless class of so-called Nihilists just described, the powers that be could well afford to let them alone. Without persecution the harmless conflagration would die out.

We have borrowed our description of Nihilists mainly from Tourguéneff's tales. Of the two chief rivals for public favour in this line of literature, Count Tolstoi and Tourguéneff, the latter is by far the superior, both as respects genial humour and purity of moral taste. Tolstoi has adapted his style as much to French as to Russian readers—both pretty much on a par in their choice of entertainment—and accordingly transgresses seriously our ideas of propriety.* A vein of exaggeration, which he seems to mistake for imagination, also pervades his writings. His 'Ivan le Terrible' and 'La Mort' are both extravaganzas. In the one he deals in details of brutal and monotonous cruelty, forbidden by the canons of art—in the other he calls a spade a spade in a fashion not familiar to ears polite, defying quotation. It is only fair, however, to set the readers of Tourguéneff against those of Tolstoi. At the same time those, who know something of the tone of the Russian upper classes, will hardly fail to recognize the fact, that the utmost elegance and the highest fashion are made to harmonize with a repugnant habit of very equivocal talk. In all this we trace, more or less directly, that prohibition of every subject bearing on the larger things of life, which narrows the sphere of readers and talkers to trivial topics, and to worse. The field of imagination is further restricted by the monotonous nature of Russian landscape, which, in its turn, is duly reflected in their works of fiction. These give us close descriptions of gardens and skies—of long rows of poplars, and of groups of birch; of effects of early morning, with its roseate hues and fresh dewy grass—of effects of evening with its warm glow and lengthening shadows; of all the sounds of nature, from the buzz of insects to the song of the nightingale, which, in northern latitudes, knows not night from day: but for good reasons they give us no description of scenery—that usual inspirer of imagination, in our sense.

The subject of Russian literature brings up a work which has attracted attention in English circles, and even from the pen of Mr. Gladstone. 'Le Journal de Marie Baskirtsheff' is a very original work; taking the word original in the sense of

* It is curious to see ('Times,' 26th July) that the Bohemian Law Courts have prohibited the circulation of a Czech translation of Count Tolstoi's 'Kreutzer Sonata' as injurious to public morals. It forbids marriage.

unprecedented;

unprecedented ; the like of it, if that be a recommendation, was certainly never published before. There is no introduction to tell us who she is, and what were the conditions of her life. Thus the journalist becomes her own biographer, as well as her own trumpeter. The one unmistakable feature is that nothing interests her in comparison with herself, past, present, and future ; objective and subjective : nor is there any need to doubt the perfect openness and unsullied veracity of the relation on which she insists ; the only question is whether the openness, including her love for the Duke of Hamilton when she was twelve years old, and her admiration for Zola when but little older, excuses the exposure. It would be cruel, as well as useless, to break such a gnat upon the wheel ; in other words, to enter a solemn protest against the incredible vanity, egotism, and worldliness, of this journal. The truth is, the exposure is as much of the society to which she belonged as of herself. The key to Marie's character is the utterly false education of Russian children of the higher classes. That domestic habit of keeping all children in perpetual *évidence*, which prevails among most continental nations, is outdone in Russian family life. The unfortunate little beings see and hear all that goes on among the most frivolous and vicious society in Europe : all the airs and graces, all the *minauderies* and worldlinesses, and, alas ! all the ambiguities in word and deed, are acted before them without reserve. Thus the little spectators have every facility for studying the parts they hope to play on their own coming stage. And the rehearsals begin painfully early. One of the first facts the little Russian *Sudārīna* masters is that beauty is a passport to worldly success of all kinds. Hence, as she tells us—and her rhapsodies can only be given in her own words—her unfailing prayer when she was twelve years old : ‘ Mon Dieu ! faites que je n’aie jamais la petite vérole, que je sois jolie, et que j’aie une belle voix.’ The subject of her personal attractions is never long absent. The same theme returns over and over again, only in different keys. At thirteen years of age she writes : ‘ Nous passons la journée à m’admirer : Maman m’admire, la Princesse m’admire. C’est que vraiment je suis jolie. À Vénise, dans la grande salle du Palais Ducal la peinture du plafond par Paul Veronese représente Vénise sous les traits d’une femme grande, blonde, fraîche. Je rappelle cette peinture.’ And again : ‘ Je suis depuis hier blanche et fraîche et jolie à m’étonner ; et des yeux animés et brillants ; le contour même du visage apparaît plus joli et plus fin. Seulement c’est dommage que ça vienne dans un moment où je ne vois personne.’ Something makes her cry :

cry: 'Je me mis à pleurer devant le miroir. Les larmes en petite quantité m'embellissent assez.' And if it is not her face, it is her hands and arms: 'J'aime la solitude devant une glace pour admirer mes mains si blanches et fines, et à peine roses à l'intérieur.' She goes to the piano and lets her fingers, 'longues et blancs, errer sur les touches.' In travelling she is put into an ordinary little room. 'Je ne me trouve pas sans charme dans cette pauvre petite chambre, en peignoir blanc, avec mes beaux bras nus, et mes cheveux d'or.' And if it is not her hands and arms, it is her complexion: 'My photographic portraits can never do me justice.' 'La couleur manque, et ma fraîcheur, ma blancheur sans pareilles sont ma principale beauté.' And if it is not her complexion, it is her figure: 'Je suis extrêmement bien faite, comme une statue.'

Then dress comes in for its share. She would be no Russian girl if it did not. She is still only thirteen! 'Je suis désolée avec mes robes. Je suis allée chez deux couturières, mais c'est mauvais. J'en ai pleuré. J'écirai à Paris. Je ne puis supporter les robes d'ici (Nice): ça me rend trop misérable.' She takes thirty new dresses to Russia with her.

Let us look at her on another side. 'Not a living soul with whom I can exchange a word.' 'La famille ne suffit pas pour un être de seize ans—pour un être surtout comme moi.' 'Me marier et avoir des enfants! Mais chaque blanchisseuse peut en faire autant. Mais qu'est-ce que je veux? Oh! vous savez bien, je veux la gloire.' 'Que suis-je? Rien. Que veux-je être? Tout.' She has a lover, an Italian. She ejaculates: 'Ah! pauvre Pietro! ma gloire future ne me permet pas de penser à lui sérieusement.' And this glory she expects to derive from the publication of this journal!

She makes up her mind to be an artist, and enters a Paris atelier, where she blows her own trumpet as loud as ever, only in the second person. One of the masters, after she has worked only ten days, impresses on her carefully that she already knows 'tout ce qu'il ne s'apprend pas.' Painters crowd the studio, and cannot believe that the study on the easel is by her. She is obliged to give her word of honour. Then she must have studied somewhere else before, and her word of honour is again required to prove that these prodigies are her own.

A counterbalancing trial, however, meets her. A certain pupil by name Breslau—'cette canaille de Breslau'—has the start of her both in age and skill, and jealousy floods the pages. Other pupils look at her askance. She asks one of them what they think of her, and all roads lead to the same self-laudation: 'They would like you much if you had less talent.' Nothing

was

was evidently further from Marie's mind than the romantic sympathy for the People which animated Marianne. Still, the symptoms of Nihilism are unmistakable in her. She would have endorsed Bazarof's contempt for fathers, or for any other inconvenient relationships; and she did endorse it openly for Raphael. 'Le pauvre Raphaël!'

Poor spoilt child! Writing this very journal helped to spoil her further; still it seems hard not to grant her any of the admiration she so ardently coveted. Nor is there any doubt that the energy and self-confidence, which enabled so young a creature to commence and carry through a work of this extent,—for it covers 992 mortally weary pages—might, rightly directed, have gained her legitimate fame; as it is, she has left a monument of egotism and vanity and of worse, for which we know no parallel; intermixed as it is with flippant and silly strictures on the Divine government of this world, which we will not dignify by the term profane, but which from the pen of a young girl are doubly offensive. There is no fear that her example will be followed; the microscopic introspection of a mind, essentially ignoble, is about the dullest reading in the world. Poor Marie worked hard, studied much, was evidently no despicable Latin scholar, but the force that impelled her to these exertions was not the ambition to excel, but the desire to shine.*

It is not irrelevant here to ask, what is the influence of the national Greek Church on the life and sentiments of the Orthodox, whether high or low? Nor can it be denied that, except in the form of genuflexions, crossings, fastings, &c., no Christian influence is perceptible. By neither extremes of the social scale is the Church respected, and by neither, except for prescribed ceremonies, is it sought or wanted. By neither also is the parish Pope looked up to in the light of example, adviser, or consoler. Church and religion, in our sense, are not considered one. The clergy form no part of society, which never sees them except when officiating. Doubts and scruples do not occur among the Greek Faithful, and, if they did, the Pope is the last man they would apply to. The Greek Church has remained outside all intellectual movement, and turns a deaf ear to the culture and science of modern life. Her universal external representative is the 'Icon,' or, as it may be justly called, the 'Idol.' This is a small picture of the Virgin and Child, in the ancient Byzantine taste, which, like the Church itself, has never changed for centuries; barbarous in form and colour,

* Marie Baskirtsheff was born in 1860, and died in October 1884

and embroidered over with seed pearl, or other jewels, which occupies a place *de rigueur* in every dwelling-room, from the palace to the hut, and before and to which every orthodox believer bows and crosses himself, and recites his stated prayers. This ancient Byzantine Church of the Lower Empire is a great misfortune for Russia. It helps to keep the people in darkness, and the whole country enslaved; for the absence of all spirit of enquiry in religion helps to maintain the same in government and politics. It contributes, too, to starve and debase the people. The Church fasts are long and severe, neither milk nor eggs being allowed, and this is peculiarly unfitted to meet the wants of the inhabitants of a cold climate, whom they drive to the immoderate use of brandy. The Greek Church has in every way presented a great impediment to the advance of the empire. The fall of Constantinople in 1453, which helped to introduce letters into Western Europe, stopped all progress in Russia; for the Church forbade her Faithful to visit any country not professing the orthodox faith.

The emancipation of the serfs, which took place in 1861, is a subject which, while exciting the deepest interest in the heart of the philanthropist, also demands his utmost patience. The human animal, who has not been permitted to look before him for centuries, is slow to move when the way is suddenly thrown open. He only sees the lowest and meanest uses of freedom, and indulges them first. The glorious few who promoted the emancipation had not to do with the savage natural man, but with one long degraded. What the serf most hated was work, and that hatred, we hear, is bearing fruit in a diminished production of corn throughout the country. And the question is what to do with men who can no longer be compelled.

The wrongs committed against our fellow-creatures cannot be cured by only ceasing to perpetuate them. In all such cases there is a long back account to settle. You can't make a man free by simply granting him his freedom. The use of freedom is an intricate lesson, and those on whom lies the responsibility of having withheld it are the last to sympathize with the difficulties, or to help the helplessness, of the learner. No person of common sense will be surprised to hear, that the enfranchised serf shows little sign of turning his freedom to good account, and that the most perceptible change hitherto, after twenty-nine years, is that of more sleep and more drink. Tourgénéff describes a man as visiting his birthplace after an interval which included the Act of Emancipation. 'I found not the slightest change—a death-like torpor, utter absence of thought; houses without roofs, ruined walls; filth and stink, poverty and misery;

misery ; looking at me with slaves' eyes, either insolent or sad. All has remained the same. Our people are free now, but they are the same as ever ; their hands hang listless at their sides.'* There is no doubt that the move should have been introduced more gradually. Every child from after a fixed day should have been born free ; as was the case in the Baltic Provinces, where no sudden shock was felt. And here, as in everything else, the evil of absolutism comes to light. A Commission of some of the most enlightened men of the empire had been appointed to organize the enfranchisement of so many millions according to the most judicious plan. Their labours were not over when the late Czar interposed, and, head over heels, a sweeping edict went forth for the immediate and entire emancipation of every soul alike, young and old. Twenty years later, in 1881, a third part of the empire was suffering from scarcity, whole villages living on bark and grass mixed with flour, and on mountain spinach ; their former masters no longer bound to support them.

But there is also no doubt that the conditions of this tremendous change, involving the emancipation of at least fifty-five millions, one of the greatest events in history, were carried out with the most scrupulous regard for the interest of those millions. This end was insured by the presence in the Commission of three of the noblest characters that Russia has known—Nicholas Milutine, George Samarine, and Prince Tcherkaski—who succeeded in carrying their equitable views, and in determining the Czar to adopt them. Their great aim was to prevent the ultimate prevalence of that pauperism which now burthens other European States, by converting the peasants into proprietors ; in other words, by endowing them with land. In a country so arbitrarily and ignorantly governed as Russia has been, it was not possible to revert to ancient statutes and titles for authority as to the rights of property. If such had ever existed, they had long been lost in obscurity. No one, therefore, could really say whether the land had originally belonged to the peasant or to his master. The tradition with the serfs was that they belonged to the master, but the land to them. The Commission did not pretend to decide between the two parties, but set itself to effect a compromise that should insure the well-being of the one who had suffered the wrong. It was accordingly decided to make over to the peasant the same amount of land for his own support as he had hitherto cultivated for his master. Half the arable land of the empire

* 'Terres Vierges,' p. 269.

was therefore adjudged to him, with the alternative of either indemnifying the late possessor by purchasing it of him, or by paying a fixed annual sum. Left to themselves, this arrangement would have equally embarrassed both parties, and might have dragged on for centuries. The knot was cut by the Government becoming the creditor and advancing four-fifths of the sum to the proprietors; the remaining one-fifth to be liquidated by the peasant direct to his master. Meanwhile the debt thus incurred by the peasants to the Government, amounting it is stated to no less than ninety-five million pounds, was fixed to be refunded in six per cent. dues, distributed over a period of forty-nine years. At the same time both parties were left free to conclude any other arrangement between them; the peasant, in that case, forfeiting the assistance of the Government. Very few took advantage of this permission.

We cannot enter into particulars of the difficulties attending a transaction on such a colossal scale. That alone of apportioning the money-value of the lots of land according to the varieties of the soil and previous tillage was enormous. As a set-off against the usual miseries and meannesses associated with all Russian doings, it is refreshing to know that both territorial and economic operations were conducted with order and good faith; the more meritorious as having been undertaken immediately after the collapse of credit occasioned by the Crimean defeat. Still, it is needless to say that the arrangement pleased neither masters nor serfs. The manifesto of the Act of Emancipation was published on the 19th July, 1861, and announced from a thousand pulpits. It was fortunate these measures had gone too far to be recalled, for the day after the public announcement, Alexander II., who, unhappily for an absolute monarch, never knew his own mind, dismissed the three gentlemen we have mentioned from his councils in very thinly veiled disgrace. Whatever defects, therefore, may have occurred in the execution of the edict have been owing to its having been entrusted to hands inferior to those who framed it. One salient defect is the preservation of the internal passport system in all its obnoxious tyranny. A man is half a serf still who is debarred the liberty of circulating freely in his own country. The effect on the peasants was to strike them with consternation. They could not be brought to believe that the edict really emanated from the Czar, or that that could be meant as liberty which required them to pay for the land. To all explanation they remained impervious. The legal terms mystified them. The very word 'legality' was Greek to them ;

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no sentimental argument about human dignity had the slightest weight with them; the only thing they had distinctly learned by centuries of bondage and oppression was *to trust no one*.

In face of this distrust, this awful avenger of human wrong, it becomes painfully interesting to enquire into the present relations between two classes of fellow-creatures, left, for the first time for centuries, free from those conditions which had given license to the one, bondage to the other, and demoralization to both. Before a just balance can be struck each party has to stand the test of severe trial; the one by comparative adversity, the other by temptation. In truth the proprietor had the most cause for consternation.

Having as a rule depended on the heartless screw of serfage for making good the evils of his reckless, selfish, and improvident life, few of the class having even kept an account of their expenditure, the proprietor now finds his existence dependent on a rigid and most unpalatable reform. The task of the enfranchised serf is pleasanter but not so safe; his best interests are not so plainly indicated; for his temptations proceed from a liberty for which he is ill equipped. Past tyranny has made him servile and untruthful—his mixed Tartar nature, indolent and cunning. Two parties in Russia prophesy opposite things of him, and in the difficulty of obtaining exact information two opposite reports reach us. The one, that, as with the increased wages of our English working classes, the liberation of the Russian serf has increased the revenue derived from the tax on brandy—the other that not only has the quantity distilled fallen off more than 3 per cent., but that the consumption of tea and sugar has increased in the same proportion. The certain fact is that the peasant is in a state of transition which must be slow and long. Before he has had time to throw off the vices of slavery he has begun to acquire the abuses of liberty, and is reported to be far more intent on asserting his new rights than on fulfilling his new duties. How should it be otherwise? Centuries of bondage have kept him in a state of nonage. One of the reproaches addressed to those who drew up the Act of Emancipation is, that they relied too much on the simplicity of the peasant, and took no account of his want of conscience. They forgot that that very conscience must be the growth of freedom, and they erred on the right side. One prophesied result, much dreaded, has not, however, appeared. If the enfranchised serfs show no gratitude to the few masters who were kind to them, they show no hostility to those who were the reverse. In matters of business connected with his old master, where

where his new interests are concerned, he acts towards him with a kind of cunning *bonhomie*, but with none of the rancour that had been expected.

The Emancipation, we must remember, was the consequence of the Russian defeat in the Crimean war. That broke the proud heart of Nicholas, who, it is known, laid the accomplishment of this long-delayed duty as a solemn injunction on his son.* The logic of history in vain pointed to the next step in succession. The class required by the sovereign to give liberty to their serfs ought in return to have required him to grant a Magna Charta to the whole country. With a few brilliant exceptions the class referred to are, however, unripe for the conception of such an Act, and will be so for long. What the English Barons extorted in 1215, the Russian noblesse are incapable of demanding at the close of the nineteenth century. According to the Russian proverb, they have left one shore, but are still far from reaching the other, and have therefore the shelter of neither.

Altogether three opportunities for justice to a long-suffering race have been neglected in the history of the Czars. The first was in 1490, when the country threw off the yoke of the Tartar, but when the people were denied that freedom which they had helped to achieve; the second was under Peter the Great, who, in his crusade against the barbarism on the surface, omitted to attack that which lay at the root; the third was in 1762, when Peter III., husband of Catherine II., abolished the obligatory service of the noblesse to the Crown, and when, in common justice, the same service from the serfs to the noblesse should have been abolished too. As a matter of history the two sovereigns most renowned in Russia, Peter the Great and Catherine II., by increasing the power of the proprietors, did most to increase the sufferings of the serfs.

It is impossible proximately to predict the future of this gigantic empire, occupied as it is by two distinct bodies which exist side by side, but between which there is no organic tie. Russia consists of two unequal and incongruous halves, which do not and cannot make one whole. The head and the feet belong in no sense to each other; the one runs after every new fashion, the other as yet does not perceptibly move. The one is that ephemeral creation called *la Société*, the other is the Nation; the one belongs to 1890, the other to 1490; and for the present the slender rudiments of a middle class are utterly

* The connexion between their enfranchisement and the Crimean War led to the rooted belief among the serfs that it was owing to a request by Napoleon III.
inadequate

inadequate to fill the void between them. But that such rudiments do exist is obvious to those who have had opportunities for observation. Scientific men are forming the nucleus of this slowly-coming class. We know from the highest authority that the botanical works of Russia are of so distinguished an order that other nations will have to acquire the Russian language in order to study them; and the same with mineralogy. That such men suffer, like their compatriots, from the universal jobbery and stupidity, is but too true. If there be a first-rate scientist at the head of a class, he has the melancholy certainty that his successor, appointed by Imperial command, will be a man in every way opposed and inferior to himself. The world did not need the example of the Czars to be convinced that the sway of an absolute monarch is doubly baneful, as embodying in himself alone that responsibility which on this gigantic scale no mortal man can wield, and thereby prohibiting all exercise of this great educator of mankind to all below him. The subjects of an autocrat remain virtually like the serfs under their former masters, in perpetual nonage. Under these circumstances the word 'Reform' addressed to an executive, which, while it most wants it, is most interested to prevent it, is a mockery. The Czar may be absolute, but as long as he continues so, though his subjects are drilled and governed to death, he stands helpless in the centre of a vicious circle. All he can do is to order Tchinovniks to control Tchinovniks—in other words to set the evil to remedy the evil. The more safely and sadly therefore may it be predicted that, while absolutism lasts, the principles of Government will never cease to be oppression and repression. With the continuance of this rule, and what we have stated gives no hope of its relaxation, there may soon be nothing good left to encourage. And this is the natural tendency of Absolutism. In Dr. Johnson's words, 'a country governed by a Despot is an inverted cone.'

ART. VI.—*The Life, Letters, and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes, First Lord Houghton.* By T. WEMYSS REID. Two Volumes. London, 1890.

IN undertaking to write a Life of Lord Houghton, Mr. T. Wemyss Reid had before him a task of considerable difficulty. There was an almost entire absence of the materials which enable a biographer to produce an exciting or a stirring narrative. The events connected with either the public or the private career of Richard Monckton Milnes were not such as lend themselves readily to dramatic treatment. Only a few fragments of his own conversation have been preserved, and of his conversation with others there is but a slight and accidental record. He appears to have kept no diary or commonplace book worthy of particular mention. Some stray jottings here and there are all that he left behind him, besides a desultory correspondence, considerable in extent, but less varied and valuable than might reasonably have been looked for. There are letters from many distinguished persons, but few of them possess remarkable interest. Some of Carlyle's are thoroughly characteristic, but so many of his letters of much the same kind have been published during the last few years, that these additions to the mass will scarcely attract special attention. Their chief interest consists in the insight which they afford into the character of Lord Houghton himself. A mere enumeration of the names of Lord Houghton's correspondents would naturally give rise to expectations of great treasures, but little if anything of that kind will be found in these volumes. As a rule, the letters to him are of a pleasant and friendly nature—nothing more. The bill of fare is most tempting, but the dishes when they come up have very little on them. In his later years, Lord Houghton himself was not a good correspondent, and, indeed, it became exceedingly difficult to read a single line of his handwriting. A friend once received a letter from him which, so far as could be gathered from a word here and there, appeared to contain a request of some little urgency. But the meaning of the note could not be ascertained by any exercise of ingenuity. Upon requesting Lord Houghton to explain it, he returned another copy in what he was pleased to call a 'printed' state, but the only drawback was that the print was more illegible than the writing. Nothing remained but to make a rough guess at his wishes. This, or something like it, was always occurring between himself and his friends. It seems that the printers who charged half-a-crown a sheet extra for Dean Stanley's 'copy' required fifty per cent. extra to set up Lord Houghton's. We cannot say that it was too much.

much. The letters of the Duke of Wellington in his old age, those of Lord Brougham, and some parts of Sir Walter Scott's handwriting, were not to be deciphered without much study and patience. But we have received specimens of Lord Houghton's bewildering communications which surpassed them all. Mr. Wemyss Reid tells us that at the General Post Office, among other curiosities of the same kind exhibited there, is one of the envelopes addressed by Lord Houghton. That it reached its destination is looked upon as one of the greatest instances of acuteness which the Post Office itself is able to furnish. There can be no doubt that this carelessness, or, perhaps, the sheer inability to make characters with a pen which anybody else could interpret, is one of the causes of the comparatively slight value of the correspondence which his biographer has had to assist him in his work. It is difficult to carry on communications of this kind when on one side they are all but illegible. Moreover, there seems to have been a tendency on the part of Lord Houghton's friends not to enter too seriously into the discussion of any subject with him. He was regarded as a man of society, and even those who knew him well were apt to approach him in that spirit, and rarely in any other. That, undoubtedly, did a great injustice to his real character and abilities, but he had gradually fallen into the habit of doing an injustice to them himself, and the world cannot be expected to trouble itself further than to accept a man in the part he chooses to play. The higher side of Lord Houghton's nature, or the true measure of his capacities, was known to few, and towards the last he seemed himself to take a pleasure in ignoring their existence. That he should be valued chiefly as a man who knew everybody, and who was always ready to make his knowledge useful to others, is not altogether surprising.

Of such materials as were at his disposal, Mr. Wemyss Reid has made the best. We have no reason to doubt that he has published everything which was really of public interest and importance in Lord Houghton's papers, so far as the limits of propriety and good taste permitted. Throughout the work, he has displayed sound judgment, right feeling, and unflinching tact. So far as we are able to form an opinion, he has printed nothing which he ought to have omitted, and omitted nothing which he ought to have printed. He has avoided everything which could possibly inflict needless pain upon any member of the large circle of Lord Houghton's friends and acquaintances. He has edited the letters with care, yet, as we should presume, without undue severity. The narrative portions of his memoir are interesting and sufficient, and there is scarcely a passage in the two
volumes

volumes which any friend of Lord Houghton would wish to see struck out. In that respect, the work presents a satisfactory contrast to some biographies of greater pretensions, which have been published within recent recollection. Lord Houghton does not figure in these pages as a greater man than he really was, but his memory has not been sullied, and the inevitable failings of human nature have not been ruthlessly dragged into the light by his biographer. We have the truth, but Mr. Wemyss Reid has not sought to tear down the curtain of private life altogether, and to tell the world all that he could find out concerning the flaws in the character of his dead friend. It is not every friend of the dead who has shown so much discretion.

The keynote to Lord Houghton's character is accurately struck in the few words which closes his biographer's introductory chapter. He was 'the kindest and truest of friends.' It is in that light that all who knew him well will ever remember him. The late Mr. W. E. Forster—probably the most ill-used man who ever served a political party—once referred to Lord Houghton, then Richard Monckton Milnes, in these words:—'I have many friends, who would be kind to me in distress, but only one who would be equally kind to me in disgrace, and he has just left the room.' Mr. Forster never fell into disgrace; but when the Liberal party and its writers in the press were combining together to drive him out of the Irish Secretaryship, it would have been well for him and for the country if he had possessed in the Ministry a friend as staunch as Lord Houghton. As it was, he was bitterly assailed and calumniated by some who were aiming to become his successors, and he was deserted by the colleagues who ought to have stood by him to the last. He was deliberately sacrificed for the Kilmainham Treaty, which was 'engineered' for Mr. Gladstone by that very Captain O'Shea of whose domestic affairs the world has heard so much. 'Beware of paying blackmail to sedition,' was Mr. Forster's warning cry to his colleagues, when the O'Shea-Parnell Treaty was being ratified. He was laughed at or abused then, but possibly there may be some now who see cause to wish that his wise and manly advice had been followed. To the last, Lord Houghton remained faithful to him. As we shall presently see, Lord Houghton himself was not well adapted for the career of a 'politician,' and perhaps it was for that reason, among others, that he never cultivated the art of betraying his friends. There was scarcely any limit to his good nature and kindly feeling. Walking one day into the Athenæum Club, while an election was going on, he happened to observe upon the list the

name of a friend who had been some years abroad, and who was not much known in his own country. He soon discovered that this friend's interests were entirely unrepresented, and he at once took them in hand. He posted himself in the room, and never left it till he had canvassed every one he knew for the absent candidate. In small things or in great, he would make the most strenuous exertions for those who had gained his esteem. Mr. Reid has not told us what proportion of his income he spent in works of benevolence, but it must have been very large. To men of letters especially, his heart was ever open. It was not his money that many of them wanted or desired, but he very often had the power, and always the disposition, to smooth difficulties out of their path, to abridge the period of struggle, or to utter the encouraging word which sometimes enables the flagging spirit to persevere. Mr. Wemyss Reid tells us that 'little as he liked letter writing, he was constantly writing to make the names of unknown journalists and men of letters known to the leading writers of the day. If he knew that one of these humbler friends of his was going to any city abroad, he would, unsolicited, forward to him a batch of introductions to the most notable personages in the place.' Doubtless there were some who made a bad return for these or still greater services, and that fact may have inspired the cynical reflection which occurs in one of Lord Houghton's letters: 'As one gets on in life, one of the most annoying reflections is the little good one has done by what people call benevolence; in fact, how little man can be benefited by others.' There is, of course, a certain degree of truth in this remark, but there never was a man to whom it was less applicable than to Lord Houghton himself. He could not fail to be aware that he was regarded with feelings of the deepest gratitude and veneration by many who, as Mr. Reid suggests, were never destined to emerge from obscurity, as well as by others who afterwards became distinguished in the world of letters or in public life.

Lord Houghton's sympathy with men of letters may have arisen in some degree from the fact that at heart he was a man of letters himself. We fear that his writings are not much read in these days, but in spite of the political ambition which at one time kept a fast hold upon him, it was fame in literature that he most desired. It pleased him greatly to hear any of his ballads or lighter pieces sung; and some years ago he was much delighted at the great popularity secured for his 'Strangers Yet,' by a new setting from a composer who, for the time, had a wonderful success, and who assumed the name of 'Claribel.' Mr. Wemyss Reid tells us that Lord Houghton was walking one
day

day in London with a friend, when he stopped for a moment and listened eagerly to a singer whose voice had reached him. He ran off to find the wandering minstrel, and presently returned beaming with delight. The man had been singing his own well-known song, 'I wandered by the Brookside.' He used to say that a short poem or ballad was the surest passport to immortality. A hymn was better than either, and he instanced 'Rock of Ages' as a case in point. That this hymn will last we do not doubt; but of the many thousands by whom it is used, how many could tell the name of the author? Lord Houghton had a great admiration for it, and considered it one of the most truly devotional pieces ever written. Newman's 'Lead, kindly Light,' was, he maintained, and with justice, a poem, and not a hymn; and whereas 'Rock of Ages' is sung at some time during the year in almost every place of worship where the English language is spoken, poetical works, however beautiful in character, are confined to the knowledge of comparatively few.

Lord Houghton himself will be remembered as a writer chiefly by two or three songs. To the younger generation, his 'Palm Leaves' is an unknown book; yet many of his contemporaries looked upon it as a poem destined to preserve his fame green for at least a century or two to come. Mr. Wemyss Reid is inclined to think that there is still a possibility, that Lord Houghton's neglected poems will 'regain their hold upon the ear of the reading public, and will keep his name alive long after the memory of his brilliant life of social success has passed away.' We should be glad to share this hope, but the calm and placid current of Milnes's verse is little likely to take the fancy of the age in which we live. No one will deny that Byron was an infinitely greater poet than Milnes, and yet he is now comparatively little read. Southey, Rogers, Campbell—they are all fading out of sight, if not out of recollection. Campbell's wonderful lyrics will doubtless last, but who reads the 'Pleasures of Hope,' or 'Gertrude of Wyoming'? 'The Battle of the Baltic,' 'Lochiel's Warning,' 'Hohenlinden,' and 'Ye Mariners of England' are worth all the rest, from a popular point of view, that Campbell ever wrote. Rogers left nothing of the same kind behind him, and he is a mere shadow in the world of letters. Lord Houghton will fare better, mainly on account of what he called his 'short pieces.' His prose works were chiefly intended to meet the demands of the hour, and, with the exception of his 'Monographs,' few of them will be found even in a good library. He was a valued contributor to these pages, but his articles were

necessarily of the kind that quickly 'blow over.' Lord Acton, one of his sincerest friends, has justly remarked that 'he had not health for sustained effort, and he spent on reviews of the books of the day, and in running to ground topics cast up in familiar table talk, knowledge sufficient for a considerable reputation.' He was not an indolent man, but he did not like sustained labour. He never could have completed a work requiring concentrated attention over a long period. He said of himself, 'having no duties to perform, I am obliged to put up with pleasures.' It was in that *dilettante* spirit that most of his literary tasks were accomplished.

It might have been very different, if he had succeeded in his first ambition, and found a suitable opening for himself in political life. But in that field he was doomed to be bitterly disappointed. Sir Robert Peel persistently overlooked him, and denied him any opportunity of emerging from the position of a private member on the back benches. His biographer tells us, and Lord Houghton appears himself to have thought, that his literary reputation in early life 'stood in the way of the political advancement to which he aspired.' We are told that 'again and again in later life, in discussing his own career or the career of other men, he deplored the fact that, in England, popular opinion always insists upon drawing a broad line of demarcation between the man of letters and the man of affairs.' No doubt there is a common prejudice to that effect, and a very absurd one it is, for in the present day, at any rate, men of letters are frequently better men of affairs than those who are professedly devoted to ordinary commercial avocations. Moreover, in Lord Houghton's own day there were persons around him who found success in literature not at all incompatible with success in business. What was Mr. Disraeli for many years but a literary man? It is true that Sir Robert Peel may have had a prejudice against him also on that ground, but it did not prevent Mr. Disraeli rising to the very highest place in the country. For many years the present distinguished Prime Minister was a man of letters; and had he followed that career to the end, he would most certainly have gained a reputation, not so brilliant, perhaps, as that which he now enjoys, but one which the majority of his fellow-workers would have had cause to envy. If Lord Houghton had possessed the indomitable will and the patience of Disraeli, he would have thrown off the difficulties which stood in his path; but he took things easily, and was, as we have intimated, incapable of laborious and persevering effort. Mr. Disraeli was often sneered at as a 'mere literary man,' a person who 'wrote novels.' He did not allow those trifles to stand

stand in his way. But there was another cause for the failure of Lord Houghton in politics. He was not made for the peculiar sort of work which has to be done in the House of Commons. He lacked that 'flexibility,' that 'adaptability to circumstances,' which Sir Robert Peel possessed, and which is perhaps more necessary in the present day than it was even in Peel's time. He could not put his opinions on and off with the readiness which political exigencies sometimes require. He speaks in one of his letters of always finding a difficulty in believing his own side 'to be entirely in the right and other people entirely in the wrong.' But that is the very worst temperament that a man can possibly have if he means to be a successful politician. He must always be prepared to pronounce the other side 'entirely in the wrong.' A good party man, who is likely to receive promotion, should never acknowledge that he sees more than one side, even if he is unfortunate enough to be endowed with the kind of eyesight which enables him to see two.

Richard Monckton Milnes was handicapped still further; and when we mention in what respect, we are confident that we need not say another word to explain to any practical politician why it was that he failed in the House of Commons. He was one of those persons who like to think out a question for themselves, and to exercise an independent judgment upon it. Writing to Mr. Gladstone in 1843, Milnes remarks, 'Constituted as I am, I cannot take Parliament as a mere amusement, or even as one of many occupations, and therefore I am always in the dilemma either of officiously obtruding my support on a Government, thank God, too strong to want it, or of following out an independent line of action.' Mr. Gladstone's reply to this confession is interesting, and even instructive. 'Uneasy,' he wrote, 'in my opinion, must be the position of every Member of Parliament who thinks independently in these times, or in any that are likely to succeed them; and in proportion as a man's course of thought deviates from the ordinary line, his seat must less and less resemble a bed of roses.' Mr. Gladstone has had a long and varied experience since he wrote that letter, and he would probably be the first to admit that the conditions of public life make his criticism even more true now than ever it was before. There is a continual tendency to draw party lines tighter and still more tight, and to allow less and less latitude for the freedom of individual judgment. This is almost inevitable as public affairs are now carried on, but when a whole Party changes its opinions on a given question—and such a phenomenon is not unknown—it

sometimes

sometimes happens that a few Members here and there find it impossible to keep pace with the movement. Then they are very likely to be pronounced afflicted with the disqualifying and hopeless disease of 'independence,' and they pass through the experience of Richard Monckton Milnes. '*Via media*,' he sorrowfully acknowledged in a letter to a friend, 'never answers in politics, and somehow or other I can never get out of it. . . . From having lived with all sorts of people, and seen good in all, the broad black lines of judgment that people usually draw seem to me false and foolish, and I think my own finer ones just as distinct, though no one can see them but myself.' This is a charming temperament in a friend or a companion, but what practical man would not have foretold at once that it would prevent the success of Milnes in politics?

Moreover, it is perfectly evident that Milnes would soon have become disenchanted with a closer insight into the mysteries of political life. So far as could be gathered from his conversation, he had no great confidence in any of the public men of the present day. Mr. Gladstone's changes had been too sudden and sweeping for him to comprehend. The Tories, he maintained, were doing an injustice to their principles and to the cause which they represented by continually trying to outbid the Radicals. Years ago he had written in his note-book, 'It is since I have seen the governors of mankind, and what they are in comparison with the governed, that I have become a Republican.' This observation shows much greater acuteness and discernment than those who have never been close to public life would suspect. Most governing men show to the best advantage at a distance, while the mass of the governed have a desire to do that which is right, which is not always accurately measured by those in high stations. The well-known remark of the Chancellor Oxenstiern has lost none of its force—'*Nescis, mi fili, quantilla prudentia homines regantur.*' Lord Houghton was thoroughly penetrated with the truth of it, and it may be said that for very many years, and down to the time of his death, there was no public man in whom he had more than a few grains of confidence. He always hated Mr. Disraeli, and would not acknowledge that he was anything but an 'adventurer.' Carlyle, writing to him on one occasion, remarked, 'I cannot stand Disraeli trying to force his Jewish jackasseries on the world.' That was precisely Lord Houghton's feeling. He could not see that the great Conservative leader had shown true statesmanship in any part of his career. Fortunately, Lord Houghton allowed politics to slip more and more out of his life, for they were little better than a source of annoyance and
bitterness

bitterness to him. It would be easy, of course, to attribute this to his own disappointments, but that was by no means the sole or the true explanation. He honestly believed that the tone of public life was rapidly declining, and that the country was destined to suffer heavily from the deterioration which he detected in the management of national affairs. His thoughts and his conversation turned more upon books or upon the lighter events of the day than on the serious problems of politics. In that congenial field he was always at home. To spend an hour or two with him when he was in his favourite vein, was to have a gleam of brightness thrown over the whole day.

His powers of conversation, and his wide knowledge of men, were alike inexhaustible. Not only did he contribute his full share to the general stock, but he contrived to bring out all that was in others. Carlyle well described this peculiarity in a letter to his wife, written when he was a visitor to Lord Houghton, at Fryston. 'He pricks into you with questions, with remarks, with all kinds of fly-tackle to make you bite—does generally contrive to get you into some sort of speech.' The person who was subjected to this process was not always so conscious of it as Carlyle appears to have been, for Lord Houghton could skilfully conceal his 'fly-tackle.' And it was always felt that, no matter what subject arose, he had something more interesting to say about it than anybody else could contribute. Lord Acton has dwelt upon these characteristics of his friend, as every one who knew Lord Houghton would be sure to do. 'Others of his set talked as well or better,' observes Lord Acton, 'and had more of their own to say; but there was no other man who made the pleasure of conversation the business of life. . . . He knew how to draw out of each guest what was in him, to make the talk general, and discourage the eddies and hole-and-corner whisperings which are the grave of good company.' There was nothing against which Lord Houghton fought more energetically or more successfully than this 'hole-and-corner' style of conversation, at the dinner-table or elsewhere. The art of conversation, as we all know, is dying or dead, but the way in which people shut themselves up in gloomy isolation, or confine themselves to a few whispered remarks to their nearest neighbour, is something quite new even among a nation famous for its taciturnity. Many a dinner-party passes over without a single word of general conversation having occurred, and the murmured remarks that pass round the table are not calculated to inspire gaiety, or even good humour, in the company. A good
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deal, no doubt, depends upon the host, who usually permits his guests to provide every part of their own entertainment except the food, and it is not always even certain that this is of the best description.

Lord Houghton's method was wholly different. He contrived to get general talk, and to keep it up to a certain level. Shy men are much more common than most people suppose, but even these could not long hold out against Lord Houghton's persuasive wiles. He found out something or other in which the silent person was interested, or he discovered his special vein, and very soon had him under his command. He was probably the last to keep up breakfast as a social institution. The temper and manners of the age are all against the continuance of such experiments. The best part of the day was gone when one of Lord Houghton's breakfasts was over. No doubt it had been well spent, but the pressure of business with men who have anything to do grows more and more imperious, and there are few who can spare three or four hours in the middle of the day to linger over a repast which is not exactly luncheon, and yet which is almost sufficient to spoil anything but a very late dinner. It must also be admitted that Lord Houghton's good nature and catholicity of tastes sometimes resulted in bringing together a singularly assorted company. They came from all quarters, they probably met for the first time, it was very likely that most of them were unknown to each other, and all Lord Houghton's tact and skill could not always prevail to combine the incongruous materials which he had collected. It was difficult at times to avoid the suspicion that he was chuckling slyly at the head of his table at the 'menagerie,' as some irreverent person called these breakfasts, which had assembled at his call. He was seldom seen at his best on these occasions. The smaller parties which assembled at Fryston, or in the house of his kinsman, Lord Crewe, afforded him opportunities more in harmony with his tastes, and he never failed to make good use of them. It was as Mr. Wemyss Reid says:—'He could tell his interlocutors something about every man or woman of note whose name cropped up in the course of conversation—something which could not be learnt from books, but which Houghton had acquired for himself in the course of his life of study and observation.' At times, however, he would hide himself for hours with a book. He liked novels, but maintained that there was no English novelist except Wilkie Collins who could construct a plot. 'Well written,' he would say, 'almost everything is fairly well written nowadays, but there is no story in it.'

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He was acquainted with almost every composition in verse which appeared during his own day. He may almost be said to have discovered Swinburne, of whose great powers, especially when they first flashed upon the world, he had an exalted opinion. None of the Victorian poets, he maintained, had produced anything finer than the choruses in 'Atalanta in Calydon.' But he, like others, recognized that the message which the new poet had to deliver was soon told. It is curious to find, by the by, that Lord Houghton should have had any doubt as to the authorship of the song 'Home, sweet Home.' In a note to the *Athenæum*, written in December 1871, he referred to the well-known air as being Sicilian, but that, we believe, has never been proved. Sir George Grove tells us, in the 'Dictionary of Music,' that the melody occurs in Bishop's opera of 'Clari, or the Maid of Milan,' and that in the published music it is called a Sicilian air, but, he adds, 'it is not impossibly Bishop's own.' However that may be, it is absolutely certain that Lord Houghton was wrong in attributing the words to 'Baily or Thomas Moore.' They were written by an American, John Howard Payne, and his claim to them has never, so far as we are aware, been disputed. The Government of the United States placed a monument over his grave as a tribute to the author of so popular a song.

Lord Houghton's own visit to the United States formed a veritable epoch in his life, and furnished him, at a period when he much needed them, with many new friends and agreeable associations. He had once declared himself, as we have seen, to be a Republican, but that was more in sport than in earnest. In his heart he was a Conservative with generous instincts, and with a deep sympathy for the poor and neglected portion of the community. He soon saw that a Republican system of government was by no means perfect, but during his residence in the United States he prudently avoided being enticed into those discussions concerning the respective merits of the English and American form of governments, with which many Americans like to amuse themselves. Like a wise man, Lord Houghton knew perfectly well that such discussions settle nothing, and are not often started with the simple view of obtaining a candid exchange of opinion. Many Englishmen go to America full of the idea that there is nothing good out of England. They take with them a British measure, and decide that everything which corresponds exactly with it is fair and tolerable, but that which differs in any respect from it is to be condemned without mercy. These are the persons
out

out of whom the shrewd and quick-witted Yankee easily extracts boundless sport. It is needless to say that Lord Houghton fell into none of these traps. Everywhere he went he met with hosts of friends, and his popularity was so great as to astonish him, for he had not supposed that his name was widely known across the Atlantic. As a matter of fact, however, the Americans lose sight of very little that is written or done in the old country, and we need not recall the numerous instances in which the recognition of great merit or unusual excellence has come first from them. It was so with Carlyle, with Herbert Spencer, with George Meredith, and with many others. It is true that this recognition has not always been a source of pecuniary profit to the object of it, but that is the fault of the state of the copyright laws, and not of the American people. That was a topic on which Lord Houghton conversed with members of Congress whenever he could find a chance, but like everybody else, from Charles Dickens downwards, he failed to produce the result he desired. We are now, it appears, to have a copyright law, but, again with true American skill, it has been so devised as to give the oyster to America and the shells to England. Should it be adopted, it will carry still further the main scheme of all American policy and legislation—that is to say, it will strike an additional blow at certain English industries, while encouraging corresponding industries in America. No doubt, however, it will be entirely satisfactory to the threatened interests to be informed, on good authority, that any attempt to interfere with this arrangement would 'be an almost undisguised example of protective legislation, and would be opposed to the free-trade character of British policy.' If, then, printers, papermakers, and other persons are thrown out of employment in this country, they will bear their sufferings cheerfully for the sake of enabling professors, statisticians, and other learned persons to say that we are consistent in our free-trade policy. The political economist will tell them that the community has nothing to do with their welfare, and that it is their business to leave a 'weak industry,' and turn to some other, if they can. If they cannot, there is always a British workhouse open to receive them.

Lord Houghton's welcome in America was none the less cordial, because he had been one of the few in leading English circles, who had sympathised with the Northern States in the great Civil War, and had predicted their victory. This view may have been produced in his mind, in some degree, by his friendship and intercourse with Emerson, Longfellow, Charles Sumner,

Sumner, and Motley, and by the influence they had over him. The Americans thought it strange that Englishmen universally did not sympathise with a war for the abolition of slavery, but perhaps they might have taken into consideration the unquestionable fact, that this object of the war was not obvious to themselves, much less to the outer world, for a very considerable time after hostilities had been carried on. It took even President Lincoln a long space for reflection before he perceived that the compulsory abolition of slavery without compensation was involved in the war. In February 1865 he communicated to the Cabinet the draft of a message and proclamation in which he proposed to pay four hundred millions of dollars to the Southern States by way of recompense for the liberation of their slaves, proceeding on the principle which England had adopted in dealing with slavery in the West Indies. But the Cabinet were unanimously opposed to the President, and he withdrew his proposition.

Englishmen, who could not see that the North went into the war for the express purpose of abolishing slavery, or even that the abolition of slavery was necessarily involved in the war, were no blinder than an immensely large proportion of American citizens. No doubt the direction in which events were inevitably tending became clear in the United States long before it did here, but some allowance must be made for the effect produced in this country by the utterances of many foremost American public men. Lord Houghton, however, had from the first shared Mr. Bright's opinion that the North would win, and ought to win, and that did not stand in his way when, for the first time, he found himself among the Americans. He saw Longfellow in failing health and strength, and Emerson in much the same condition. Oliver Wendell Holmes he describes as 'very sprightly, and like his books.' It is with pleasure that the world has recently received from Dr. Holmes another of his charming volumes, more mature in its wisdom, and scarcely less 'sprightly,' than the 'Autocrat of the Breakfast Table.' Lord Houghton's old friend, Mr. Samuel Ward, piloted him almost everywhere, and displayed that untiring devotion and attachment which endeared him to all who enjoyed the privilege of his friendship. Mr. Ward's name was very seldom heard, except among strangers, the universal substitute for it being 'Uncle Sam.' A more delightful companion, a kinder-hearted human being, a firmer or a truer friend, never breathed. In many a home, and to many a man and woman, the world has been darker since 'Uncle Sam' was removed from it.

As a matter of course, Lord Houghton did not escape the 'interviewer,' who in those days was not quite the power which he has become since. To see an interviewer is bad, because he is very apt to decorate—'fix up,' as he calls it—anything that may be said. To refuse to see him is sometimes worse, because then he goes away and invents a conversation in which the stranger does not cut so satisfactory a figure as he would naturally wish. One of this class of enterprising journalists, who obtained access to Lord Houghton, described him as the author of a work entitled 'Monograms,' and another, upon whom he had evidently made a favourable impression, said that he was 'as easy and plain as an old shoe.' To a third, who asked him his opinion of the American press, he ventured to address a remonstrance against the wholesale abuse and calumny to which American public men are exposed. At that time President Grant was being assailed 'as a drunkard, a liar, and a thief.' Lord Houghton mildly suggested that all this was really an attack on the Republic itself. The reporter reproduced his views in the following form:—'Lord Houghton is not inclined to admit that President Grant is a drunkard and a thief, and he thinks that, even if he is, the fact should not be published to the world in the newspapers.' President Grant himself, it may be mentioned, received the attacks which were levelled at him with his usual equanimity. His home circle, his personal character from childhood upwards, his habits of life, his friends, his tastes, his various pursuits—all were exposed to the bitterest misrepresentation and slander. General Grant never complained, though he was by no means callous to the efforts of his political and personal enemies to blacken his reputation. He knew the conditions attending public life in his own country, and accepted them with stolidity. Occasionally, however, a more than usually dastardly attack on some member of his family would rouse him to anger. Lord Houghton was on very good terms with him; and when the General came to England, after his second term of office had expired, he was an honoured guest in the house then occupied by Lord Houghton in Arlington Street. He looked on with quiet amusement at the almost endless stream of ladies and gentlemen who passed before him at one of the great receptions given in his honour, but neither then nor at any other time had General Grant the slightest taste or inclination for what is commonly called 'society.' He was frozen into obstinate silence in the presence of strangers, although no man could talk more freely or pleasantly when in the company of a few tried friends. He knew little of Lord Houghton's favourite pursuits, but he thoroughly appreciated

appreciated the hospitality which was shown to him. He was also greatly interested with Lord Houghton's reminiscences of the great writers and other distinguished persons whom he had known. He met with no one in London who impressed and fascinated him so much, except Mr. Gladstone, whose powers of conversation, apart altogether from his political views, took General Grant by storm. Yet he frankly admitted on one occasion that Mr. Disraeli had struck him as being a more remarkable man than either of the others. 'He told me,' he said to a friend, 'that we ought to have kept Mexico when we had a chance, and that it was almost a crime to let her go. I said the same thing at the time of the Mexican war,' added General Grant, 'but I could not get anybody to pay attention to me. I never heard the subject mentioned for many years afterwards, until Mr. Disraeli sprung it on me all at once the other evening. We had not been talking about Mexico—about nothing in particular. Then he turned to me and said what I have just told you. He impresses one very much, but your greatest man is Mr. Gladstone.' General Grant naturally had more faith in the politics professed by Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party at that day than he had in Conservatism.

It is much to be regretted that Lord Houghton kept no journal during his visit to America, for undoubtedly he formed some very strong opinions on many topics of interest connected with that country, and entered freely into them in conversation. It may safely be said that his 'Republicanism' was not strengthened by what he saw and heard. The spectacle presented by the Government of New York City put to flight some of his former ideas as to the efficiency and economy of institutions, which were supposed to be, but which really were not, under the direct control of the people. At Washington he came into contact with some examples of the 'professional politician,' and confessed that he did not see much to lead him to the conclusion, that the House of Commons had anything to suffer from a comparison with the House of Representatives. In one respect he thought the latter had the advantage—namely, in the smaller number of its members. The affairs of the United States were then managed with considerably less than half the number of representatives of the people which is deemed necessary for the popular branch of the Legislature in England. He considered the American model decidedly the better of the two, and there are few practical men who, after thoroughly looking into the question, have not arrived at the same conclusion. On these subjects, Lord Houghton wisely refrained from seeking to force his own opinions upon others. He kept on
good

good terms with men of all shades of politics; and when he was about to leave New York, many members of both the great parties of the day united to do him honour. Upon his return home, he wrote an article for these pages containing some of the fruits of his observations, but he confined himself almost entirely to the social aspects of American life. Incidentally, he referred to the fact that the ordinary 'English traveller in the United States is continually amazed and perplexed by the large similarities of principles and character, and the comparatively small diversities of manners and institutions,' and he dwelt with much interest on certain chapters in the family history of some early settlers in America. He was content, however, in accordance with his usual bent, to skim over the surface of things, and as to contemporary politics he said nothing. A dream seems to have been in his mind that the day might come when the two nations would be practically one, or, as he put it, 'it is difficult indeed to say in which of the political, financial, or moral elements of the future we have not a common interest, and may not exchange our experiments and experiences, until by combined intelligence, benevolence, and honesty of purpose, we may enable the next "Centennial" to pass unobserved in the United History of England and America.' These are very pleasing sentiments to be uttered over a dinner-table; but, if Lord Houghton really fancied they had any deeper meaning in them, he little understood the feelings and opinions, which are entertained on the subject by the great bulk of the American people, and which continually find expression in their press, and not unfrequently in the halls of their legislature. It would probably be only too easy to overrate that attachment to the 'mother country' on the part of Americans, which plays so touching a part on those festive occasions, when it is justly deemed more desirable to make a display of good feeling than to deal with the unvarnished truth.

As an instance of the ruling tendency of Lord Houghton's nature, we may mention an incident connected with a luncheon party given by him in New York just before his departure. He had heard in some indirect way that there was living in the city a lady of good family, the daughter of one of his old friends, who had, in an ill-fated moment, married a person in the service of her father. A *mésalliance* might not have mattered very much if the husband had been worthy of the sacrifice made for him; but, as usually happens in such cases, he was not. He seemed to think that, after marriage, it was the duty of his wife or her friends to maintain him, and upon this principle he acted when he arrived in New York. For some time, the young

young lady, who was delicate in health, and little fitted to bear more than her fair share of life's burdens, earned enough money to support the two by taking in washing. How Lord Houghton found her out we do not now remember, for they were hidden in some miserable tenement-house in a back street. But he was determined to see what could be done for them, and therefore he invited several influential persons in New York to meet them at a luncheon party, briefly described in the second volume of these memoirs. The husband was a rough sort of Irishman, who did not evince any anxiety to improve the opportunity of obtaining some employment thus thrown in his way. The wife received the most considerate and kindly treatment from the good-hearted American ladies present, but there was only one of them that she could be induced to visit. She had cast in her lot with her husband, and meant to abide by it. One of the party soon succeeded in finding a situation for her husband, such as might easily have enabled him to make a good start, but probably he had no ambition in that direction. The sequel was distressing enough—the wife died, as much from disappointment and grief as from any other cause, and to the last she declined to receive any help from her relations in England. It was one of the cases which show, as Lord Houghton himself has remarked, 'how very little man can be benefited by others.' But that was not his fault.

Among Lord Houghton's most valued friends was Mr. Delane, the great editor of the 'Times.' They went together to Paris in 1867, and Lord Houghton introduced Mr. Delane to the Queen of Holland, who asked him how many subscribers he had. It was an awkward question, as Lord Houghton says, but Delane's presence of mind never forsook him. 'Un million, Madame,' was his reply, and the Queen was satisfied, as she had a right to be. She called some one up to Delane, and introduced him as '*le quatrième pouvoir de l'État britannique.*' It would scarcely be an exaggeration to apply those words to the greater part of Mr. Delane's brilliant career. A remark somewhat similar to that of the Queen of Holland was made by President Lincoln when Mr. W. H. Russell was introduced to him. 'There are two great powers in the world, Mr. Russell,' said the President, 'the Mississippi and the "Times."' There is a letter in one of these volumes from Delane to Lord Houghton, in which Dr. Russell's letter describing the battle of the Alma is praised 'as the most extraordinary literary feat on record.' No one was ever so eager to do justice to his subordinates, and to see that they had their due credit for good work, as Mr. Delane. The rules of anonymous journalism, to which he rigorously

rigorously adhered, kept him within somewhat narrow lines in this respect, but all that could be done to gratify his correspondents and writers he took care to do. A severe disciplinarian, he was the most generous and appreciative of chiefs, and there was probably not one of his personal staff who would not gladly have gone to the other side of the world to have been of the least assistance to him. Many of the conditions of journalism have changed greatly since Mr. Delane made the 'Times' a power throughout the world; but his marvellous qualifications for his duties, his almost superhuman powers of work, his wealth of knowledge, his wonderful faculty of perceiving the drift of public opinion and grasping the hidden meaning of events—in these gifts he has never been excelled.

The American journey was the last important incident in Lord Houghton's life. He went about among his friends almost as much as ever, but his health was gradually breaking down, and he seems to have been conscious that he was gradually falling more and more into the background. A generation was coming to the front which knew him not, and he had no longer the elasticity of mind which would have enabled him to enter into its spirit and share its moods. One of the last public dinners at which he was present was that given to Mr. Edmund Yates in May 1885, and on that occasion Lord Houghton's friends did not fail to mark a great change in him. He made a short speech, and received a most hearty reception from the very numerous company, which had representatives among it of almost every branch of literature and art, science and commerce. When he sat down he remarked to a friend, 'I think that is my last speech—I am very ill, not fit to be here. I came to show respect for Yates; and what a clever speech he has made! I like to hear him refer to his early difficulties, it makes the literary swells so angry.' He chuckled, but the tears were in his eyes. It must have been in the preceding August that Mr. Wemyss Reid saw him at Fryston, and hearing him complain of bad health asked him what was the matter. 'Death,' he answered gravely; 'that is what is the matter with me; I am going to die. . . . I am going over to the majority,' he added, 'and, you know, I have always preferred the minority.' An odd accident occurred to him a few weeks afterwards. He was at the Durdans, Lord Rosebery's house, and one night he fell out of bed and broke his collar-bone. He told his biographer that he 'had dreamed he was being pursued by Mr. Gladstone in a hansom cab, and that in his struggle to escape from him he had fallen on the floor.' In August 1885 he went to Vichy with his sister, Lady Galway, and had not been there many
hours

hours before he was seized with a difficulty of breathing, and soon passed quickly away. He was buried at Fryston, the service being conducted by the Archbishop of York, who himself 'went over to the majority' in the closing month of 1890.

Mr. Wemyss Reid has brought together in an appendix some of the sayings of Sydney Smith, Carlyle, Macaulay, and others, gathered from Lord Houghton's commonplace books. There is nothing very new or remarkable in them. The *esprit* of a clever saying often vanishes in the process of conveying it to paper. Lord Houghton's anecdotes came with much greater point from his own lips than they possess in print. Some of his own thoughts which he jotted down from time to time are marked by great shrewdness, penetration, and common sense. 'The mine of truth,' he remarks, 'is deep in many hearts, though only openly worked here and there.' And again: 'Every man who finds himself in the wrong has learnt something.' Of his own character he wrote: 'He hoped little and believed little, but he rarely despaired, and never valued unbelief, except as leading to some larger truth and purer conviction.' His belief was certainly not large or deep in its nature, but it was probably deeper than he thought. He described himself as a 'Puseyite sceptic,' and Carlyle as a 'Free Kirk infidel.' He thought that it was 'much easier to be a pure-minded and unselfish Liberal than Tory.' There is a good deal of truth in this: 'You calculate the spiritual advancement of the people by the number of church and chapel sittings; you might just as well decide the amount of food consumed in a house from the number of square feet occupied by the kitchen.' And this also has doubtless been felt by others besides Lord Houghton: 'The worst effect on myself resulting from attendance on Parliament is that it prevents me from forming any clear political opinions on any subject.'

Lord Acton says that Lord Houghton 'loved to be thought a failure.' We very much doubt it, but we believe that he felt very seriously, and sometimes bitterly, that his life had practically been a failure, regarded from the point of view of his early hopes and aspirations. One of his own notes about himself is this: 'I look on the Parable of the Talents as the Law and the Gospel, and could almost be contented to lose my faculties in the consideration that I was relieved from the responsibility of employing them.' Unless we totally misunderstand this, it supplies the explanation of his never having made the mark which other men have made with far inferior gifts. He could

not, as we have already suggested, grapple with a disagreeable task day after day. Men have attained to great success in public life with a tenth of Lord Houghton's abilities, but they could plod and push—especially the latter. That was entirely out of Lord Houghton's range. He could not press his way to the front by the arts of self-advertising. There are various roads to political preferment, and he was so constituted that he would not have been able to go far enough on any of them to win the prize. When he had seen the nature of the path, and the character of the associates with whom he was destined to walk, he would have turned back. As he grew older, he perceived clearly that nothing had improved. It must frankly be admitted that his cherished ambitions were ungratified, but he must have been conscious that he had accomplished a vast amount of good for others who were unable to help themselves, and who, but for his kindly aid, would have been numbered among those who fall by the roadside and disappear. Not every man who has seen all his great ambitions realised has had the closing scenes of life irradiated by the sympathy which accompanied Lord Houghton to the grave.

- ART. VII.—1. *Returns issued by the Education Department.* London, 1890.
2. *Report of the Committee of Council on Education (England and Wales).* London, 1890.
3. *The New Code of Regulations, by the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education.* London, 1890.

THERE is no characteristic on which Englishmen are more disposed to pride themselves than their practical power. They are inclined to think that in the adaptation of means to secure the desired end they enjoy a superiority to all other nations. They have no doubt some ground for this vaunting; but whilst allowing that, it must also be said that they are capable of making pitiable failures; and when party spirit or religious animosity is allowed to enter their minds, those failures become somewhat humiliating.

We fear that the experiments in national education made during the last half-century must be regarded as illustrative of a want of practical power in dealing with a most important subject. If we look candidly at the facts, it cannot be said that the education of our labouring population has been a success, whilst the cost at which it has been carried on has been altogether out of proportion to the good effected. Whenever the system pursued has been examined by experts, such serious defects have been discovered, that violent changes have had to be made; and it is not too much to say that, in the last forty years or rather more, during which we have had a system of popular education controlled by the Government of the country, there have been what amounts to three revolutions: the first in 1861, directly dealing with the quality of the education given; the second in 1870, with the quantity; and now a third in 1890, when the quality of education is again brought under review. That there is a present need for such revolution the following extracts from the Report of the Education Commission, which appeared a couple of years since, convincingly show:—

‘We are bound, however, before entering upon the consideration of the curriculum, to call attention to the fact, that witnesses of all classes testify to the imperfect hold of knowledge gained in elementary schools. It is obvious that to teach a child to observe and think by proper training of the mind will more effectually develop its capacity and faculties than premature initiation into matters beyond its intellectual habits. We regard this as one of the most important matters which we have to investigate in connexion with elementary instruction, and we do not hesitate to affirm that a

thorough grounding in the rudiments of knowledge is an essential condition of any national system, which is to secure permanent educational results. If these permanent results fail to be attained in the case of reading, writing, and arithmetic, which all children leaving school must, to some extent, keep in practice, it may be feared that knowledge of other subjects, not engaging their attention after they quit school, will evaporate, and thus much time devoted to such subjects will be practically wasted.'* 'Looked at from all sides, it is plain there is room for much improvement in reading.'† 'Good reading is at the present time often sacrificed to instruction in spelling.'‡ 'But little evidence was given on the matter of handwriting, although much was said about the spelling.'§ 'The Inspectors should be instructed at their annual visits to see that the children have been taught, as far as their years permit, the principles of the rules of arithmetic as well as their working. This cannot be done on paper, but evidently requires to be attended to carefully. The evidence we have listened to shows how many teachers fail to understand that, looking at the matter from the lowest point of view, the best results are likely to be attained, and in the shortest time, by the employment of intelligent methods.'||

Taking the first sentence we have quoted from this Report as laying down the right principle by which the excellence of a popular system of education is to be tested, and then looking at the conclusions arrived at by the Commission as to the manner in which our system is to be judged by that principle, we fear that no other conclusion is possible than that the system has been anything but a success. It may be well to examine the steps by which our present position has been reached, that we may have some idea of the causes to which the want of success is attributable.

It was not till 1839 that the Government can be said to have taken more than a nominal interest in national education, and it was not till seven years later that it became responsible for directing it. For some few years before 1839 it had given annually a comparatively small sum towards assisting in the erection of elementary schools; but in expending this sum it assumed no responsibility: it was equally divided between the National Society, as representing the Church, and the British and Foreign School Society, as representing the Protestant Dissenters, to apply according to the requirements for school building by their respective constituents; and upon receiving a certificate from one of these societies that a school was completed, the Government paid its quota. On these societies

* Education Comm. 'Report,' p. 133.

† Ibid. p. 136.

‡ 'Report,' p. 135.

§ Ibid.

|| Ibid. p. 137.

was thrown the onus of determining all that related to the form and size of the school-buildings, what should be taught in them, and to whom the work of teaching in them should be entrusted, and the whole cost of their maintenance. It was not till 1846 that the Government took the question of national education really in hand. It had previously appointed inspectors to visit the existing schools and report upon their efficiency, but there its interference ended. In that year it made grants towards their maintenance, and so to some extent laid down the lines on which they should be taught. In doing this the Education Department forbore from giving directions about details, but insisted upon teachers certificated by itself being employed, and upon there being an adequate staff of pupil teachers. For some years previously preparations had been making to enable the Government to take this step. The great want had been efficient teachers; the first step therefore towards amendment was providing for the training of suitable persons to undertake the charge of elementary schools. The first training college for this purpose was opened in 1841, and by 1846 fourteen institutions of the kind were in active operation, most of them being in connexion with the National Society: the larger part of the cost of erecting them was raised by voluntary subscriptions, the balance being supplied by a grant from the National Exchequer. The great aim of the Education Department, and of the religious societies and friends of education who co-operated with them, was to secure a body of good, well-trained teachers; to this they trusted for elevating the tone of the education given; for its extension they relied on the religious zeal of the country. For this purpose large sums were provided by Churchmen and others. The Education Department had no thought at that time of having all schools conducted on the same model, or of laying down the exact amount of progress that each child was to make every year, or of directing what subjects *must*, and what others *might*, be taught. As Sir James Kay Shuttleworth expressed it:—

‘The conception was, that it would be a good method of distributing public money to pay for the means of education, rather than to attempt any method of payment which should be determined by results. The principle adopted was, that good means being obtained and well superintended, the result would be sure.’ *

Consequently grants were made towards the education of students in training colleges, and towards paying the salaries of duly

* Education Comm. ‘Report,’ 1858, vi. 308.

qualified

qualified teachers and pupil teachers. As practical men who had seen a good deal of the world, who knew the inequalities of result in public schools and the Universities, and the wide difference of talent and opportunity of learning in every class of life, they did not expect to find a uniformity of ability and attainment amongst people of the labouring classes that was not to be found elsewhere.

The results of this system were such as might be expected. It furnished the opportunity of acquiring a good elementary education to the children who sought to avail themselves of it, and who remained at school for a sufficient time to gain the advantage it offered ; but where these conditions of success were wanting, the education was a failure. This is clearly brought out by the Royal Commission appointed in 1858, which reported about twelve years after the improvements spoken of by Sir James Kay Shuttleworth had been made. The Rev. F. C. Cook, one of Her Majesty's Inspectors, states in his evidence before that Commission, when asked,

‘What is the degree of attainment which you should require in a school upon which you would report favourably to the Privy Council?—That the children should write from dictation correctly. I should select the passage myself. I generally give out two or three sentences myself, enough to test the results. I should say that the penmanship and the spelling are very good in a great many schools. I think they are exceedingly good for boys ; as regards arithmetic, they are thoroughly good arithmeticians in a good school as far as vulgar fractions and decimals. In all the principal schools they are very well taught now : the masters and mistresses are trained very thoroughly in arithmetic. The children read with great fluency ; if you were to go into any good London school and examine the first class, you would find that there was scarcely a boy who had not some dozen books of his own, which he is in the habit of reading. They can read with perfect fluency before they leave school. Those are the essentials. With respect to their knowledge of Scripture, there is a good deal of difference of opinion ; but I have for a long time watched it very carefully, and I think it an extremely satisfactory knowledge. I think that they have a very good knowledge of the text, and a very good understanding of the practical and doctrinal teaching. The reading books give them a great deal of general information. With regard to the knowledge of grammar, I think that there are very few schools in which boys know much grammar, very few in which they understand it at all ; but in some they understand it very thoroughly, and grammar is exceedingly well taught in the training institutions. The boys have more knowledge of geography than I think most people have after the age of thirty ; their memory is more practised, and they retain the facts easily ;

easily; besides which, geography is taught in a very interesting manner. Physical geography has been well taught of late years.*

Elsewhere the same Mr. Cook says:—

‘Formerly it was simply impossible to teach children in large National schools to read correctly and intelligently; at present, when the organisation is complete, the progress of all the classes ought to be satisfactory. But there is, and always will be, great danger lest teachers of considerable ability, and even energy, should neglect the somewhat mechanical and certainly most fatiguing work of bestowing upon every section and every individual child that amount of care and systematic attention which is requisite in order to secure proficiency in these elementary subjects, upon which real progress in all teachers of elementary education principally depend.’†

It may be well to quote another witness: we take Mr. Matthew Arnold. He says:—

‘At present an inspector finding an advanced upper class in a school, a class working sums in fractions, decimals, and higher rules, and answering well in grammar and history, constructs, half insensibly, whether so inclined or not, but with the greatest ease if so inclined, a most favourable report on a school, whatever may be the character of the classes which help to compose it. But it is evident that the attention of your Lordships is especially concentrated on those other classes, and that an elementary school excites your interest principally as it deals with these, as it deals with the mass of children who, remaining but a short time at school, and having few or no advantages at home, can acquire little but rudimentary instruction; not as it deals with the much smaller number, whose parents can enable them to remain long at school and pursue their studies at home, to carry on their education, in short, under favourable circumstances, and who, therefore, less need the care and assistance of your Lordships.’‡

The Royal Commission of 1858 thus sums up its remarks and recommendations on the subject:—

‘We believe that to raise the general character of the children, both morally and intellectually, is, and must always be, the highest aim of education, and we are far from desiring to supersede this by any plan of a mere examination into the more mechanical work of elementary education, the reading, writing, and arithmetic, of boys below ten years of age. But we think that the importance of this training, which must be the foundation of all other teaching, has been lost sight of; and that there is justice in the common complaint that while a fourth of the scholars are really taught, three-fourths after leaving school forget everything they have learnt there.’§

* Education Comm. ‘Report,’ 1858, vi. 127.

† Ibid. i. 239.

‡ Ibid. i. 247, 248.

§ Ibid. i. 321.

At the time that this Report appeared, Mr. Lowe (the present Lord Sherbrooke) was Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education. He was persuaded that too much was expended on elementary education out of the National Exchequer, and that the country failed to obtain a due return for its liberality. To remedy this evil, and also to meet the defects pointed out by the evidence and the Report of the Education Commission, he proposed an entirely new system of measuring out assistance to the elementary schools, and unfortunately he took no note of many of the cautions and recommendations contained in the Report of the Commissioners. Instead of continuing to make grants direct to the teachers and pupil teachers from the Consolidated Fund, by which they became Civil servants, and after a time could claim pensions, he propounded a plan which was accepted by Parliament, by which the Education Department ceased to recognize the teachers directly. All arrangements for the future were to be made with the managers of the schools; they were to be responsible for all the finances of the school; the teachers were to be employed, paid, and dismissed by them, without appeal to the Department; and to enable them to fulfil their responsibilities they were to be entitled to a grant from Government, to be measured out by the success of their scholars in passing an examination in elementary subjects. Beside this, there was to be a certain fixed grant, calculated on the average attendance, and the whole sum to which they could be entitled was never to exceed 15s. for each child in average attendance, and was not to reach that sum unless the managers raised an equal amount from voluntary subscriptions and the children's pence. To make the economical character of the arrangement still more manifest, it was ordained that the income from endowments was not to be reckoned as part of the sum which the managers were bound to raise, although many of those endowments had been recently given by the founders of the schools for their perpetual maintenance. The plan further included minute instructions concerning the number and qualifications of the teachers to be employed, and the amount of attainment which the children were to possess to entitle the school to claim the Government grant, so that the Education Department took the responsibility of elementary education upon itself, so far as concerned the system to be pursued, and left with the managers only the responsibility of carrying out, well or ill, that system. The Department furnished carefully graduated standards of instruction on the different subjects, one of which was to be passed each year; no child was to be allowed to be presented in

two successive years in the same standard, even though it had failed to pass successfully when it first tried.

There was much in this plan to commend itself to those who know nothing of elementary education. It was called 'payment by results,' and what could seem more fair than to pay a school for the good it accomplished? It seemed to place under the control of Parliament the elementary education of the country in all its details. It would certainly secure attention to each child, as it was only those who could pass the required examination who would earn a grant. It promised to remedy the evils which had been specially complained of, and no one either knew or seemed to consider whether it would not inflict more injustice than it cured. Under the superseded system, the dull and careless children had been neglected for the clever ones; under the new proposals, a little reflection might have shown that it was more than probable that the clever children would be neglected for the dull and stupid ones. The proposal was essentially of a doctrinaire character; it was made up of rigid rules and mechanical tests; it reversed all that had been done before by ignoring the general efficiency of the school, and substituting for it the skill of the individual scholars in passing an examination; it divested the managers of responsibility for the education given, and practically substituted for it the authority of the Education Department over which in such matters the control of Parliament could only be nominal; it clearly showed that it emanated from those who had no knowledge of the working classes, and who supposed that they differed essentially from more educated people, by all of them being endowed with the same amount of intelligence, and the same opportunities for acquiring the learning taught at school.

The immediate effect of this new system, introduced in 1862, was to terrify the promoters of voluntary schools, who had practical knowledge of the subject, and for some time the annual increase in the number of new schools was materially lessened. After a time people became accustomed to it, and all the evil which eventually flowed from it did not immediately appear. Moreover as the value and importance of popular education came to be more realized, and the need for teaching children at schools the truths of religion, if Christianity was to retain any hold upon them in our large towns, came to be more fully understood, those interested in the welfare of the labouring classes were content to work under the new system as they had done under the old one.

The system thus inaugurated has been gradually developed by the addition of new subjects of instruction, to each of which a price
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by way of payment has been fixed. In some cases these paying subjects were directed to be taught in class, and then, if the children passed more or less satisfactorily, a grant of 1*s.* or 2*s.* was awarded for each child in the class; in others, each child was to be examined in what was technically termed a specific subject, and if it succeeded in passing, it earned a grant of 4*s.* From time to time changes were made, but they were only in points of detail; the system remained substantially the same until the New Code was accepted by Parliament in the June of last year, and came into operation on the 1st of September. It is not too much to say that the effect of the system, now superseded to a considerable extent, has been to convert the teaching given in the elementary schools of the country into a struggle for earning grants rather than for educating the children. The additional subjects chosen by teachers and managers have for the most part been those which could be most easily learned to an extent sufficient to secure the grant, rather than those which would most benefit the children in after life, and the skill of a teacher has come to be measured by the percentage in the number of passes which the children in his school obtained, and not by their general moral and intellectual improvement; whilst all thought of the influence which their education will have upon their conduct in after-life seems not to be thought of in the popular estimate of the success of our educational system. Additional teachers have been employed in schools where expense was no object, because the process of passing dull and stupid children depends on the amount of cramming they receive, and cramming demands individual attention, and so the schools which expended most money on this operation stood apparently in the position of the best educators, because the published returns showed that their percentages of success stood the highest. Education Ministers paraded before the House of Commons statements of the vast success their Department was achieving, as shown by the enlarged attendances at school, and the higher percentage of passes in the various standards that was obtained; for as practice makes perfect, so each year the teachers became more skilled in supplying what Her Majesty's Inspectors required. And as the attention of members of Parliament, and of the country generally, was instructed by those who were in the seats of authority to look in this direction, as a perfect indication of the success achieved, there was a general conviction that our educational system was excellent, and was accomplishing all that we could wish. It is a little trying to have such an illusion rudely dispelled, but there is more truth than it is pleasant to read in an answer given by Mr. Wild (a school-master)

master) to the recent Education Commission : ' I maintain that the present system demoralizes teachers, managers, inspectors, and every one connected with it.' (Q. 13,713.) If instead of demoralizes he had said blinds their eyes to the true state of things, we could have entirely agreed with him. Many of the teachers lifted up their voices in opposition in the outspoken manner just quoted, and occasionally managers were heard in the same direction ; but it is so pleasant to take an optimistic view, and so few people had any real knowledge of the subject, that these opposing notes were looked upon as the ill-advised murmurings of dissatisfied people, that were not deserving of consideration. And every one being apparently persuaded that ' payment by results ' really was what it professed to be, and that the results were a fair measure of the work done in the schools, the system went on for thirty years unchecked, and was still further developed from time to time, until at last the top stone was placed upon the edifice by allotting a penny to each 1 per cent. of the children who passed in the elementary subjects. At last a Royal Commission was appointed to enquire into the question, and it was then found that the popular voice was wrong, and the murmurings of experts were right, and that, in spite of all that had been done, and the comfortable persuasions in which Education Ministers, Parliament and people had indulged that the millions we had spent on education had been well laid out, the instruction given to the children was found to be not better now than it was thirty years since, if so good ; for we imagine that such must be the conclusion at which most candid people will arrive, when they read the following opinion of it, as expressed by the last Royal Commission :—

' We have also felt bound to consider, as bearing upon our recommendations, the important evidence to which we have before alluded, which, coming from various quarters, testifies to the disappointing fact that under our present system, though the results of inspection of schools by examination of scholars may appear satisfactory, many of the children lose, with extraordinary rapidity, after leaving school, the knowledge which has been so laboriously and expensively imparted to them. We are thus led to believe that a system of " cram " with a view to immediate results, which tends to check the great advance made of late years in all our education amongst all ranks, and threatens to destroy the love of knowledge for its own sake, is prevailing more and more, though under different conditions, in our public elementary schools ; and that, unless a large change is now made, as the system must become in working more rigid, so its evils will increase rather than diminish.' *

* ' Report,' p. 182.

It is sometimes asked, what effect has the system, just discarded, had upon the school life of the children? Has it been sufficiently popular with them to induce many to remain at school longer than the law required, or have they left school as soon as they could obtain the necessary labour certificate, which will prevent their being interfered with by the requirements of the compulsory laws? The figures clearly show that the latter is the case. In 1850, more than one child in thirty of those who had their names on the school-books was over fourteen years of age; in 1860, the number was reduced below one in forty; in 1889, less than one in a hundred is of that age. The number of scholars between thirteen and fourteen is proportionately slightly less in 1889 than at the earlier date; whilst of those between twelve and thirteen the proportion is considerably greater. This may possibly arise to some extent from a compulsory law of attendance; the parents of children attending elementary schools are inclined to say, 'The law compels me to do so much; I will do that, but nothing shall induce me to do more.' What the figures just quoted clearly show is that there is no more love of education amongst the children for whom our elementary schools are intended now than there was thirty or forty years since, if so much.

We are tempted to quote here a passage from 'General' Booth's '*Darkest England*,' because he views the whole question from such a different standpoint from ours, and yet his opinion of it so materially coincides with what we have said:—

'But, it will be said, the child of to-day has the inestimable advantage of Education. No; he has not. Educated, the children are not. They are passed through "standards," which exact a certain acquaintance with A B C, and pothooks and figures; but educated they are not, in the sense of the development of their latent capacities, so as to make them capable for the discharge of their duties in life. The new generation can read, no doubt. Otherwise, where would be the sale of "Sixteen String Jack," "Dick Turpin," and the like? But take the girls. Who can pretend that the girls whom our schools are now turning out are half as well educated for the work of life as their grandmothers were at the same age?'

There is another side on which it would be desirable to have the success of our elementary schools tested, and that is their moral results, for, after all, the real test of the efficiency and excellency of our schools is the influence they exert upon their scholars in after-life. In the year 1863, Mr. (now Archdeacon) Norris, then one of Her Majesty's Inspectors, caused enquiries

* '*Darkest England*,' p. 63.

to be made about the manner in which the children who had been educated in a school, which he had frequently examined, were conducting themselves in the world, after they had left school for some years and grown to be women. To his great delight he found that, with scarcely an exception, all were doing well, were living virtuous lives, and had become useful members of the societies in which they lived; of this he gives full particulars in the report which, in virtue of his office, he had to present to the Committee of Council on Education, and it is published in their Blue-book. It would be interesting to have similar information concerning the future of children who have been instructed in Board schools. May we suppose that we have some foreshadowing of what the answer would be in the accounts of the recent threatened mutiny in the battalion of Guards, and in the strikes of the policemen and postmen and others? For the papers have in most instances remarked that most of the more active men in these outbreaks were young. In the absence of trustworthy information we would recommend any of our readers who feel an interest in the education of the people, to examine any children they may meet, who have been educated in Board schools, as to the principles of morality in which they have been instructed. They will probably find that the motive instilled into their minds for conducting themselves honestly, soberly, and purely, is, that such a course will most advance their temporal interests. Whilst of the religious sanctions for a moral life they will know nothing; and of Christianity itself, if their experience resembles ours, they will find that the children know little or nothing. A few of them may be able to repeat the Lord's Prayer, some may have heard of the Creed, and know that there are ten Commandments. Of course we speak of those who have not been to a Church Sunday school, and there is, unhappily, good reason for knowing that a large proportion of the children who are being educated in Board schools attend no Sunday school.

It may be thought that a sufficient answer to what has just been advanced is furnished by the statistics of crime that are annually issued by the Home Office. These returns clearly show that the number of criminal offences tried at the Assizes has diminished, that the number of persons on whom severe punishments have been inflicted is materially less than it was; but they do not show the changes in the criminal law by which much of this advantage has been gained. They do, however, show that there has been a most serious addition to the number of juvenile offenders who are compulsorily detained for a term of years in Reformatories and Industrial Schools, and are thus happily

happily preserved from the possibility of a continuous repetition of crimes, by which the number of criminal offences was formally swelled. In 1869 there were 8863 criminal children thus compulsorily detained: in 1879 the number had grown to 15,079: in 1889 it amounted to 28,033. These returns likewise show the enormously increased amount of money expended in the prevention and detection of crime, which should certainly account for a considerable diminution in the number of crimes committed, and we also regret to say that they tell of the serious growth of those lesser offences which are ranged under the terms 'offences summarily dealt with;' some of which would formerly have been sent to a jury to decide upon.

It may be well to say a word about the expense incurred by the State at the two periods. In 1860, English and Scotch education was treated as one whole, and the total sum expended on annual grants was a trifle over 435,000*l.*, or just under 7*s.* per child in average attendance. Mr. Lowe thought the State was paying more than it ought for the benefit obtained, and he invented the system of payment by results, which has been just described, which raised the sum expended by the State for England and Wales last year to something more than three millions in annual grants, or something more than 17*s.* 8*d.* a child in average attendance; and, as will have been seen, without improving the educational benefit derived by some of those for whom it was paid. No doubt there is more instruction given in extra subjects, such as Algebra, Euclid and Mensuration, Mechanics, Latin, French, Animal Physiology, Botany, Principles of Agriculture, Chemistry, and Physics, than was given at the earlier period; but as at the earlier date special stress was laid upon the want of improvement in the more backward children, whilst it was admitted that the more advanced were well taught, so we cannot regard instruction in the higher subjects just named as in any way atoning for the imperfect education given to the great mass of children attending elementary schools. And if our experience fairly represents the general result, the instruction given in this long list of more advanced subjects really benefits comparatively few of those who have received it.

In making their recommendations for getting rid of the present evils from which our elementary schools are suffering, the Education Commission kept clearly in mind those which had been experienced in the past, and their proposal is to steer a middle course. They say:—

'That the distribution of the Parliamentary grant cannot be wholly freed from its present dependence on the results of examination

tion without the risk of incurring graver evils than those which it is sought to cure. Nor can we believe that Parliament will continue to make so large an annual grant as that which now appears in the Education Estimates, without in some way satisfying itself that the quality of the education given justifies the expenditure. Nevertheless, we are unanimously of opinion that the present system of "payment by results" is carried too far, and is too rigidly applied, and that it ought to be modified and relaxed in the interests equally of the scholars, of the teachers, and of education itself.*

In framing the New Code the Education Department has acted upon the principle here laid down, though in the manner of its application it somewhat departed from the plan suggested by the Commission; but that is a matter of no moment except in one particular. It has required from the managers whatever is proposed to add to the efficiency of schools; but it has not recommended those assistances from the public purse to carry out those improvements which the Commission suggested. The plan adopted is to sweep away the system of making the grant depend upon the individual passes of the children, and to substitute for it one large grant, which is to represent what was previously given for the average attendance, individual examination, and merit grants. The details of the scheme formulated by the New Code have now been in operation for some months, but not for a sufficient time to enable us to give evidence as to the manner in which they affect the schools which have to be taught and examined under their provisions. To us these seem to have been well and carefully framed, and we anticipate that they will do much to add to the efficiency of the secular instruction given in the schools. We forbear from entering into any minute examination of the changes they make, as these would probably interest only those who have to take some direct share in the management of schools, and such persons will naturally have studied them long since in other publications.

Before turning to the consideration of free education, it may be well to say a word about the cost which the invention of School Boards has inflicted upon the country. The large drain which elementary education makes upon the national purse has been already spoken of; but in addition to this, it is desirable that people should realize the amount that is compulsorily raised for the same purpose by local rates. Last year the total expenditure of the School Boards was 5,610,389*l.*, of which 2,718,891*l.* were raised by rates. This sum is levied upon the country by the authority of Parliament for the support of that

* 'Report,' p. 220.

kind of religious education which has most approved itself to Nonconformists during this century, and is identical, except in the comparatively few places where only secular instruction is given, with that which is pursued by schools in connexion with the British and Foreign School Society, which is their educational organ, and is in direct opposition to that which has been advocated by the Church of England. It is worth noting that this religious endowment granted to the Nonconformists by a recent Act of the Legislature is in excess of that which the incumbents of the Church enjoy from the ancient system of tithes. A return from the Tithe Commission in 1880 showed that the tithes belonging to the parochial incumbents amounted to 2,412,684*l.* per annum; to clerical appropriators, 678,987*l.*; to lay impropriators, 766,233*l.*; and to schools, colleges, &c., 196,056*l.* As these tithes are now worth more than 20 per cent. less than the amount at which they were commuted, a comparison between the burden placed on the country, and so in its measure upon the unwilling shoulders of Churchmen for the maintenance of Board schools, and that placed relatively on Nonconformists by the payment of tithes for the support of religious worship in the parishes of the country, will prove that the heavier burden is placed on Churchmen. Nor should it be forgotten that whilst the one is diminishing the other is increasing; and that the Church's share owes nothing to the State but that which is enjoyed by every other kind of property, whilst that of the Nonconformists is a direct and complete State endowment.

We turn from the consideration of the present state of our elementary education, and the steps by which it has been brought to that state, to the proposal which, by the announcement in the Queen's Speech, has taken definite shape, though as yet we are in complete ignorance of the plan by which that proposal is to be carried into effect. That Speech says, 'Your attention will be invited to the expediency of alleviating the burden which the law of compulsory attendance has in recent years imposed upon the poorer portion of my people.'

We naturally ask, what effect is a system of free education likely to have upon the children who will be trained under it? Is it likely to make that education better in itself? Will it secure more regular attendance? or cause a larger proportion of the population to be brought under instruction? It may be well to examine each of these points.

With respect to the improvement of the education given, it may be well to hear what experts have to say. The Schools Inquiry Commission that reported in 1868 examined the
subject

subject of free education at considerable length. Its Report speaks thus on the subject :—

‘Indiscriminate gratuitous instruction, on which at present a very large proportion of the income of endowments is wasted, has been demonstrated to be as invariably mischievous as indiscriminate almsgiving, and a desire to retain the one must be ascribed to the same inconsiderate benevolence as that which keeps up the other. On this point there is an extraordinary concurrence in the opinions expressed by the weightiest authorities: Mr. Adderley, Dr. Angus, Professor Bernard, Canon Blakesley, Mr. Sotherton-Estcourt, the Dean of Salisbury, the Bishop of Lincoln, the Bishop of Peterborough, Mr. Lake, Sir J. G. Shaw-Lefevre, Mr. James Martineau, Mr. Miall, Mr. John Stuart Mill, Mr. Morley, Lord Redesdale, all, with more or less force, agree in the belief that to give indiscriminate gratuitous education is an unwise use of endowments. Several of these gentlemen condemn it in the most decisive language; almost all would substitute some mode of selection by merit for the present system. With this judgment our Assistant Commissioners concur; and the facts which we have put together in our second chapter show with all the force of demonstration that no other conclusion is possible. According to Mr. Bryce, the characteristics of free schools are slovenly management, irregular attendance, scholars unfit for the instruction, and contempt of the parents. Mr. Green found the effect of free admission to be that the school was so lowered in character as “to deprive promising boys of the humbler class of any real benefit they might gain by entering it.”’*

The Education Commission of 1886 examined the question at some length, and thus summed up the conclusion at which it arrived :—

‘If, as we think, provision of the due necessities of education, as well as of the necessities of life, is part of the responsibility incumbent on parents, it may well be believed that public contributions and private benevolence are already doing all that can be safely required of them in augmentation of the payments properly exacted from parents. On the whole, we are of opinion that the balance of advantage is greatly in favour of maintaining the present system, established by the Act of 1870, whereby the parents who can afford it contribute a substantial proportion of the cost of the education of their children in the form of school fees.’†

If to these expressions of opinion by two bodies of experts we add the testimony of those who have tried the experiment with our elementary schools in the past, we shall find the same opinion upheld. When the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society commenced their educational

* ‘Report,’ pp. 593, 594.
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† Ibid. p. 200.

labours,

labours, all their schools were free, whilst those of the first-named Society not infrequently provided a portion of the clothing of the scholars. After a time all this was abandoned, because it was found prejudicial to the educational improvement of the children. What was not paid for was not valued; and it was found that one way to secure more regular attendance and to interest parents in the progress of their children was to charge school fees. It may be thought that times have changed, and that education is more prized now than it was then, as it has a distinct value in the labour market. This remains to be tested by experience. So far as it has yet been tried, the result has not been satisfactory; but then it may fairly be said that the present race of free scholars in elementary schools are for the most part the least promising of the children who attend them and come from the least promising homes.

But then it may be said, if free education fails to benefit children now at school, it will surely cause many to attend who now are absent. This we doubt. The excuse of inability to pay the required school fee is rarely heard. Most School Boards are lavish in their offers to forego school fees, whilst in many voluntary schools there is a readiness to do the same in all cases of proved necessity. In many places the guardians of the poor have not carried out with the liberality expected from them the provisions of the law which imposed upon them the duty of supplying the school fees of those parents who found a difficulty in paying them. But, in spite of these facilities now existing for obtaining free education for necessitous children, people will persuade themselves that when no children in elementary schools pay fees there will be large additions to their numbers. We see no grounds to justify such an anticipation.

If we enquire whether the public schools in the United States, which are all free, secure a larger proportion of the children to attend school, we shall find that the number of those whose names are on the books of any school bear a less, rather than a greater, proportion to the number of children of school age than is found in England, whilst their attendance is much more irregular. In making this comparison we do not take the United States as a whole, but the States of Massachusetts and New York, which are considered the most advanced States in the Union from an educational point of view.

Our next point is to enquire what light has been thrown upon the subject by what has been already authorized for Scotland, and what proposals have been publicly suggested to Government for carrying out their design.

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The experience of Scotland would seem to show that the idea of limiting assisted education, so as to benefit children only to the extent of their not being expected to pay school fees, whilst they are learning what is required by the standards which they are compelled to pass before being entitled to a labour certificate, will not easily stand the rough test of practical life. All elementary education is assisted, for much the largest portion of the cost is provided by the taxes, supplemented by the rates or private benevolence; but when it was proposed to assist it still further in Scotland by allowing children who are being taught in the compulsory standards to pay no school fees, and for them to become chargeable with them when they advance to a higher position in the school, there was an outcry, which seems to threaten that the children's education will not infrequently cease when the free schooling ceases; or that Government will have to give way and allow their provision for free education to be extended to all the standards. Another proposal for 'assisting' education has been that Government should make an allowance—say 2*d.* a week—to all elementary schools towards paying for the children's schooling; so that where the school fee was 2*d.* a week or less, all charge would be extinguished, whilst it would be lessened by that amount when the school fee was higher. To us such a scheme seems neither just nor practicable. If parents are very poor, and exemption from even a small school fee is a matter of importance to them, something may be said in favour of making the school free; but if a parent can afford to pay 4*d.* or 6*d.* a week for his child's education, we see no point in compelling the taxpayers of the country to provide the half or a third of that sum, that the well-to-do parent may have his pocket spared to an equal extent.

Another proposal has been made by the Liverpool Diocesan Board of Education. They suggest that fees should continue to be paid in the two lowest standards, be partially remitted for children in the third and fourth standards, and be wholly remitted for those in the higher standards, provided they attended regularly; and that, in addition to this, the Education Department should grant a subsidy to all schools charging less than 3*d.* a week, so as to raise the amount receivable by the school from each child up to that sum. If the primary object of free education was educational, it might be worth while to discuss this proposal; but as it is political, it would be useless. For such a plan would in no way commend itself to the class of persons whom politicians will have chiefly in their eye in

making the change: these will mainly consist of voters who think only of the immediate advantage to themselves, and who would resent any proposal for free education contingent upon conditions that parents, who are anxious about the education of their children, would be the most careful to fulfil.

People will mistake the problem that is before us if they do not bear steadily in mind that the question of free education is political, not educational. It must be remembered that hitherto free education has been urged with the all but avowed object of destroying the denominational schools of the country, and so diminishing as far as possible the political influence that the Church is supposed to possess. With the advancing tide of democracy it has been taken for granted by politicians, that the offer of exemption from paying school fees for their children will carry great weight with the poorer class of voters, especially those living in agricultural districts whose wages are low. When a boon of this kind has once been dangled before greedy eyes it is difficult to withhold it. If one party refuses it, the other certainly will grant it. And in this case if a Conservative Government, favourable to religious teaching, undertakes the task, it is possible that alleviations or recuperations may be found that may cause the change to do little or no harm to schools where definite religious instruction is given; whereas if a system of free education was inaugurated by a Government of a different character, it would no doubt be so framed as to injure voluntary schools more seriously. Under these circumstances the National Society, as representing the Church in educational matters, has thought it wiser not to attempt to resist what appears to be inevitable, but, instead of that, it resolved:

‘(a) That in the event of such a change being introduced as is proposed by many leading statesmen in the direction of what is known as “free education,” it is essential to adhere to the fundamental principle upon which Church of England schools have been founded and are held in trust—namely, that teaching of the Christian faith, in accordance with the principles of the Church of England, and moral training founded thereon, should continue (subject to a conscience clause) to be given daily in all Church schools. (b) That whilst not seeking any exceptional privileges for the schools of the Church of England, this meeting is of opinion that any plan which placed the schools of the Church at any disadvantage, as compared with those of other religious bodies, would be essentially unjust. (c) That it is of primary importance to secure by Parliamentary legislation a renewed recognition of the status of voluntary schools as the basis of the national system of elementary education established by the Act of 1870.’

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Under the present condition of things, therefore, there can be no doubt that leading political men of both parties will endeavour to bring forward the question of free education in the form which they think most likely to be popular with the less cultivated portion of the electors, the one party labouring to preserve existing religious freedom, the other to destroy it. We must candidly confess that we regret that there seems to us no alternative, and that the National Society has acted wisely in accepting what seems to be inevitable, and in resolving to do its utmost so to mould the Bill as to make it harmless rather than to endeavour to resist it. We say this, though we greatly fear the change will not conduce to the moral or social welfare of the country, more than we have already pointed out that we expect it to do to its educational advancement. It will, we fear, be another step in favouring the idea that men may depend upon legislation, and not upon their own efforts and industry, to supply their wants, and so tend to encourage improvident marriages, already too frequent; it will have a tendency to foster the idea that the State, not the parents, is responsible for the education of children; and it will be well if it does not lead to new demands for the State to supply whatever it enforces by law, when it is inconvenient for those upon whom the responsibility has hitherto rested to furnish what is required. All this is opposed to that spirit of self-reliance and readiness to suffer hardship, rather than be beholden to another, which has been regarded as a characteristic of Englishmen, and which has certainly done much towards promoting the wealth and greatness of the land.

In the face of what politicians have agreed to regard as a necessity on political rather than educational grounds, we are not disposed to press further the objections we entertain to this new development, but rather to consider how it may be effected with the least injury to the cause of religious education as supplied by the voluntary schools, which we feel to be a matter of vital importance to the welfare of the country. If the change is to be made, it is well that it should be made by those who desire to preserve those schools, and not by their opponents who have long advocated a system of free education for the express purpose of destroying the schools under voluntary management, and placing the whole of the elementary education of the country under popularly elected boards.

That this desire to destroy the Church schools exists, however much it may be denied, is clearly proved, if proof were needed, by the manner in which Mr. John Morley spoke in the debate in February last year, upon an amendment to the Address to the effect that as free education had been granted to Scotland, it was
a matter

a matter of regret that the Government had not expressed their intention to propose a similar advantage for the rest of the United Kingdom. In winding up the debate for the Opposition, he said :—

‘ Our position, I think, is this : that when a school is intended for all, it should be managed by representatives of the whole community. Where, on the other hand, the school claims to be for a section of the community, as, for example, the Catholics or the Jews, it may continue to receive public support as long as it is under the management of that sect.’ *

In other words, he would advocate that the numerous Church schools in the rural parts of the country and in small towns should be confiscated, and the Church damaged as much as possible ; but in order to secure the Roman Catholic vote he was prepared to make whatever concessions the members of that Church might desire. The Jews were no doubt named in the hope of hiding the bid to the Roman Catholics ; for out of London we imagine they have no schools, so that such provisions could not seriously affect them. Since that time Mr. Morley has endeavoured to explain away his words, as he found they had produced a bad effect upon the country, and were not in accordance with what the Radical party had always advocated ; but there can be little doubt that the words he used had been deliberately approved by some leading members of the party most inimical to the Church, and had been put into his mouth by one or more of its representative men. They must therefore be taken to express the deliberate aim of a section of that portion of the Radical party which is most opposed to the religious teaching of the Church, and it is well that they should be borne in mind, as they show what may be expected if the present Government is unable to deal with the question, and it is taken in hand by those who hope to be its successors.

We suppose it may be assumed that some of the principles, on which the Scotch Act for introducing free education into the northern part of the island were framed, will be found in the proposals to be made for the southern portion of it. One of those principles was that the managers of each school might elect to make their school free up to a certain standard, or free altogether, or continue to charge school fees as heretofore. In the former case they were to receive a payment from the proceeds of the probate duty, to which in the latter case they would not be entitled, whilst no interference with their management was proposed. By surrendering a particular duty for the purpose of freeing the children

* ‘Times,’ February 22.

attending school from the payment of fees, the Government escaped the obligation of deciding what each school was to receive, or what was to be paid for each child attending school, as the amount was left to be determined by the number of applicants. We do not think it possible for the Government to escape this responsibility in England. But whilst determining at what rate the managers of schools shall be reimbursed for making their schools free, we cannot doubt that they will leave it optional to the managers of every school to make the change, or to continue to charge fees. This, in our opinion, would be only just, provided one important condition is attended to ; and that is, that every child should have a free school within reach. If the plan is introduced, it would be a source of much acrimonious feeling, and consequently a grievous mistake to exclude any from the benefit who wished to enjoy it. To accomplish this most of the village schools must be free, whilst in towns only some schools need be free. In this there would be no hardship, as the wages earned by agricultural labourers are much lower than those which their fellows in the towns receive, and therefore the boon would be of an importance to them, which it would not be in towns. And beside this, in consequence of the slender receipts of agricultural labourers, the fees charged in the schools which their children attend are correspondingly low, so that it is to be expected that all these schools would be benefited by accepting the sum which the Government will offer in lieu of fees, whilst many schools in towns charging higher fees would be required for children of artisans, small shopkeepers, and others. After the speech of Mr. Chamberlain in the early part of last year, we assume that an average fee will be paid by the Government ; and that no attempt will be made to graduate the sum allotted to meet the amount previously paid to the school for fees. Such a plan as that last named would be obviously unstatesmanlike, as it would be giving much to those who needed it the least, and little to those who most required it. The only thing to be said in its favour would be, that it was following the rule hitherto accepted by the Education Department, as is clearly shown by their adherence for so many years to the 17s. 6d. limit.

In framing their Bill for 'assisted' or 'free' education, we trust that the Government will not lose sight of the essential difference between towns or parishes which have School Boards, and those which have not. In the latter case the mode of procedure would appear to be simple enough, not so in the former. Where a school rate is levied, justice demands that all the schools which fulfil the educational requirements imposed by the State

State should participate in it. All the ratepayers have to pay their quota; and, so far as possible, all who pay should have a share of what they contribute paid to schools of which they can approve. When the question was raised at the National Society early in last year, the conclusion arrived at, which was adverse to voluntary schools participating in the rates, was greatly influenced by two considerations. The first was that such a provision would cause School Boards to exist everywhere, so that those who had escaped such an infliction hitherto opposed help from the rates, from fear that it might lead to their having a Board forced upon them. The other consideration arose from the seeking that help from the rates involved the management of the schools by the ratepayers; a conclusion which does not seem to us inevitable, provided that such help is only to a very limited extent.

Taking into account the existing position of the elementary schools of the country, it seems to us that a most just principle for securing that free education should benefit only those to whom it would be a boon, would be to limit the payment from the National Exchequer to schools not expending more than a fixed sum upon the education of each child. This would afford a far wiser mode of determining what schools should have a right to claim assistance from the Government, or compulsory payments from the ratepayers, than does the present rule of adopting the payment by the scholars as the test of what constitutes elementary education: for now there is found in many schools calling themselves elementary a more extended curriculum of studies than exists at Eton or Harrow, or any of the schools where the sons of the nobility and gentry of the land receive their education. We say nothing of the manner in which such a curriculum is justified by the acquirements of the scholars. If the sum expended on the education of each child in average attendance was adopted as the distinguishing characteristic of an elementary school qualified to receive a Government grant in lieu of fees, it should suffice to take 2*l.* 10*s.* as the extreme cost of each child in a school with an average attendance of 100 or upwards, and 3*l.* where the attendance fell below that number. If such a rule were adopted, Government might fairly contribute a proportion (say a fourth) of the cost of each child's education in lieu of fees in the case of schools with an attendance of 100 or upwards, whilst there might be a special arrangement for small schools, the extra grants being taken into consideration.

If the plan of an average sum for each child in average attendance were adopted, the first question would naturally be, What ought

ought that sum to be? Generally speaking, elementary schools are in session for forty-four weeks in each year; so that every penny a week paid by the children represents 3s. 8d. in the year. If the Government were to allow 10s. for each child in average attendance, it is probable that all schools charging 3d. a week, or less, would be willing to accept that sum in lieu of school fees. If this were done, it is most likely that about 3,000,000 children would receive their education gratis, and an additional burden of 1,500,000*l.* per annum would be laid upon the taxpayers. We should be surprised if the remaining 700,000 children who now pay more than 3d. a week did not willingly continue to pay their fees; in fact we should anticipate that the number of those who would prefer paying fees for their children's education to sending them to free schools would increase rather than diminish, for there is so much class feeling amongst the labouring classes, that many would be most unwilling for their children, especially their daughters, to be educated, side by side, with rough, ill-clad, and possibly dirty children, who are, rightly or wrongly, expected to appear in greater numbers in free schools than they do now in schools where a fee is exacted. One necessary rule must be that in free schools no child shall be excluded on account of its poverty—a rule that now exists, we believe, in most Board schools, but which we are assured is systematically disregarded by many of the teachers. If such a rule as this were adopted, there would still be a question whether in country schools the managers might be allowed to make a distinction, so that part of the school should be free, and part not. For in some places there are a few children of well-to-do parents—farmers, artisans, and shopkeepers—by whom higher fees are now paid, and who have certainly no claim to be educated at the cost of the State. For many of these there is no school charging a fee that the parents could afford to pay, except that in the village; and in thinly-peopled districts separate schools, charging higher fees, are not to be thought of.

Another point that will have to be considered is the charge for school books. In most voluntary schools the books used in school are provided at the cost of the managers; but copy-books and books used for home lessons have to be purchased by the children. In Board schools, where the unhappy ratepayers have to furnish whatever money is wanted, all kinds of books are supplied at the cost of the school. It is said that in America, where the schools are free, the children have to purchase all the books they use, and that what they have to pay for these would frequently amount to as large a sum as
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the children in our elementary schools have had to pay for their education.

If the plan of an average fee were adopted, it is certain that, relatively to their numbers, the Roman Catholics would be the greatest gainers. More than one-ninth of all the children in their schools pay no fees, and consequently for these the whole sum paid by the Government would be so much clear profit; very nearly another ninth pay only 1*d.* a week, and on these they would gain largely if the Government grant were 10*s.* a child; whilst very nearly a third pay only 2*d.* a week, and upon these they would also profit. In Church schools the number of free scholars is about 1 in 36 of those attending; of those paying 1*d.* a week, 1 in 14; and of those paying 2*d.*, about 2 in 5. The gain therefore to the managers would proportionately be much less to those connected with Church schools than to those interested in Roman Catholic schools; but absolutely the gain would be the other way, as the 1 free scholar out of 36 attending Church schools shows a number more than double of that represented by 1 in 9 in the Roman Catholic schools; and of children paying 1*d.* a week, the 1 in 14 in Church schools is considerably more than four times greater than the 1 in 9 in Roman Catholic schools. On the other hand, in the Wesleyan schools nearly one-half the children pay 4*d.* a week or more, and nearly one-third in the British schools pay similar fees; so that these bodies must either refuse to take the Government grant, and continue to charge their present fees, or else be considerable losers.

The question is then raised, If so much larger proportion of the income of the schools accepting a Government grant in lieu of fees is provided out of the National Exchequer, ought not there to be more popular control over the schools? Those who raise this question must either not be aware of the large amount of Governmental control that already exists, or else in their desire to destroy the religious character of the denominational schools they must trust that those whom they address on the subject are ignorant of what that control is. It may be well, therefore, to show how matters stand at present, and we think it will be seen that the Education Department already possesses an amount of control over the education given in all elementary schools fully equal to the extent of the grants they make under the present system, or that they are likely to make under any other that will be introduced.

The Education Department asserts its autocratic power over all school buildings to be erected with the intention of claiming an annual grant, and the manner in which they are to be furnished,

furnished, though to neither of these objects does it contribute a farthing. The plans of all elementary schools which have been built with any assistance from the National Exchequer during the last half-century have had to be submitted to the Architect of the Department, and his suggestions have to be attended to, or Government help in carrying on the school is denied. And where schools have not been so built, they have to be approved by the same authority under a like penalty. Moreover, the Department determines how much space shall be provided for each child, and what sanitary and other arrangements shall be made. Having thus ordered what the buildings shall be, it sends inspectors every year to see that its requirements are being properly attended to; and if their report is unfavourable, the grant is diminished or denied. The buildings being thus controlled by the Department, the next step is to have an equal authority over the teachers to be employed. Here the Government insists that no teacher shall have charge of a school to whom its examiners have not given a certificate of competency; and not satisfied with this, it orders the minimum number of teachers that must take part in the instruction of the children, and, dividing these teachers into certain grades, it only allows a certain number of scholars to be taught by teachers of each grade. It then prescribes the curriculum of instruction: the time-table of lessons has to be approved by its inspector; no books are to be used of which he disapproves; and the amount of grant that the managers can claim is entirely dependent upon the extent to which they have complied with the requirements of the Code that it has drawn up under the sanction of Parliament, and the success with which the scholars have attained to the standard of excellence prescribed by it. In order to be satisfied that all this has been done as the Department orders, every child is annually examined by its officers. So that for the ordering of the whole of the secular instruction given the Department is absolutely responsible; the managers of the school have only the more humble duty thrown upon them of selecting teachers out of those whom the Department has approved, of making a choice where the Department directs that they are to make a choice, and of seeing that the various orders and regulations sent out from head-quarters are complied with.

Even with respect to the religious instruction to be given, the Department prescribes the time at which it must be imparted, and peremptorily insists that it shall be perfectly optional to every child attending the school, whether it will receive any religious instruction or none. As a matter of fact, it would be competent

competent for the parents of the children attending any denominational school to prevent any religious instruction being given. If they all gave notice to the teacher that they wished to withdraw their children from the religious instruction, he would be compelled to comply with their request, and to convert a school erected by religious people for a religious object into a secular school of which they would cordially disapprove. To manage the schools more completely from a central office would be impracticable, so that as a matter of fact, beyond the avowed religious character of the school, and the measures taken to make that character a reality, nothing is left to the local managers but that which the Department could not conveniently undertake to do itself. If it were thought advisable by the Legislature for the parents of the children attending the school to elect one or two of their own number to represent them on the Committee of Management, we should see no objection to such a proposal, as it would probably make the other managers more alive to the defects in the school, which the parents would learn through their children, and of which the other managers may now never hear, and at the same time it would give a new interest in the school to the parents, by their feeling that they had a voice in the direction of its affairs, and knew more than they otherwise could do why this or that course was pursued.

Moreover, in considering the amount of control accorded to managers, it ought not to be forgotten how much is contributed towards voluntary schools by those responsible for them, even in cases when the children's pence and the Government grant suffice for their maintenance. The last 'Report of the Education Department' shows that the sum expended by School Boards on administration was equal to an additional charge of 4s. 6½d. for each child in average attendance. It further showed that the sum repaid for advances towards building Board schools, and the interest on outstanding loans, was equivalent to a charge of 13s. 9½d. for each child that is being educated in them. If we take a more extended view, we find that on the average there was a further sum of 6s. 11d. contributed by Church people towards the education of each child found in their schools. So that, taking the whole country through, each child educated in a Church school is practically helped for its education to the extent of 17. 5s. 2½d. by the supporters of the schools. Of course, if we estimate the amount saved to the ratepayers by the more extravagant rate of expenditure found in Board schools, this sum would be greatly increased.

Fairly examining the question, then, we think that it is easy to show that over the affairs of voluntary schools the Education
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Department has the most ample control; it seems to us that the ratepayers have much less influence over the management of the schools that are largely maintained by the rates levied upon them than they ought to have. In two most important respects power has been taken out of their hands by Parliament which they have every right to claim. In the first place they are limited with regard to the religious teaching that can be given in the school. Every ratepayer in a parish might wish the children to be taught according to the principles of the Church of England, of the Wesleyans, the Independents, the Baptists, the Roman Catholics, or the Jews; and yet, though they might be thus unanimous, they would be unable to have their school taught in the religious manner they would wish. With the exception of one school for the Jews in London, there has been no departure allowed, so far as we know, to any School Board from a religious system defined by an Act of Parliament, approved by the great body of Nonconformists, but strongly disapproved by many members of the Church of England, and by Roman Catholics. In our opinion, the ratepayers have a right to determine what religion shall be taught in the schools they support; and whilst safeguarding the religious liberty of individuals by a conscience clause, it is in our opinion an act of injustice to profess to give them a liberty, whilst the exercise of it on the most important point of all is denied them.

The other point where their power seems to us to be unduly restrained in reality springs from the source just spoken of; but as it operates in a somewhat different manner, it may be well to consider it separately. We refer to the ratepayers not being permitted to transfer the management of their schools to voluntary managers willing to provide a portion of the cost of their maintenance, if they should wish to do so. There is no doubt that if such liberty of transfer were allowed, the transfers would be numerous, and the schools would be as efficiently managed as they now are, and at much less cost to the ratepayers. The cry is rising up from all parts of the country where School Boards exist against the heavy rates which they are imposing. And for that cry there is ample ground; for the ratepayers have to furnish 17*s.* 1*¾d.* on an average throughout the country (17*s.* 0*¾d.* in London) for the education of each child in their schools, in addition to what they have to provide for school buildings, cost of management, &c., which would greatly increase the amount, whilst the subscribers to voluntary schools have only to supply 6*s.* 7*¼d.* for the education of each child in their schools; whatever more is required having been paid for in the past, or is being supplied as a labour of love. Year by year
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the burden grows heavier : last year 223 boroughs or parishes had to pay a school rate of 1s. in the pound or more, and 330 others 9d. in the pound, or something more than that, but less than 1s. In the interests of liberty of conscience, and of the right to control the funds they supply, the ratepayers ought to have the same power of dealing with their schools that the managers of and subscribers to voluntary schools have with theirs. If the ratepayers were allowed to find part, or even the whole of the money required, for building new schools, and then to place their management in the hands of committees willing to undertake the task, and to furnish the larger part or the whole of the sums required for their maintenance, it would greatly lighten the burden of the rates, and we believe would be gladly welcomed in many parishes that now groan under the heavy local rates with which they are burdened. As the consent of two-thirds of the managers and subscribers to voluntary schools is needed before a school can be transferred to a board, so the consent of two-thirds of the ratepayers might be required before a school could be transferred from a board to local managers.

We cannot close this article without expressing our surprise at the manner in which English people sometimes adopt plans that have been tried by other nations, at the very time that the more thoughtful part of those nations seem inclined to look upon their past practice as less successful than they had previously regarded it. In the United States the system of free schools has been in full operation from the foundation of the States : but now it is being abandoned to a large and rapidly increasing extent, partly on educational, and partly on religious grounds. In the case of individuals, the number of those who are willing to profit by other people's experience is comparatively small, and the same rule seems to apply to nations. The drift of democratic feeling may compel us to assent to free education ; time alone can prove whether the moral and intellectual results of such a system are satisfactory, and whether ratepayers and taxpayers will for ever contentedly bear the ever-increasing burden that is being imposed upon them : the same unfailling test alone can prove whether the action of the State, and private benevolence in furnishing free education, free breakfasts, free dinners, &c., are not intensifying thriftlessness and thoughtlessness, and degrading larger numbers of the poorer classes into mere helpless dependants upon public and private charity.

ART. VIII.—*The Golden Bough, A Study in Comparative Religion.*
By J. G. Frazer, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.
London, 1890.

AMONG the studies which have attracted an ever-increasing number of able and diligent writers in the last quarter of this century, few are more remarkable for rapid development than that which, under different aspects, is variously spoken of as Comparative Mythology, Comparative Religion, and Folklore. Great, however, as is the progress which has been made in this branch of research, it is still in a highly controversial stage. Roughly speaking, there are two main schools of opinion, though it cannot be pretended that all who may be classed as belonging to either school are in agreement with one another. A distinctive feature of one school is that it bases its arguments chiefly on language and nomenclature; of the other that it concerns itself little with words and names, and examines customs before myths.

The former school, as Mr. Andrew Lang says, in dealing with mythology, 'regards ancient fable as a disease of language,' that is, as the result of misinterpreting expressions of which the original significance is lost; and hence in a great degree arose that tyranny of 'sun-myths' from which a deliverer was welcome. The word tyranny is scarcely too strong to use when we find a writer of such eminence as Canon Taylor saying, 'The orthodox mythologist asserts that no explanation of an Aryan myth, however plausible, can be accepted as conclusive unless it also accords with a reasonable explication of the names of personages.' The assertion of orthodoxy is a little provocative, but, if that is admitted, who is to determine the reasonable explication? Canon Taylor, above all men, from his experience in the Etruscan controversy, must know how widely different can be the views of really eminent philologists, working in what may be regarded as their own field, as to the meaning and origin of words, and how possible it is to exhume from various languages testimony for the most opposite conclusions.

The element of uncertainty in etymology is not however the only, or the principal, objection to the philological method in the study which we are considering. As to the probable etymology of the names the great authority of Professor Max Müller is unquestionable, but we believe the method, which he approves in comparative mythology, to be faulty for the main conclusions. Granted that a name means 'bright' or 'red,' it does not follow that any ancient story connected with it was an attempt to explain the word by an allegorical account of a sunrise.

sunrise. It is a true remark of Mr. Lang, as will be seen further on, that 'in stories the names may well be and often demonstrably are the latest, not the original feature.'* We are not obliged to suppose that 'Helen is the radiant light whether of morning or evening, Achilles in his tent is the sun behind the clouds.' The Trojan War, so far from being 'a reflexion of the daily siege of the East by the solar powers, that every evening are robbed of their treasure in the West,' may well relate to stories of an actual combat, however much transformed by popular superstitions and poetic colouring from the reality. The names of the chief actors may have been affixed early or late in the development of the story: they do not explain its origin. If the alleged cause of the war was wholly an invention, still it was invented because the circumstances and conditions of life made it likely that a feud would so arise. The researches of Mr. Frazer, and other writers who have pursued the method which he adopts, place us in a better position for judging of the life and thoughts of primitive races, for understanding how myths generally started, and for separating, whenever it is wise to attempt anything of the sort, the mythical part of a story from the traditional history. We shall less frequently, as will be seen, find difficulty when we are confronted by the double of a so-called 'Aryan' myth or custom in Australia or America, which became a constant puzzle under the system of deriving the myth from the Aryan name of the hero, and the custom from the myth.

In 'The Golden Bough,' Mr. Frazer, following up the labours of Tylor and Mannhardt, Professor Robertson Smith, and Mr. Lang, has done much towards spreading what we believe to be a truer view of the growth of primitive religious customs, which have passed into popular superstitions and sometimes into 'fairy tales' in civilized countries, but linger in their original shape among savage tribes. It is true that he is possessed by enthusiasm for his subject; we may feel that he is perhaps sometimes over-ready to treat all as fish that come to his net—and the net is cast very widely—but still we think that in the main contentions he will carry conviction with him. He presents in an attractive and readable form an immense number of religious rites and superstitions (many of them very familiar, but little understood), so sifted and classified that their true origin stands out, and the reader is prepared to accept the assertion in the preface, that, 'in spite of their fragmentary character, the popular superstitions and customs of the peasantry

* 'Custom and Myth,' p. 4.

are by far the most trustworthy evidence we possess as to the primitive religion of the Aryans.' The peg, if we may use so homely a metaphor, on which he hangs sufficient instances and arguments to clothe his whole subject—and fill two interesting volumes—is the strange priesthood of the Alban hills, the office of the *Rex Nemorensis*, the 'King' of the Grove of Aricia or Nemi:—

'Those trees in whose dim shadow
The ghastly priest doth reign,
The priest who slew the slayer,
And shall himself be slain.'

The meagre notice in Strabo tells us only of a sacred grove, 'wherein is the sanctuary, and the priest thereof must have slain the former holder of the priesthood: wherefore he goes about the wood ever sword in hand, as though he looked for an assailant, and stood each step upon his defence.'*

The aspirant to the office must be a fugitive, according to Pausanias a runaway slave; he must pluck the golden bough from a tree in the grove, and then win, if he can, the office by vanquishing and slaying the priest; if he fails, the priest lives on till a stronger opponent comes. What is the significance of this weird custom? What is the meaning of the golden bough? Why should the reigning priest always die a violent death? Does he, while he lives, preside at human sacrifices, like those of the Tauric Artemis, whose name is traditionally connected with the grove, or is he himself in the last combat the only victim? Mr. Frazer has attempted to throw light on this hitherto obscure matter, and may be congratulated on his success, not only in producing an account of this priesthood in the main probable, but also on his elucidation of the wider subject by a comparison of kindred superstitions and rituals.

To summarise his views: the priest represents the incarnation of the tree-spirit or spirit of vegetation:—

'As such he would be credited with those miraculous powers of sending rain and sunshine, making the crops to grow, women to bring forth, and herds and flocks to multiply, which are popularly ascribed to the tree-spirit itself. The reputed possessor of powers so exalted must have been a very important personage, and in point of fact his influence appears to have extended far and wide. For in the days when the champaign country around was still parcelled out among the petty tribes who composed the Latin League, the sacred grove on the Alban Mount is known to have been an object of their common reverence and care. And just as the Kings of Cambodia

* Strabo, v. p. 239.

used to send offerings to the mystic Kings of Fire and Water, so we may well believe that from all sides of the broad Latian plain the eyes and steps of Italian pilgrims turned to the quarter where, standing out sharply against the faint blue lines of the Apennines or the deeper blue of the distant sea, the Alban Mountain rose before them, the home of the mysterious priest of Nemi.'

While the king of the grove lived he conducted those rites which secured rain and fruitful seasons; if he died a natural death from sickness or the decay of old age, it was thought that the vegetable world would droop and perish with him; therefore, when the strength to defend himself leaves him, he must be slain that his spirit and power may pass at once into the body of his conqueror. There is a further conclusion that his death was a sacrifice and analogous to that of a scapegoat, which may be considered separately.

As regards the *à priori* probability of the explanation, there is little doubt that in primitive religions, to which this observance must surely be ascribed, the aim and object was the securing of what would satisfy the bodily needs; the savage did not look at the clouds and the sun to make fanciful stories about them, but regarded them rather as beings from whom he might conjure rain or warmth if he went the right way to work. The object then is one which we should expect to find predominant in a primitive people. For the idea of an incarnate tree-spirit we have abundant warrant in a host of instances set before us, among the most striking of which are those which Mannhardt collected in his work, '*Der Baumkultus der Germanen und ihrer Nachbarstämme*.' Few probably of those who preserve the 'old English' custom of the Maypole are aware how far it is from being specially English; that the same planting of a trunk and decking it with garlands on or about the 1st of May, at Whitsuntide and Midsummer, is found in most parts of Europe, from Russia and Sweden to the Pyrenees, and traceable even in Bengal. Fewer still would recognize in the 'Queen of the May,' the representation of the Spirit of Vegetation. In many places she is united with a 'King of the May,' as is the custom at Königgratz and at Grenoble, which Mr. Frazer compares with the 'lord and lady' at Headington, near Oxford.* We have here the key to the explanation of the old Italian custom of hanging up masks (*oscilla*) with various offerings to Bacchus, an undoubted offspring of tree-worship, whether these masks were intended to materialise the tree-spirit or to act as a milder substitute for the ancient human sacrifice. It is a curious

* Vol. i. p. 95.

evidence of the manner in which the deities of the old calendar are retained to suit the new, that in Carinthia, the festival being observed on St. George's day (23rd of April), the living genius of May is a young man dressed in leafy boughs, and called 'Green George.'* This also bears on what was said before about the unsatisfactory nature of the philological method: if we chose to assert that 'Green George' was γεωργός, *i.e.* the genius of agriculture, we should, as it happens, really get at the idea underlying the festival, but we should arrive there by a wrong path.

We feel much indebted to Mr. Frazer for the light which he casts upon another old custom as belonging to the same kind of rite, the 'harvest maiden,' which is still prevalent in various parts of Scotland. The present writer has seen it in Fife in exactly the same form as the Perthshire 'maiden' which he describes. The last handful of corn is cut by a young girl and made into the rude figure of a doll, tied with ribbons, by which it is hung on the walls of the farm-kitchen till the following spring. With this, not only the 'kern-baby' or 'corn-baby' of Northumberland, and the 'corn-mother' or 'old woman' of Germany, but also the harvest wreath (εἰρεσιώρη) of ancient Greece come into direct comparison; and it is no mere fanciful interpretation on Mr. Frazer's part to recognize the idea which was embodied on the one hand in Kore (the maiden), on the other in Demeter. We think that he might go still further in making this myth represent the hopes and fears of the agriculturist. The modern superstition of this country and of Germany retains the effigy of the single corn-spirit, sometimes as the mother, sometimes as the maiden. But the Greeks retained both, regarding Persephone (*i.e.* the vegetation itself) as the daughter of the mother earth (Demeter; whether we keep this, the old etymology, or adopt Mannhardt's 'mother of barley,'† does not greatly signify); hence we understand how the death and return of vegetation, and then the higher ideas of a future life, were symbolized by the separation of Persephone from her mother, and her return from the lower world. Similarly in Egypt the union of Isis representing the earth, and Osiris representing the spirit of vegetation, was desired in order to produce the seasonable fruits. With the 'corn-baby' mentioned by Mr. Frazer, and the 'awakening of the corn,' which Mannhardt describes, we may compare the myth of the Bacchic *λεκτός*, or *vannus*. This, which formed the cradle of the god, was, appropriately, the winnowing-basket: in it the infant

* Vol. i. p. 84.

† 'Myth. Forschungen,' 292.

Dionysus was swung by the nymphs, of whom Plutarch uses the very expression that 'they awaken him.' In other words, by this symbolism the Greeks called upon the spirit of the corn: in winter he is an infant asleep, as the plant sleeps in the ground: he must be awakened before the spring, and grow to his full strength.

Even more instructive is the consideration in this book of the *animal* forms under which the corn-spirit is in various districts conceived. In some parts of Germany it is the Rye-wolf and Rye-dog which embody the corn-spirit. The Rye-wolf or the Rye-dog is said to be passing through the crop or to be killed when the last sheaf is cut, and we are told that near Cologne the last sheaf is made up into the rude form of a wolf. In other places it is the harvest cock; in others we have the cat, the goat, and, perhaps oftenest of all, the pig which is thus spoken of. Very frequently the bull or ox plays this part, and a custom is cited as existing in Hertfordshire and Shropshire of tying the last heads of corn in the field, and calling them the Mare: 'The reapers stand at a distance and throw their sickles at it; he who cuts it through wins the prize . . . After it is cut the reapers cry thrice, "I have her!"' Others answer, "What have ye?" "A mare, a mare." These last two instances recall and help to explain the fact that Dionysus was often described with the characteristics of a bull, and that Demeter appears at Phigalia with a horse's head; and it may be the same idea which underlies the sacrifice of pigs to Demeter in the Greek mysteries, and to Osiris in Egypt. It is not impossible that the goat-like form of the rural deities, of the god Pan, of the Fauns and the Satyrs, may be derived from the conception of this spirit as a goat; but at the same time the goat-form may be explained on other grounds if it was started among a people in the purely pastoral stage who desired givers of increase for herds of goats rather than for corn.

A still wider interest may be given to the customs here brought under our notice, if we consider their bearing upon the question of totemism. Mr. Frazer, who is a recognised authority on this subject, in commenting upon Mr. Lang's conclusion 'that the bull-formed Dionysus had either been developed out of, or had succeeded to, the worship of a bull-totem,' remarks that 'it is not yet certain that the Aryans ever had totemism.' Undoubtedly there is still much room for speculation on the whole question of totems, and some arguments about them are advanced at the conclusion of '*The Golden Bough*,' which, we must confess, do not carry conviction to our mind, though it is quite possible that they may be established
by

by further researches. If, however, we permit ourselves to find in Aryan races indications that totem observances once prevailed amongst them, it will make it easier to account for these varying animal shapes in which the spirit of vegetation, the corn-spirit or the tree-spirit, is conceived. It is suggested that the original idea came from various animals being in the corn and being seen to run out as the last patch was cleared, and hence being identified with the spirit of the crop: that may be so; but it would not explain why one particular animal is selected constantly for one district and a different one for another, nor are all the animals such as would be likely to be found in the corn. There would be less difficulty if we were allowed to regard them as totems.

The further we look back into savage life the more natural it seems that animals should be worshipped, for the simple reason that they more concerned a man's pursuits and welfare in the hunting stage of existence, which must be regarded as the most primitive; they were worshipped principally from two motives, first from a mixed feeling of self-interest and gratitude because the man obtained wealth from this source and hoped to obtain more, and secondly from fear because each animal had a large class of relations who might retaliate for his death either directly by attack and devastation or indirectly by withdrawing themselves from the country; hence the quaint propitiation of the slain animal by the hunter.* The Indian who has exemplified the first motive before his expedition by offerings of tobacco to the 'Great Beaver,' after the slaughter testifies to the second by haranguing the dead beavers on their wisdom and virtues, and the probability that they have gained on the whole by death. Compare the Ottawa address to the bear, 'Cherish no grudge against us because we have killed you; is it not glorious to be eaten by the children of a chief?' or the even more ingenuous Kamtchatkan, who assures the bear that it must have been a Russian who caused his death because the weapon was evidently of Russian make. As a further development some particular animal is selected by a family and becomes their totem: in some cases the reason of the selection may have been because their wealth came mainly from that species; in others because the animal had, or was supposed to have, qualities of courage, strength, speed or wisdom, in which its votaries might hope to participate—a feeling whence arose the periodic sacrifice of the sacred animal itself. Interpenetrating all these ideas is that of

* Vol. ii. pp. 108 ff.

transmigration of souls, for in the animal might be the spirit of an ancestor.

It will surely explain the multiform corn-spirits if we suppose that in early times totemism having been as common among the Aryan races as among the American Indians (for the simple reason that similar notions spring from similar conditions of life), each community conceived the spirit on which their wealth depended, the spirit of corn or the spirit of trees, under the form of that animal which was traditionally sacred to them. Among the ruder country folk, whose ritual lingers in the half-believed rustic superstitions of the present day, the animal form was retained just as it was; elsewhere, the conception first changed into that of deities with heads of animals, and then was so transformed by the poetic and artistic sense that the gods were imagined in the perfection of human shape, retaining only the faint recollection of their lower stage in the epithets *βοῶπις* and *γλαυκῶπις*, which no longer conveyed their original meaning 'cow-faced' and 'owl-faced'; in the 'wolf-god' or 'mouse-god' Apollo; in the ægis of Athene, or in the legends that 'once upon a time' all the gods for a special temporary purpose turned themselves into animals. Of direct evidence for Aryan totems we have certainly little, but it is hardly to be expected that we should have anything much more direct than the indications mentioned above. However we have, as Mr. Lang has pointed out, something like the remnants of totems in the badges of certain Greek States on their coins: the owl of Athens, the horse of Larissa, the tortoise of Ægina, the bull of Samos, the fish of Argos, &c., some of which give occasion for popular myths. At Rome the wolf takes this place in most of their emblems and superstitions, but in the Lupercalia we find apparently the goat as totem, for in this festival the representatives of the rural goat-footed deity wear the skin of the goats sacrificed to him, just as the ram-faced Egyptian god Osiris was clothed in the skin of a sacrificed ram. If totems existed, we should naturally expect to find more than one surviving in a people like the Romans of mixed origin. In Italy generally the idea is traceable not only in coin-emblems but more notably in traditions of colonies like those of the Hirpini, the Samnites and the Picentini, founded under the vow of the *Ver sacrum* and led to their destination by a wolf, an ox, or a woodpecker. To argue that such cognomens as *Aquila*, *Lupus*, *Mus*, or the Campanian *Taurea* implied an ancestral totem would be hazardous; names of this kind might be adopted by the ancestor from fancy or accident; but, at any rate, it may be said that we should

should expect to find such surnames if the Italians were the heirs and assigns of races addicted to totemism. We may, therefore, go so far as to express an opinion that in time the former existence of Aryan totems will be accepted.

To establish his theory about the meaning of the priesthood which supplies the motive of this book, Mr. Frazer had not only to prove the existence at one time of a wide-spread belief in an incarnate spirit of vegetation conceived under the simple form of the tree or the corn itself, or in some animal shape, or finally as a human being in whom the power dwelt for all his life; but it was necessary also to show that folk-lore gives other evidence of a sacrifice and of a death and renewal of this power, regarded as necessary for the continuance of fruitful seasons. For this part of his argument, as for the rest, he has collected a vast number of instances, which are for the most part marshalled for his purpose with great skill and completeness, and, even if we regard some of his arguments therefrom as hazardous, we must recognize the value of the materials which are provided.

In many instances the required rain-charm or sun-charm was even in very early times effected by a symbolical sacrifice, and is now preserved by somewhat similar symbols in rural superstitions. But there can be little doubt that these symbols represent the actual sacrifice of a human being at some time or other,* just as the annual throwing of little rush figures called *argei* from the bridges at Rome should certainly be regarded as substitutes for an ancient human sacrifice, whether we are to understand this sacrifice as a rain-charm or as offered for the safety of the bridge according to a well-known superstition of ancient builders. The customs in many countries of either burning the Maypoles and effigies of corn, or throwing them into a stream, certainly appear to point to a sacrifice of this kind. In some parts of Russia the birch-pole is actually dressed in woman's clothes before it is thrown into the water. So again the human representative of the tree-spirit, the May-queen or May-king, and those who play a similar part at Midsummer fire-festivals, are in many districts plunged in water or made to leap through the flames of a bonfire. It is a natural inference that the water or the fire constituted the rain-charm or the sun-charm, and that the exceedingly innocent rural pastime was once something very different, a drowning or burning of a victim. (We cannot, however, help suspecting

* See Professor Robertson Smith's article "Sacrifice" in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' and further in 'The Religion of the Semites.'

that the bucket of water in the Devonshire custom of 'crying the neck' * has more to do with a practical joke well known to school-boys as a 'booby-trap,' than with a rain-charm.)

The sacrifice of animals, who were shown to represent the corn-spirit, leads to a similar conclusion. In many parts of Germany the 'harvest cock' is beheaded as the last shock of corn is cut; at Chambéry the last sheaf is called the ox, and at the end of the threshing the real ox for the harvest supper must be killed by the reaper who made the last sheaf. Many districts of Europe have similar customs at this day, and it is extremely probable that the slaughter of the 'October Horse' at Rome in ancient times belongs to the same superstition. That it is no mere fancy to connect with such sacrifices the fires, which it has been, as Mr. Frazer remarks, the custom down to our own time to light periodically in spring and at midsummer, is tolerably clear from some customs of the 'St. John's Eve fires,' and even more from the 'Beltane' fires on the 1st of May in Scotland. The account is quoted from Sinclair †:—

'The night before all the fires in the country were carefully extinguished, and next morning the materials for exciting the sacred fire were prepared. The most primitive method seems to be that which was used in the islands of Skye, Mull, and Tiree. A well-seasoned plank of oak was procured, in the midst of which a hole was bored. A wimble of the same timber was then applied, the end of which they fitted to the hole. . . . In some places three times three persons, in others three times nine, were required for turning round the wimble. So soon as any sparks were emitted by means of the violent friction, they applied a species of agaric, which grows on old birch-trees, and is very combustible. This fire had the appearance of being immediately derived from heaven. . . . They knead a cake of oatmeal, which is toasted at the embers, and they divide it into as many portions as there are persons in the company. They daub one of these portions with charcoal until it be perfectly black. They put all the bits of cake into a bonnet. Everyone, blindfold, draws out a portion. . . . Whoever draws the black bit is the devoted person who is to be sacrificed to Baal, whose favour they mean to implore in rendering the year productive of the sustenance of man and beast. . . . He was called the "Beltane carline." . . . Upon his being made known, part of the company laid hold of him, and made a show of putting him into the fire: but the majority interposing, he was rescued.'

We should concur with Mr. Frazer in adopting the view of Mannhardt, that these fires were a sun-charm; and the leaping through blazing straw in the Roman *Parilia* or *Palilia* may

* See vol. i. p. 405.

† 'Statistical Account of Scotland,' 1794, xi. 620.

perhaps

perhaps be classed with them. The sun itself seems to be represented by the wheel enveloped in straw and set on fire by villagers in Poitou, who run with it through the fields in which corn is coming up. The connexion of these Midsummer fires with the Balder-myth, which was first pointed out by Grimm, is interesting, and important for the consideration of Norse mythology. It is probable that these fires originated in sacrifices to the god of vegetation, out of which the story of Balder was fashioned. Hence we are led to Mr. Frazer's conclusion, that the ritual alike in the Norse religion, among the Celtic Druids, and (in early times) at Aricia was the sacrifice by fire of the human victim who represented the spirit of the oak as the most sacred of trees, and that

'down to the times of the Roman Empire and the beginning of our era the primitive worship of the Aryans was maintained nearly in its original form in the sacred grove at Nemi, as in the oakwoods of Gaul, of Prussia, and of Scandinavia; and that the King of the Wood lived and died as an incarnation of the supreme Aryan god, whose life was in the mistletoe, or Golden Bough.'

The theory propounded as to the significance of the golden bough itself is supported by much more doubtful evidence than the rest of the interpretation. This does not however weaken Mr. Frazer's position as regards his explanation of the most important features in the priesthood; still less does it make us regret that he has collected the examples which he lays before us. That the golden bough means the mistletoe is sufficiently established; and this link for connecting the rites at Aricia with the Druidical worship and with the Scandinavian myth is strong enough. It may be allowed that the supposed incarnation of the tree-spirit conducted sacrifices real or symbolical for the purposes described above, and was at last slain himself; further, it seems likely that the oak was the tree consecrated to their supreme deity from early times by the Aryan races (traces of this observance of the oak being found not only in Teutonic and Celtic, but also in Greek and Italian peoples), and that the mistletoe growing upon the oak had an important place in their ritual; but we cannot regard as satisfactory the view that the worshippers believed the mistletoe to be the seat of life for the oak, or thought that 'so long as the mistletoe remained intact the oak was invulnerable . . . Once tear from the oak its sacred heart, the mistletoe, and the tree nodded to its fall.' However fantastic the ideas of the savage races were about the spiritual world, they were certainly not unobservant of the material, and they must have seen that the oak did *not* nod to its fall, but lived at least as
well

well without the mistletoe as with it. It is easy without any such hypothesis to account for the oak-mistletoe being a specially sacred growth, and therefore playing a part in the ceremonies with which the priest was challenged by his would-be successor. In primitive superstition anything unusual is apt to be regarded as sacred, just as white heather is lucky only because it is relatively uncommon. Hence, as Pliny very naturally observes,* the mistletoe being a rare growth on the oak was taken to mark out the tree, on which it was found, as the holiest in the grove. We may, indeed, take the words 'signum electae ab ipso deo arboris' to imply that the mistletoe was thought to announce the indwelling presence of the god in that particular oak, and that consequently he who plucked it thereby claimed to be the representative of the deity. This would account adequately for the custom without making the Druids believe, what Pliny certainly never understood them to believe, that severing the golden bough severed the life of the tree. What, indeed, could we then say of Virgil's 'primo avolso non deficit alter,' where the new bough is clearly to grow on the same tree? Again, in the Scandinavian myth, Balder is not killed by the act of plucking the mistletoe, but by a weapon afterwards fashioned out of it. For the development of the myth out of the ritual, it is sufficient that the slayer should never begin his work till after the bough has been plucked.

The sections of the book, which adduce stories and customs in support of this theory of the 'external soul' committed for safe custody to something or somebody else, are both interesting and valuable, but we need clearer evidence to establish the opinion which they advocate. It is true enough that we have many fairy tales more or less like those of the ogres whose life was in a queen bee within a honeycomb, or in a parrot in a jungle, or in a fish in a tank, so that the hero must catch and kill the bee, the parrot, or the fish, in order that the ogre may at once drop dead; but it is a dangerous error to assume too readily that a fantastic condition in an old fairy tale was necessarily part of some religious belief: in other words, not to admit a distinction between a religious myth, which probably did grow either out of ritual or out of an attempt to explain the creation of the world, and a tale which may have been merely the ingenious invention of some Lewis Carroll of former days. It was a disappointment, for instance, to find Mr. Tylor,† who has done so much to introduce a more reasonable account of stories which were too hastily lumped together as allegories of the

* 'Hist. Nat.,' xvi. § 250.

† 'Primitive Culture,' i. 341.

dawn, lapsing again into the faith of universal sun-myths, and telling us that the fairy tale of the wolf and the seven kids is a sun-myth, because the seven days of the week (why *week*?) are swallowed by the night. It was surely more natural for the story-teller to hide the seventh kid in the clock-case, than to think that 'to-day' was hidden there (not to mention that a clock-case in a sun-myth is surely an anachronism); and it seems to us that these magical hidings away of the ogre's life are a sufficiently obvious idea to be invented independently without any religious dogma to suggest them. The common traditions of a man's life being destroyed with the destruction of some inanimate object or talisman (Meleager's fire-brand is a familiar example) belongs rather to the idea of 'sympathetic' magic, which makes a man perish with the wasting of a waxen image. As far as they can be traced, they mostly have to do with witchcraft or with some curse, and are not supposed to be an ordinary or natural state of things: they do not therefore predispose us to find an explanation of the various initiatory rites of savages, cited in '*The Golden Bough*,' or of totemism itself, in the theory that 'there was a belief in the possibility of permanently depositing the soul in some external object, animal, plant, or what not.' (Mr. Frazer is arguing that this was supposed to be done regularly, not exceptionally, by the members of tribes holding such beliefs, and especially at puberty, as being the critical time of life for each of them.) It may be that further investigation will support this idea; at present totemism seems to be sufficiently accounted for by the primitive ideas of the relation of animals and plants to man which have been described above. The belief in a temporary absence of the soul from the body during life (perhaps originally a misinterpretation of a trance or swoon), which long existed and indeed reappears at the present day, is a totally different thing from a belief in this formal depositing of the soul. Again, there were many beliefs as to a possible luring of the soul from its body and so causing death, which appear to be at the bottom of the superstitions against letting the reflexion of a living person (assumed to be his soul) appear in a mirror or a pool of water, when death is in the house, and when there is therefore a chance of a disembodied spirit being near to carry it off. Those who scatter rice at weddings may not always be aware that they are preventing the soul of the bridegroom, believed by many Eastern people to be particularly liable at that time to dangerous influences, from flitting away to the spirit world. Like a bird, which it resembles, it can be fixed to the earth by the superior attraction of rice. But here again the passage of the soul implies death; and, similarly,

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the belief in transmigration of the soul into animals or plants, which was widely spread not only in Asia and Europe, but also among the American Indians,* was an attempt to solve the problem of what happened after death, not during life. In these beliefs about another world should, we think, be found the explanation of the customs which have to do with intercepting the soul of a sick person and of the ideas about a soul being swallowed.

The other theory which appears to us to be doubtful is, that the death of the priest was not merely necessary to ensure the transmission of his powers without decay to a successor, but was also a sacrifice analogous to that of a scapegoat. Our objection to this is, that the sacrifice for increase of the fruits of the earth must be at least annual; this priest is slain only when he meets a stronger rival. His reign may be, as the notice in Suetonius shows, a very long one; and the sacrifice (probably, like the chief Druidical rites, at midsummer) must be offered year by year. We may fairly suppose that the torch-light procession belonged to this ceremony, and that the rites included in earlier times fire-sacrifices of human beings, in later of animals or symbolical effigies; but there seems no reason why there should be a different kind of sacrifice in the year when the priest chanced to be slain; and moreover Strabo's account gives us distinctly to understand that his death might happen at any part of the year. The first explanation, that he was slain in order that he might not die by slow decay, is enough to account for all that happened in the times of which we have any record; and the matter is only complicated by combining a second reason. At the same time it is possible (though there is no evidence of it) that in the earliest times a priest was slain annually as a sacrifice, like that of the Mexicans which Mr. Frazer cites; and this would harmonize with Professor Robertson Smith's views about sacrifices that they were originally slayings of the god himself.

There is a great deal of interesting evidence about scapegoats, from which it appears clearly enough that there was an endeavour in many savage tribes to see and grasp the unseen and incorporeal evil by means of the visible and tangible. A good instance is given of the disease-boat (ii. 185), in which the small-poxes and agues are to sail away to other lands, conciliated by offerings of provisions and tobacco for the voyage. But it is a somewhat strained and far-fetched idea to

* Witness the delightful story of the tortoises, quoted (from Mr. Cushing) in vol. ii. pp. 95-98.

bring anything of the kind into connexion with the priest of Aricia. Mr. Frazer's object seems to be to explain the admixture of grief and joy in certain rites, such as the 'carrying out of Death' and the expulsion of Mamurius Veturius or 'old Mars.' But it is not hard to find an explanation without supposing that the joy is over the carrying away of sins. It is probable that both originated when the year was made to begin with spring, as at Rome with March; and whether we explain the ceremonies as symbolizing the death of the old year and birth of the new, or as the death of vegetation in winter and its rising again in spring, the result is much the same. There is regret for what after all brought its blessings, and there is joy for the new birth with a promise of a rich harvest or a happy year. The bells tolling out the old year and ringing in the new express much the same mixture of feeling, and so does the poet's—

'His face is growing sharp and thin,
Alack! our friend is gone.
Close up his eyes: tie up his chin,
Step from the corpse, and let him in,
That standeth there alone. . . .
There's a new foot on the floor, my friend,
A new face at the door.'

In Lord Tennyson it is an allegory, but in most primitive times the death was no doubt a ghastly reality of sacrifice; somewhat later a sacrifice by pantomime; for that the skin-clad man who represented 'old Mars,' and was scourged out of the city with rods, was beaten, as Mr. Frazer thinks, 'to dispel any malignant influences by which at the supreme moment he (the victim) might conceivably be beset,' we cannot believe. The scourging with which he, as the representative of the old year, or of winter with its dead vegetation, was driven forth, was a substitute probably for the more ancient sacrifice, just as it is probable that the scourging of Spartan boys at the Altar of Artemis was a relic of human sacrifice.

Before concluding this article we must notice some principles very important to students of primitive religions and mythology which are not indeed originated in this book, but are supported and enforced by a great deal of fresh evidence.

There has been much controversy, whether, as a rule, curious customs and myths should be approached as if they were the perversion of something more rational by a degenerate people, or the shreds and remnants of a savage superstition retained by civilized descendants. It is hardly too much to say that all the customs and myths mentioned in these volumes can best be understood—and many are in no other way intelligible—if we believe

believe that, as Mr. Andrew Lang expresses it, 'the modern folk-lore is the savage ritual;' and they thus tend to establish the general truth of the axiom long ago laid down, by Sir John Lubbock among others, that 'existing savages are not the descendants of civilized ancestors.' It is therefore a right principle to seek, in the living customs and religions of uncivilized races, a clue to the meaning of the superstitions and myths derived from a remote age, without caring too much whether the uncivilized race is of Aryan descent or not. The similarity of ideas and objects in people at the same level of civilization, or savagery, will, as has been seen, produce similar rites, and the myths by which an attempt is made to explain these rites will have a family likeness.

With this is intimately connected another important axiom, that (in Mr. Frazer's words) 'ritual may be the parent of myths, but can never be its child.' In other words, we should almost invariably assume, that the story which explains an ancient custom has been invented to account for it, rather than that the custom was instituted because of the event related in the story. We say *almost*, because the theory might easily be ridden to death, like other theories. For instance, Mr. Frazer, following Mannhardt and others, has shown by numerous instances that burning by effigy is a sun-charm; it is even possible that there would have been no such thing as burning in effigy, had not these old magic fire-sacrifices given the first idea. Yet, if some comparative mythologist of the future asserts that Guy Fawkes was a mythical personage invented to explain some ancient sun-charm practised in November, he will have pushed an excellent rule too far. Still, soberly used, it will generally lead in the right direction. Mr. Frazer has pointed out that the Balder-myth may be regarded as an example of a story invented to account for a custom, and he gives many others in the course of his book. A curious instance, which he does not mention, may be found in the two myths regarding the hunting of the wren. The royalty attributed to this bird (perhaps derived from the crown of the so-called 'golden crested wren') is shown in different countries, as Mr. Frazer remarks, by the names βασιλίσκος, *regulus*, *roitelet*, &c.; the hunting of the wren, his death, and the procession with his body, which are left unexplained, may perhaps be the relics of a superstition that he represented, as their sovereign, the race of birds: for such may be the point of the third line in

'The wren, the wren, the king of the birds,
St. Stephen's Day was caught in the furze,
Although he is little, his family's great'—

and

and of a belief that his sacrifice would be the most effectual weather-charm; not as though he were a corn-spirit, which seems an unlikely idea, but because the birds, as denizens of the sky, were very commonly supposed to have a great deal to do with the regulation of the weather. But, whether we are right or wrong in this interpretation, the explanatory myths afford an excellent example of the axiom which we have quoted. It is natural that the old idea of sacrificing a being more or less divine, whose assistance was desired, should be misunderstood by later generations, and that some grudge against the slain on the part of the slayers should be imagined. Hence the older English myths, that the wren was slain because the song of a wren awoke a Danish army which the English would otherwise have destroyed; and the more modern Irish version, that a wren by beating with his feet on a drum saved some troops of William III. from being surprised by James II. It is clear that the latter is an instance of modern characters being fitted for local reasons into an old story; it is possible that the Danes may also replace some older combatants; but this at any rate is certain, that the oldest form of the story was merely an attempt to explain a still older custom.

We may mention yet one more of the principles which the evidence in 'The Golden Bough' helps to establish. There has been a tendency in one school of mythologists to assume that if two myths or two legendary narratives have points of resemblance they must either be borrowed from a common source older than both of them, or one must be a plagiarism from the other. It is not sufficiently recognized that the same features *may* recur, not because one is a version of the other, but quite independently, because both are suggested by a custom more or less prevalent in a certain state of society; or again, in popular traditions of events, possible yet not matters of certain history, the same action may be ascribed to two heroes of different nations and epochs, not because the later hero is a garbled version of the earlier, and therefore a fiction, but from one of two causes. Either history repeated itself and the action really took place twice over; or it was the sort of feat which people of the time, when the story took its present shape, would deem creditable to their hero, and they clothe him with these borrowed garments, just as in these later days people set down to Sydney Smith many witty sayings which he never uttered. Sir George Cox, for instance, says that 'the story of William Tell received its death-blow as much from the hands of historians as from those of the comparative mythologists.'*

* 'Mythology of Aryan Nations,' ii. 96.

The story has (we say it with regret) apparently received its death-blow, and it is asserted that even the schools of its native canton disown it: but the fatal wound did not come from comparative mythology. The test of shooting an apple or anything else off the head of a son is an idea likely to occur to many persons; it might even happen two or three times; it certainly might be ascribed to their several heroes by two or three different nations who prized archery. The existence of Tell and Gessler must be disproved (as it seems to have been) by historical evidence. If history had not shown the main facts to be the invention of a later time, the incident of the apple, recurrent as it is, would not destroy our faith in Tell. At least let us bury him in peace without calling him 'the last reflexion of the sun-god.'* Apollo may have shot arrows, but yet national feeling may *invent* a heroic archer and call him Tell (or Ulysses) without a single thought of the arrows of the sun.

Many instances of what may be called recurrent myths may be gathered from 'The Golden Bough': the story of 'Danaë' is an example (ii. 237), which reappears in much the same form in Siberia and elsewhere, and is derived with some probability by Mr. Frazer from certain customs regarding the seclusion of girls at puberty from the sight of the sun—customs which seem to exist in all four quarters of the globe and in Australia to boot. We find the story of Meleager's brand in Iceland, not because one story was borrowed from the other or both from a common source, but probably because each is suggested independently by a widely-spread superstition about magic talismans and amulets. When once the truths are grasped, that myths were generally devised to explain customs and ritual, and that races with the same primitive and irrational minds are likely to arrive at somewhat similar customs and ritual, these recurrent myths need not always† be a difficulty, even though one version is found in an Aryan race, and the other in the middle of Africa or among Pacific islanders.

* 'Chips from a German Workshop,' ii. 223.

† It must be admitted that many puzzles of this kind still lack an explanation, as Mr. Lang has shown in chapter 18 of 'Myth, Ritual, and Religion.'

- ART. IX.—1. *Report of the Conference of Head Masters held at Oxford on December 23rd, 1890.*
 2. *Correspondence thereon, especially in the 'Times' newspaper, December 1890 and January 1891.*
 3. *The University Calendars of Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, London, the Royal University in Ireland.*
 4. *The Indian Civil Service List; with various other Lists and Appendices.* By A. C. Tupp, B.A. Madras, 1880.

THE 'Zeitgeist' is walking again. That viewless and blind Imp, which loves the title of the Spirit of the Age, has begun to feel that it has been bottled too long. It has now assumed a form in which it menaces one of the greatest and most distinctive of England's Institutions—the method of teaching pursued hitherto in her great Public Schools and her historic Universities. Let us not for a moment shut our eyes to the importance of the issues at stake, or to the alarming imminence of a Revolution. Since the Conference of the Head Masters of the Public Schools, held at Oxford on the 23rd of last December, has rejected only by a majority of two (thirty-one noes against twenty-nine ayes) the resolution of the Head Master of Harrow—'That in the opinion of this Conference it would be a gain to education if Greek were not a compulsory subject in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge,'—it needs no prophet to foretell that the innovators will succeed in carrying their point, unless the English public is fully awakened to an apprehension of the magnitude of the revolution attempted, and the seriousness of the consequences which would flow from its success.

If the resolution was so barely defeated in a body of men presumably not revolutionary by temperament, all of them Greek scholars, and some of them Greek scholars of the highest eminence, what chance would the maintenance of the study of Greek have with those who possess no classical training, those who welcome change for its own sake, or those who are under the influence of the *Idola* that the proper study for lads is 'the world we live in' (viewed solely, be it observed, from its purely material side), and that the real end of education is 'bread-winning'? We do not propose now to discuss the fitting objects of study, the right ends of education, or the origin and the appropriate functions of a University. These topics have been treated fully in a former article in this 'Review,'* on the occasion when the Senate of Cambridge rejected a proposal similar to that which is now put forward. We fancy that this is not

* April, 1873, No. 268, pp. 457-486.

the time for an *à priori* treatment of the subject, and the whole tone of the Conference, as well as the correspondence to which it has given rise, convinces us that such a method of dealing with the question would now be received with impatience, and discredited as reactionary.

The argument which we would urge most strenuously is one which the innovators receive with silent contempt, and never make any attempt to answer. To our thinking it is unanswerable. It is that when such a resolution as that of the Head Master of Harrow passes, the study of Greek in England is doomed. We are aware that nothing could be more alien from the desires and intentions of such men as the proposer of the resolution, the Head Masters of Winchester, Rugby, Marlborough, and Clifton, who endorsed its principle, or the Head Master of Eton, who presided over the Conference. But we are convinced that the practical result of the proposed change would be the gradual decrease (almost to the point of extinction) of the study of Greek, not only at the private schools but at the public schools and the Universities. Greek would soon occupy the position now held by Hebrew and Sanscrit, and the time would come when even professed Latinists would be ready to avow that their knowledge of Greek was neither deep nor wide. Such a phenomenon was not rare in the Middle Ages; *Græcum est, non potest legi*, was the usual comment of the Schoolmen when a Greek expression was encountered in a Latin text. Even now there are French and Italian Latinists whose acquaintance with the literature and language of Greece is very slight; and indeed it may be fairly said that in no country but England has the knowledge of Greek and Latin advanced completely *pari passu* and with mutual illumination for at least the last two centuries.

We are told that 'no one really fears that Greek will cease to be studied in England,' that 'Greek can take care of itself.'* It is significant that the very contradictory of this proposition was enunciated and maintained in 1873 by one who was and is the highest ornament of recent English scholarship, by one whose own career speaks trumpet-tongued against the deposition of Greek from its place in education. George Grote was not the worse banker and financier for the excellent knowledge of Greek which he acquired at a public school before he entered on the career of a business man; but if public schools had been in his time what it is now proposed to make them, we should never have had the History of Greece or the exposition of the

* 'A schoolmaster' writing to the 'Times,' Dec. 31, in support of the resolution of Mr. Welldon.

philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. But fortunately for himself, and fortunately for the world, Grote went to the Charterhouse, which was then, as it is still, so benighted and reactionary as to insist on Greek as part of a gentleman's education. It is highly improbable that his parents or teachers would have chosen Greek, had any option been possible, for one who was not intended for a University career, and who as a matter of fact never did go to a University. Fortunately the only option presented to them was whether their son should learn Greek or give up the idea of entering a public school. He it was who declared his conviction in 1873 that it was Latin and Greek which required to be fostered, and that the sciences would—he used the very phrase of ‘a schoolmaster’—‘take care of themselves.’*

At what epoch, we may ask, in a boy's training is this premature and excessive specialization† to begin? And is he to decide for himself a question which must be regarded as highly momentous? If so, the question will be decided against Greek in nine cases out of ten. The boy will turn away from the study of grammar, which to the beginner, however apt, must be distasteful, though to the advanced student it is full of interest, and affords perhaps the very best discipline for the faculties of observation and inference. He will betake himself to his *cotyledons* and his *coelenterata*, and his master will have the delightful task of explaining to his pupil (if indeed he has learned Greek himself) what these words mean and why they are employed—or perhaps the teacher will be so emancipated from antiquated prejudices that he will tell his pupil that it really does not matter what the words mean, or how they are spelt; that they are borrowed from a language spoken long ago by a people whose manufactures and commerce were insignificant compared with ours, who had no Stock Exchange, and who therefore cannot be interesting to a boy who has to ‘face the pressure of modern life’ and ‘the struggling eager crowds which beset every avenue to success.’‡ The Rev. G. C. Bell of Marlborough, himself an excellent scholar, is reported to have said at the Conference that he was ‘anxious to see Greek an integral part of the higher education in England, and wished to retain it for all the students *who could afford the time to work at it.*’ Is the school-boy to decide whether he can ‘afford the time to work at it,’ and when is the decision to be made? Our

* His words were that ‘the sciences would be sure to take care of themselves, while the acquisition of Greek and Latin required to be excited and encouraged by motives less obviously associated with material profit.’

† This was the expression used by Dr. Baker of Merchant Taylors’ at the Conference.

‡ Letter of ‘an Oxford Tutor’ to the ‘Times,’ Dec. 26.

sons, we believe, are still to be required to learn Latin; the question, 'Can you afford time to work at Greek?' will be useful as illustrating the proper use of the Latin interrogative particle, *num*.

Whoever the persons may be who shall be empowered to make this decision for our future legislators (who in England, it may be hoped, will be for the most part gentlemen for some time), for our future landed gentry and nobility, and for the professional classes of the future, no one, we fancy, will be bold enough to deny that the result of the proposed change will be a great falling off in the number of those who will study Greek at our schools. It is idle to meet such an incontrovertible forecast with eulogies on Greek as 'a matchlessly beautiful language;' as 'a key to history, literature, and philosophy;' as 'the basis of modern European civilization;' especially when the utterers of these panegyrics conceive themselves to have settled the question by adding that 'a very high education is possible without it.' A very high education is possible without trigonometry or elementary mechanics. It may be granted that only a small minority of passmen gain more of literary culture by reading the Greek masterpieces in the original than they would have acquired by means of translations. But it is equally true that, though the study of mechanics is an admirable discipline for the cultivation of intellectual acuteness and scientific imagination, yet only very few passmen really partake of the mental stimulus which the study of mechanics is adapted to afford. We have met with no reason why Greek should not be regarded as an essential part of a gentleman's education, which could not be urged with at least equal force against elementary mechanics and trigonometry. Let all subjects be optional, or let us have a reason why one subject should be optional rather than another. The truth is, that the rank and file of examinees are not now capable, never were capable, and never will be capable, of attaining to knowledge of Greek, Latin, German, trigonometry, mechanics, or any other branch of study, in the sense in which the term 'knowledge' is understood by real scholars and *savants*; but that is no reason why they should not reap great and permanent advantage from being induced to pursue these studies to a certain point, which is in many cases as far as their intelligence will allow them to go. Mr. Henderson of Wadham writes ('Times,' January 1) that 'it is difficult to find in Greek literature a passage which would not pluck at least half of the candidates if anything like a creditable, even a respectable, translation were exacted.' Would more than half

half the candidates in an examination in Natural Science display a proficiency which would seem to a master of the science creditable or even respectable? 'No,' would apparently be the answer of Dr. Percival of Rugby, who would like to see all pass-examinations swept away. Moreover, it is fair to call to mind that when a student is required to translate an unprepared piece of Greek, he is asked to show that he has a grasp of the principles of the language. A question of analogous difficulty in the sciences would 'pluck' the whole class; but such questions are not put at pass-examinations in science. A man might derive much benefit from the study of Greek, and yet make a poor attempt at translating a piece of Greek divorced from its context and perhaps alien from his reading, which cannot be expected to be wide or diversified. The point to be dwelt on is, that no attempt has been made to show that the passman carries away from the University a greater or more abiding knowledge of mathematics or of mental or natural philosophy than of Greek, yet surely no one would propose to make all these subjects optional.

We are repeatedly assured by the advocates of the proposed change that the question is about pass Greek only. This is but a flattering unction to one who gives himself the trouble of a little reflection. The number of boys learning Greek at school will certainly be greatly reduced if Greek is made optional at the Universities, and therefore the number of those pursuing the same study at the Universities. Many of the rewards now given to proficiency in Greek must on the principles of distributive justice be awarded to excellence in the subjects which will be alternative for Greek, namely, French and German, or the natural sciences. Lectures in the alternative subjects will be as important a part of College and University instruction as lectures in Greek are now, and the Fellowships and Professorships which now go to classics will go partly to classics (chiefly Latin), partly to French and German, and partly, perhaps, to natural science. There will be less motive for acquiring proficiency in Greek, and less demand for teachers of Greek. Indeed we think it not improbable that, if Mr. Welldon's resolution ever passes, the Greek masters in our public schools will in process of time be obliged to 'double' the parts of instructors in writing and calisthenics. 'I doubt,' writes Professor Freeman ('Times,' December 29), 'whether it is possible for a University to keep up a subject as essential for those who are fit to profit by it unless it is kept up as essential for all.'

There was some dissidence of opinion at the Conference as to
what

what study should be made alternative for Greek. Obviously, we would say, French or German, or at least some language or languages, unless there is some occult reason, other than the passion for change prejudged as reform, for completely upsetting the balance hitherto maintained between literary and scientific training. Then the Orontes must flow into the Tiber, the Seine and the Rhine must be diverted into the Isis and the Cam. A needy horde of German and French 'professors' will not improve the tone of our schools. Even the highest type of foreign teachers—and some of them no doubt represent a very high type indeed—are confessedly without aptitude for dealing with English boys. If it be urged that the teaching in our schools may be undertaken by Englishmen, surely no one will maintain that England now has, or is likely soon to produce, a stock of men capable of giving instruction in German and French at the Universities at all comparable in excellence with the teaching now afforded in Greek. A strong supporter of Mr. Welldon's resolution* admits that Greek 'is an educational instrument equal, if not superior, to any other.' A second,† arguing on the same side, writes: 'Subtract the legal ideas derived from Rome, the religious ideas derived from Palestine, and everything else is Greek in origin;' and, again: 'In the long run the classical studies best develop the ablest intellects.' What then do we gain by substituting German or French? We do not satisfy the advocates of the 'bread-winning' theory of education, for bread-winning French and German are of that kind which will qualify a young man to be—we do not say a courier but—a clerk in a commercial house with a large foreign business, or at best a diplomatist or *attaché*; positions for which a course of Corneille and Goethe would be hardly a more direct training than a course of Sophocles and Pindar. The difficulties connected with the new teaching staff required beset, of course, only the teaching Universities. Those which are only examining bodies have already made Greek optional. If then any considerable number of students decline to learn Greek, let them resort to the London University in England, and the Royal in Ireland. If they covet a real or fancied *éclat* surrounding the degrees of the more ancient seats of learning, surely this is a personal ambition, which should be attained by personal efforts to achieve the standards set up in Oxford,

* Mr. Henderson of Wadham College, Oxford, 'Times,' Jan. 1.

† 'Au Oxford Tutor,' Dec. 26. What most surprises us in the 'Oxford Tutor' is the jauntiness of the tone in which he proposes the death-sentence of Greek: 'Has this Fellow no feeling of his business that he sings at grave-making?' ('Hamlet,' v. 1.)

Cambridge, and Dublin, not by attempts to persuade or coerce those institutions into remodelling their standards.

Greek has in the present discussion received a good deal of lip-service from those who wish to depose it from its present place. We suppose that it is with the view of 'dissembling their love' that they propose to 'kick it down stairs.' But some of the Phil-Hellenists wax very bold. One correspondent of the '*Times*' speaks of Greek as 'wholly alien from' such studies as law and history, and many of them seem to regard it as confessedly 'useless.' Indeed Greek is treated by some in the fashion deplored by the friend of 'poor, rich, uneducated Brown,' in the '*Bab Ballads*':

'He called me fool the other day,
And daily from his door he thrusts me;
A little more of this, I may
Begin to think that Brown distrusts me.'

One very amazing theory pervades the arguments of the supporters of Mr. Welldon's resolution, and those akin to it. They seem to take it for granted that those who are unable or unwilling to acquire a knowledge of Greek will bring to the study of the subjects substituted for it an unfailing energy and aptitude, a high ideal of what real knowledge is, and an enthusiastic desire to attain it. Mr. E. Lyttelton ('*Times*,' January 1) lays down the proposition that 'as to mental discipline, whether grammatical or otherwise, it can be just as well secured by the thorough study of Latin alone.' Possibly: but we submit that the boy who is capable of a thorough study of Latin is just the exceptional young person who will answer 'yes' to Mr. Bell's question, 'Can you afford time to work at Greek?' Those who will answer 'no' will be of a quite different stuff. They will be, in some cases, those who are prematurely conscious of 'the pressure of modern competition,' and of the obligation imposed on them to 'make their way in the world.' They will fancy that a degree in French, or German, or chemistry, is a shorter road to success in the profession which they have prematurely chosen, and this will be because they have not grasped the fact, that education rightly conceived is the due training of the faculties for any honourable career, not the accumulation of knowledge bearing upon this or that special profession or calling. But the recruits of the modern side in the Universities will be chiefly those who have not been sent to school to attain any knowledge or intellectual culture at all, the sons of parents of high rank who look on Eton and Oxford, or Harrow and Cambridge, merely as necessarily forming part of a gentleman's
career,

career, and who would as soon think of omitting baptism or vaccination as the public school and the University. To these will be added the sons of very wealthy people who seek the social *cachet* which those institutions confer. These recruits of the modern side are they of whom Prof. Freeman says that their main object is to 'kick and knock balls about,' and they compose that large class of men who were twelfth on the Harrow cricket team, or would have rowed for the 'Varsity but for an inopportune sprain. It is significant, as the same trenchant critic has pointed out, that the protest against 'compulsory Greek' comes from the masters of the great and aristocratic foundations, the resort of the Fitzbattleaxes and the Gorgius Midases, who would no doubt be glad to 'cut' Greek both at school and college, though we do not think they would justify the assumption of Mr. Welldon's supporters that they would 'apply the time thus gained to the acquisition of branches of knowledge more congenial to them,' unless to the term 'knowledge' is given a much wider extension than is usually assigned to it. Those who preside over the less imposing foundations look at the matter from a different point of view. The Rev. Mr. Rutt of Leatherhead suggested at the Conference, that the wider diffusion of the benefits of academic training might be better secured by diminishing the expenses incidental to a University career, and by prohibiting rich men from competing for endowments intended for poorer students.*

We have given, we think, good reasons for believing that the step contemplated by Mr. Welldon and his supporters would certainly be very prejudicial to the study of Greek, which would probably in the course of a generation or two hold the place in education now occupied by Hebrew. We might further enlarge on the inevitable consequence of detriment to the study of Latin. We might ask our readers to try to picture to their minds a Greekless Munro or Conington or Nettleship, or a Professor of Latin with a third-class man's knowledge of Greek, lecturing on Virgil or Lucretius. We have preferred, however, to put questions which bear even more directly on the present controversy: How has Mr. Welldon satisfied himself that Greek is not an essential part of a University education? † Is there any sound reason why Greek should be made optional, unless all the other

* It is a curious coincidence that Matthew Arnold should have called the aristocratic classes 'the barbarians,' and that they should now furnish the most prominent 'barbarizers' of education.

† Prof. Freeman's answer is, 'I confess I cannot argue the question; it is one of those things which one takes for granted.' At all events the *onus probandi* lies on Mr. Welldon.

subjects are treated in the same way? * And, finally, for the sake of whom is this momentous change to be made? On the last question we have touched only incidentally, and it will be convenient to put before our readers the answer given by the 'barbarizers.' It is alleged that 'there are classes of students who would greatly benefit by an academical training to whom the enforced study of Greek is and must be a drawback.' There are over ten thousand boys at the public schools who are not learning Greek—this number, of course, including all those boys who are under the age at which the study of Greek is usually begun in the public schools. Of these it is alleged that many would wish to join the Universities. Mr. Selwyn, of Uppingham ('Times,' January 1), says, 'I do not know or recollect a single such boy who would be (or have been) likely, under any circumstances, to go to either University.' But, even if it be granted that an appreciable number of Greekless boys wish to go to the Universities, is this any reason why for their sakes the Universities should even partially discard an instrument which the innovators themselves admit to be unrivalled for educational purposes? It is the part of the University, not to tout for students by rashly altering her standard of education, but to decide what is the best intellectual discipline, and to exact it from all who seek to enter her portals. Let a higher standard of proficiency be fixed, if necessary; but we have already endeavoured to show that in Greek the standard is really higher than a careless observer would suppose it to be. It is desirable that the area of academic training should be as wide as is consistent with the maintenance of a suitable type of culture. But it is better (to use the words of Professor Freeman) that a University should be small and poor but learned, than large and rich but unlearned. The Universities are now asked to make Greek optional, because certain professional students cannot perceive the advantage, and certain opulent idlers cannot brook the trouble, of acquiring it. We can hardly imagine a more complete reversal of the proper relations between a school and a University than that to which the 'Oxford Tutor' commits himself in the amazing assertion, that 'it is useless for the Universities to ask for that which the schools cannot and will not give.' When the Universities go cap in hand to the schools to know what discipline they will be permitted to exact from candidates for their degrees, we fancy the value of the latter

* Even the maintenance of Latin in preference is defended by such arguments as that 'Latin is in possession of the field.'

article will have fallen so low that it will not be of much consequence what are the conditions of its attainment.

We are disposed to think that the passman not only derives more benefit from his Greek than from most of his other studies, but also that even 'the minimum of Greek' is a far more valuable acquisition than is generally supposed. 'It is quite true,' writes Mr. Sedgwick,* 'that a very moderate knowledge of Latin and Greek is sufficient to obtain a pass degree. But many a passman will echo my testimony to the help that knowledge honestly acquired has been in after-years.' Mr. Sedgwick, however, represents the highest class of passman; it is the lowest whom we wish to consider. Of these, Prof. Freeman admits that he would not have expected *à priori* that they would have got any good by their studies at all, but he adds that his experience has taught him that they do. We heartily recognize the justice of this observation. In our opinion, there is a great difference in mental cultivation between the worst passman and the man who does not even know the Greek alphabet. The former always has the chance of erecting a superstructure on a foundation however slight. Lord Tennyson admirably describes a not uncommon type of Englishman in the man—

'Whose youth was full of foolish noise,
Who wears his manhood hale and green.'

Such an one often recurs to studies foolishly neglected at school and college. He begins in later life—

'A sober man among his boys'—

to help his sons with their Greek grammar, he takes up with them their Homer and their Sophocles; and then he sees what a treasure-house that is of which he still holds the rusty key. We have known men who in middle life have burnished that once neglected key till it could turn every lock that guards the ancient stores of wisdom and wit. Have not such men good reason to be grateful even for the '*minimum of Greek*' forced on them in their boyhood? Mr. Henderson draws a pathetic picture of a middle-aged student struggling with his German when the time for learning readily is past, and asks, 'What does he think of his pass Greek then?' We will ask him to call before his mind's eye an adult with means and leisure, unacquainted with even the alphabet of Greek, but suddenly become

* 'Times,' Jan. 1; Mr. Sedgwick 'pleads guilty to the charge of being a passman.'

aware of the greatness of its literature. Let us suppose that his father was a scholar, but the son was swept by the tide of his compeers into the modern side, and pass German won for him his degree. His father will tell him that he can get no nearer to Homer or Aristophanes in a translation than the blind man approached to the idea of scarlet when he said he thought it was like the sound of a trumpet. What does he think about his pass German then? How gladly would he read his Faust in English if he could read his Iliad in Greek. The 'Oxford Tutor' admits that Oxford and Cambridge 'induce a great many men to read for Honours who are not students at heart, to the great advantage of most of them, and adds, 'In the long run the classical studies best develop the ablest intellects.' Yet he advocates a system which would send to the Universities a large proportion of this class of students ignorant of the Greek alphabet. Surely he does not suppose that the *genius loci* will manufacture classical Honour men out of them in three years. The essential difference between classics and science is, that the latter may well be acquired during the College course, but the former must be begun and pursued to some distance at school.

Mr. Welldon, in pointing to certain classes 'who would greatly benefit by an academic training, but to whom the enforced study of Greek is and must be a drawback,' particularized students of medicine and natural science and candidates for the Civil Service of India. We will not here consider the question how far the study of Greek would benefit the student of medicine or natural science either directly as a store of knowledge or indirectly as a discipline of his mind; nor the further enquiry, whether he can afford to dispense with Greek, and whether he is at all likely to spend the time taken from it on other acquirements more germane to his special studies. But as regards the candidates for the Civil Service of India, we are in a position to meet the assertion of Mr. Welldon with a direct and emphatic contradiction. In the training of such students the most valuable element is the power of acquiring languages; this power, we contend, becomes enhanced with the number and variety of languages studied, and does so in an increasing proportion. Mr. Welldon sanctions the study of Latin by candidates for the Indian Civil Service. He who studies Greek besides, is far more than twice as well equipped for the acquisition of the languages of India, whether they be Aryan, Semitic, or Dravidian.

Moreover, experience actually shows that of the civilians who have entered the service by competition, the classical
scholars

scholars have been the most successful, and among these the candidates distinguished in their Greek answering have been conspicuous. We have before us a volume, the title of which is prefixed to this article, compiled by Mr. Alfred C. Tupp of the Bengal Civil Service, and published in 1880. One of the appendices gives the names and marks of the best answerers in each subject at the open competition in each year up to 1880. We have examined this list from the year 1855, when the Service was first thrown open to public competition, down to 1870. As Mr. Tupp's book was published in 1880, and has not been brought up to date, we have not thought it necessary to go beyond 1870. The men who have entered the Service since that year could hardly have attained any very high position in the ten years intervening before the date of the publication of the book. The statistics which we give are of course offered only as indicating broad general tendencies. We have passed over certain years in which the answering in Greek was not conspicuously high, and it is a curious coincidence (we do not wish to claim for it any special significance) that in those years no names subsequently very distinguished appear. We have not thought it necessary to refer to the Latin marks, as Latin is not yet assailed.

In 1855, the first year of the open competition, the best answerers in Greek were Herbert J. Reynolds (Cambridge) and J. G. Cordery (Oxford). The former was in 1880 (the date of the publication of Mr. Tupp's book) a member of the Legislative Council of India; the latter had risen to the highest position in the diplomatic service, and had been Resident at the Court of Hyderabad.

Mr. W. H. Newenham (Oxford), the best answerer in 1856, became a Judge of the High Court, Bombay.

Mr. Crosthwaite (Oxford), now Sir Charles Crosthwaite, K.C.S.I., first in 1857, became Governor of Burmah. And in the same year the next best answerer, both being extraordinarily high, was A. P. Howell (Oxford), who rose to be Commissioner of the Nerbudda Division.

In 1858 the best answerers in Greek were C. W. P. Watts (Oxford), now Chief Court Judge, Punjaub; and W. Tyrrell (Dublin), now Judge of the High Court, Allahabad, N.W.P.

1861. A. Mackenzie (Cambridge) became Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

1862. J. H. Lloyd (Cambridge) rose to a high position in the Secretariat before his premature death in 1873.

1863. Benjamin Purser (Dublin) never joined the service, and died early.

1864.

1864. The best were G. R. Williams (Dublin) and G. E. Knox (London). Of the former we have no distinguished record in the volume before us beyond the testimony to the great proficiency attained by him in the languages of India. The latter is a Judge of the High Court, Allahabad.

1869. V. A. Smith (Dublin) is Chief District Officer of Mozuffernuggur, N.W.P.

1870. Edward Stack (Queen's University) was in 1880 Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

Thus we have in ten years, and between 1855 and 1880, among the men most highly distinguished for their answering in Greek, a Governor of Burmah, a Member of the Legislative Council of India, four Judges of the High Court, two Secretaries to Government, and several other distinguished officials, some of whom no doubt have risen still higher since 1880. We cannot think that these gentlemen would have applied better to natural science, or French or German, the time which they spent in acquiring the highest proficiency in Greek; still less can we hold that the former studies would have fitted them better, or nearly as well, to adorn the high positions which they have achieved. We are, as we have said, only indicating broad general tendencies. We are by no means contending that success in the service has been in the direct ratio of the marks gained in Greek or in classics at the Open Competition; but we think that something approaching to a quantitative induction in favour of the classical studies, and Greek especially, may be founded on the figures which we have supplied.

There is one argument in favour of the retention of Greek as an essential branch of education, which we urged in our former article on the subject, but which has been strangely overlooked in the recent controversy. By what infatuation is the Greek Testament left out of the question? A very limited knowledge of Greek enables a person to read the Greek Testament, and thus to understand and appreciate it in a way that no translation or commentary would enable him to do. We would be content to base the universal place of Greek in education, for all to whom it is not absolutely impossible, on the necessity of every thinking man to be able to judge for himself what the Scripture really says.

In the remarks which we have made we have avoided *à priori* arguments, generalizations, and appeals to sentiment; and have applied ourselves mainly to a practical view of the question. It would have been easy to fill pages with dithyrambic praises of Greek as a literature, and testimonies to its value from the
highest

highest minds in each successive generation ; but the matchless perfection of the literature of ancient Greece is admitted by those from whose views on the question before us we differ, and even its supreme excellence as an instrument of education. We labour under the disadvantage that our case is too strong. No arguments worthy of the name have been brought forward for a *bouleversement* of our educational methods which is certain to have momentous results. But, while avoiding as much as possible mere appeals to sentiment and to authority, we would still crave leave to call as witnesses in our favour a nation and a philosopher, neither of whom can be accused of a tendency to overlook the claims of utilitarianism through any prejudices in favour of sentiment or prescription. America is straining every nerve to develop a school of classics ; and though we hold that at present she is too much disposed to pin her faith to the German as distinguished from the English school, yet we are disposed to think that, if the barbarizers have their way in England, we shall in time witness the curious spectacle of the migration of the Muses from the Isis and the Cam to the Potomac or the Mississippi. We hope that if the worst comes to the worst they may there find a more congenial soil and a warmer welcome than in the ungrateful land which they so long made their chosen home.

Our testimony from philosophy to the value of Greek training shall be taken from the great prophet of Utilitarianism, who, though he never went to a public school or a University, was a learned Greek scholar at an age when most English boys are beginning school life. 'If,' said J. S. Mill in his address to the University of St. Andrews, 'if, as every one must see, the want of affinity of these studies to the modern mind is gradually lowering them in popular estimation, this is but a confirmation of the need of them, and renders it the more incumbent on those who have the power to do their utmost to prevent their decline.' Closely akin to this doctrine is the aphorism of Bacon, that the best education is a judicious mixture of subjects to which we are inclined and subjects to which we are disinclined. It is significant that when the same philosopher lays it down that 'studies serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability,' he places the studies which subserve 'ability,' or practical serviceableness, after those which confer 'delight and ornament,' or the exaltation and refinement of the intelligence.

We have great hopes that this danger which threatens the study of Greek in England will be averted. We derive our confidence from its majestic associations with all that is highest in the literary and political history of this country, from the
links

links which connect it with a scholarly past, and its promise of splendid achievements in the future. The aspiring blood of Hellendom will not sink in the ground. The place of Greek in education ought now to be more unquestioned than ever, because now for the first time is it beginning to be thoroughly realized how miraculous was that outpouring of the sense of Art on the ancient Hellenic world, which enabled them to initiate almost every form of successful artistic effort, and in most of them not only to lay the foundation but to put on the coping-stone—not merely to show that this or that form of art was possible, but to supply the inimitable exemplar of its supreme perfection.

ART. X.—*Mr. Chamberlain's Speech at Birmingham on Provident Societies, January 5, 1891.*

THE working men of our United Kingdom, the immense majority both of the nation and of the constituencies, might, if for a time unanimous, command the rulers of the State; and they would consequently be in a position, by their votes, to rule, and guide, and govern one full quarter of the human race. A very serious problem, therefore, to be solved is, how these working men can thus be politicians of the most extended influence, requiring great knowledge of affairs and men, and yet compete as workmen with the working class throughout the world. As working men they must essentially remain, and yet they may, for good or evil, have an influence on the welfare, present or to come, perhaps, of every human being; a responsibility and power that heretofore were never known in the world's history.

But though this power is so great, it is by no means independent; since accumulated capital, and social rank, and intellectual ability, all have influence on the working class. And if our working men increase in wisdom and in knowledge, they will seek harmonious concert and co-operation with the power and influence of wealth and station; so that there may be no gap, or strain, or want of fortifying combination, in the social fabric; but that aristocracy, professions, trade, and labour, all may be endowed with equal social rights, although in different spheres, and be esteemed with corresponding mutual consideration and respect.

A change like this from the condition of society that has obtained in England for the last four hundred years, though gradual, will be enormous; but it must be made without regret or grudging. Society, of any rank or class, cannot be stationary,
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and must not be retrograde. The social movement, therefore, of the largest class of all should be to those of higher rank a matter of much liberal-minded thought and active care; that every change may be a sound, legitimate advancement. The great parties in the State, both Liberals and Conservatives, have each had a share in causing an unprecedented and adventurous condition of political affairs. In their too eager competition for success, and yielding to the pressure of inferior men, they have imposed the burden of the franchise prematurely on a class almost entirely unfitted to sustain it. Such unfitness has for centuries been considered the appropriate condition of the working class; but now perhaps the great majority among us have begun to see that, under present circumstances, with a proletariat so powerful in politics, yet so devoid of educated statesmanship, the first care and duty of the nation is to liberate the labouring class from all unnecessary hindrance to their full development in intellectual power, in social sympathy, and in experienced judgment; and that for this object, for the good indeed of all, those questions that affect the economic interests and physical condition of the working class should be considered as not merely of commercial, or of social, but of great political importance. Thus, for instance, all observers who are interested in our widespread national affairs will understand that, for the safety of the nation, working men should have the highest rate of pay that they are fairly worth; and that, though a 'legal' eight hours' day would be for decent working men intolerable bondage, they should have, whenever possible, and by increased production during working hours, more leisure from their work; not only as a due to their own selves and to their families at home, but that they may gain such culture as will educate them for our general good government, and also will in reasonable measure fit these working men, in manners and intelligence, for a superior position in society.

Such elevation of the working class would not be new in history; indeed the condition of accomplished artisans for the last three centuries, in Christendom, has been remarkably exceptional. In ancient and in medieval times the independent workman had a special, recognized career of social honour; in his sphere there were gradations rising to companionship with royalty. Thus those born gentle did not look on labour as a degradation; and in many parts of Asia working men still take precedence of the men of trade. With us the great development of wealth, and of exotic, esoteric culture in the sixteenth century, when the chief disposal of the nation's income was transferred
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from the ecclesiastical to the commercial class, was not an unmixed blessing ; but, in many ways, was to the working class a grievous injury. The workmen were deprived of their artistic self-control and independence, of the absolute direction of their own creative handicrafts ; their ideality was thus neglected and untrained, and in their work the men became mechanical and commonplace, sumptuous, and vulgar. In each higher kind of work, in building, carving, metal-work, and even in stained glass and book illuminations, there was concurrent decadence ; and the Renaissance, substituting for the English workman's recognized vernacular, a foreign, unknown tongue, completed the artistic and the social degradation of the highest working class. The direction of all public, and eventually of all private work in building and the cognate arts was transferred from the working men to a scholastic class, to men who, having formulated the proportions of the classic 'orders,' and made learning paramount, reduced art to a science ; and the native artisan became a labourer merely, an artificer instead of a creative artisan. Indeed, so low has handicraft descended, that instead of making excellence of work their workmanlike ambition, the extreme desire of average modern workmen is to do no work at all.

The relegation of the working class entirely to the lowest social rank leads inexperienced people to suppose, without perhaps a thought, that manual labour is a thing essentially apart from mental culture and from intellectual power ; and the current notion that, in medieval times, priests, monks, or bishops, were in any general sense, or were at all, save as associated handicraftsmen, the designers of our ancient buildings is a curious delusion that arose a century or more ago among the half-instructed *dilettanti*. Wykeham* and others, now called 'architects,' were but the *operarii*, or clerks who told the men what buildings were required, and kept the accounts. The modern world perhaps can hardly understand that common workmen were not merely the designers and constructors of the buildings, but, still more amazing, were the inventors of the secular, artistic styles themselves in which the buildings were erected. They not only made their wondrous poetry, but these common, unhistoric working men developed the progressive, copious language in which, by their special, independent genius, it was elaborated ; and this in a sense and to a degree quite equal to, or even much beyond whatever is attributed to our historic literary men.

* His handwriting, at Oxford, is distinctly that of an accomplished clerk, not of an artisan or artist of the period.

The recognized great architects and carvers of antiquity, and the old Italian painters, were men of the working class, or of the other classes who in their ambition joined the workmen. And even in philosophy and literature, many now forget, it seems, that working men were often masterful; that Socrates was first known as a decent carver, that Ben Jonson was a bricklayer, that Spinoza lived by grinding lenses, and Rousseau by copying music; that Robert Burns began life as a ploughman; that Charles Dickens had no literary instruction, other than self-education, in his boyhood; and that the painter 'Millet had *been* a shepherd.' These distinguished men were intellectual nuggets, specimens of native ore; and our so long neglected working class are a ubiquitous, but unworked mine of poetry, and science, and philosophy. At present, by our national school system, we are sinking the preparatory shafts to reach the abundant lode; when we have struck it, and have fairly worked the mine, the higher qualities in the entire community will be developed, and increased a hundredfold, to our incalculable gain.

Still, though the restoration of the working class is actually begun, it cannot be immediately and perfectly accomplished. 'A good patriot and a true politician,' says Burke, 'always considers how he shall make the most of the existing materials of his country; he has a disposition to preserve and an ability to improve;' and so it is not by abrupt reform and inconsiderate movement that the condition of the great majority in England can be raised. There has, for three generations, been an increasing change for good in the condition of our working class; the improvement of their circumstances is remarkable to those who recollect their state some fifty years ago. The average rate of wages has increased at least one half; and there has been a general reduction of a similar amount in the cost of such articles of clothing and consumption as are used by working men. Some of us can well remember the patched corduroys and flannels in which our superior mechanics used to be arrayed; and how their children, most of them, were clothed in rags. The economical condition of the artisan of 1890 is full twice as good as that of his grandfather at the time of the Reform Bill. His habitual style of living is, in all respects but one, much raised; he has schooling, such as his grandparents never dreamt of, for his children, almost free; he travels, and sees of the world ten times as much as his forefathers ever saw; and his proportionate improvement of condition far exceeds that of the upper classes of the people. The great number of all kinds of workmen who
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in freehold districts are now owners of their houses, with resultant dignity and force of character; and the continual increase of deposits in the savings-banks compared with the decrease of current interest on capital, are further evidence of this direct and relative improvement.* And besides all this, the workman, if he is discerning, and no miserable grumbler, has most hopeful visions of the future, and believes that the advancement of his class, if they are prudent, will continue until they attain to their legitimate position; and that, although in this advance there will be many different rates of speed, natural ability and thrift, sagacity and prudence will inevitably gain upon ineptitude, and waste, and folly, yet the general movement will go on; the working class will reassume their ancient self-control; and young men of the middle class will be led to seek, as an immense relief and benefit, advancement from their present often hopeless, impotent condition, to the higher and more honourable ranks of cultivated labour.

With this fundamental and continuous change the centre of gravity of Conservatism, whether Whig or Tory, must be moving. It has been, for centuries, with the more wealthy classes, who have been opposed by those who, generally living in towns and being thus severed from the influence of property, had also little or no real property of their own. The unendowed have been in special opposition to the well conditioned; and the latter have had votes and influence to some degree in correspondence with their wealth. This is all ended; and, whether for good or evil, for the present, and in future, power, with intelligence, will follow numbers rather than property.

It would be waste of time to deprecate or to lament this state of things. The care of all good citizens must be to raise democracy, directly although gradually, into an aristocracy of working men; to make our 'masses,' as they have so foolishly been called—but who at present, for the most part, are a fluid and

* While these pages are passing through the press, Mr. Chamberlain, in his recent speech at Birmingham, the title of which we have placed at the head of this article, has called attention to these and similar facts: 'Legislation has done much; philanthropy has done something; the intelligent efforts of the working classes themselves have done more. All these things combined have helped to make our country a healthier, a happier, and a better place than it was half a century ago. Education has now been brought within the reach of every working man's child, and within the means of every parent. Protection has been afforded against excessive toil and overwork, and proper conditions of labour have been universally enforced. The laws against combination have been repealed. Trade unions have been legalised. The care of the public health has been recognized as a public duty, and enforced upon local authorities. The trammels have been removed from industry. The tax on food has been abolished. Facilities of travel and of inter-communication have been largely extended and developed.'

unstable aggregate of men, who can too frequently be led astray by flattering demagogues of any party—into a sound and solid structure of political intelligence. To leave this great constituency to the dishonest talk of party agents and political adventurers would be unworthy of our honest citizens; who should determine that the blandishments, that often at elections so disgrace both candidates and voters, shall not be the treacherous foundation for our home, and foreign, and colonial policy. It cannot be a healthy state for England to be chronically subject to the vacillations of an inexperienced populace, however well intentioned this unhappy populace may be. The immediate necessity of England is the elevation of the people to a state of intellectual culture and political stability; and the first that need such elevation and improvement are the lowest class of all, the roving, unskilled labourers.

In all classes there are people who, perhaps by nature, having neither nerve nor power of continuous endurance, may be reckoned as a constant charge on the community; and in the lowest ranks these people are habitual tramps and beggars, loafers, with a constant tendency to crime. They are mostly the result of personal or hereditary vice, recluses, with but a modicum of energy and will. With these slothfuls we are not concerned; they belong to the *idle*, not the *working* class, and must be dealt with in a different way. They should be sought out and registered; and then be left to the authoritative care of local, organized philanthropy. But there are others, much more numerous, who have plenty of good natural ability, but have had no training or instruction; they leave school, and do not enter any shop, but 'seek for work' of any kind that needs no trained ability. Of course their desultory hirings are but short; they are mere odd men, and they take to travelling; pedestrians in the home counties meet with them in every direction; they have always 'walked twelve miles' that day 'in search of work'; and so at last they walk to London, where they are soon found, incompetent and almost useless, at the dock gates, most probably without a meal.

For such people, when got hold of in their youth, the new Technical Institutes may perhaps be of some value; but reformed Trade Unions, or specially revived and wisely constituted Guilds of Artisans, should also be invoked to aid the Government and Legislature. The great Universities, the Bar Committee, and the Incorporated Law Society, are utilized to regulate the higher education of the upper classes; and for the continued education of our working people Government
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might seek the help of those who have the confidence, and represent the interests of the several handicrafts. A youth when he leaves school should not escape authoritative supervision. Parents, sometimes, are unnaturally careless of their children; and are particularly negligent if boys can get away from home on any kind of work, and so relieve their fathers of expense as well as of responsibility. The boys are, also, glad to find themselves their own apparent masters, without first considering whether this so much prized mastership is for themselves a good or evil; and they pick up any work that brings them in sufficient for a sordid livelihood, and for some pitiful enjoyment. Such poor hiring is precarious, and is often changed; the lads become entirely desultory in their habitude of life and mind; and thus incapable of fixed attention and of arduous, remunerative work. What these youths, thousands of them every year, most want is thorough training; and, if the Trade Unions, rising above strikes, could form themselves into instructing, educating guilds, as their forefathers did, to whom the boys when they leave school might be confided until they become efficient workmen, there would be a great increase of happiness, and self-respect, and true prosperity among our working people. Unskilled labour, dragging on the labour market, is not merely costly in itself, and, so, injurious to the public, but it constantly prevents the natural rise of wages, and deplorably affects the entire class of artisans; lowering their social status and their scale of living, and diminishing the general respect to which, as well-instructed and efficient workmen, they should be entitled. Special, if not absolute supervision is the proper treatment for young people of the working class, as well as of the upper classes, among whom such supervision is habitually practised; and they need a proper introduction to the working world. Unskilled or un-instructed labour should not be allowed; and, now that we have National and Board Schools everywhere throughout the country, boys and girls should be continued on the education register, and be compelled to learn a trade or handicraft. No one proceeding from a Board or Voluntary School should be exempt; and there should be an annual or even a trimestrial report on each apprentice.

Much has been written very learnedly, and by some instructively, about the theory of wages; but for most of us at present this vexed wages question is more practical than theoretical; and for the working class the matter is included in four words: ability, and honesty, sagacity, and thrift. Young men of the working class require, however, first, good judgment and
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assistance in selecting for themselves a handicraft. In medieval times the craftsmen worked in open shops, much as our country blacksmiths work at present; and the lads could see all kinds of work in progress, and could thus discover where their own abilities might favourably be developed; what in fact they would prefer for their life work. Nasmyth has told how he first took to iron-work from watching at the smithies under Calton Hill. This state of things has generally ceased; our workshops are enclosed, and boys have no fair opportunity for finding out what they are most fit for, or the work that may be fit for them. Apprenticeship in various forms should be, with due regard to present circumstances, suitably revived, and made compulsory; and, more than this, a lad should not spend half-a-dozen years in learning an employment that with due attention could be mastered in as many months. It is absurd to see how impotent a large proportion of our workmen are in every art except some simple work that any boy might learn in his school playtime. When our working men were free, before their great debasement, they were not, as we have seen, half-bred mechanics, doing a superior labourer's work; their manual labour was the smallest part of their engagement; the handwriting merely, not the thought and high imagination, of their constantly poetic minds. The medieval workmen were essentially, and first of all, inventors; and their handicraft was but the utterance of their superior powers. To this superiority our working men will in due time return; but for the present, if they cannot promptly rise in artisan ability, they can extend their scope of work. A bricklayer might also be a plasterer and tiler, a pavior and stone-mason, or a glazier and house-painter. In other spheres accomplishments far greater and more various than these are easily attained; and few things are more pitiful to see than a grown man, with possibly a wife and family, incapable of every kind of work, save that of laying a few bricks in simple order, or of putting in or hacking out a pane of glass. Men of the working class should be encouraged to learn several 'trades,' that each may have more chance and opportunity for suitable employment; even mill hands, and miners would do well to follow the same nimble-minded plan. The workman thus abundantly endowed would have insured himself against the local, temporary failure that occurs from time to time in every trade; and he will also have ability to superintend large works employing various handicrafts. But, on the other hand, an honest man with only one resource in work is like a misplaced beacon visible from only one sole point of view.

Uneducated wanderers, who have loafed away their time of
training,

training, will of course complain of their condition ; they have neither possibility nor means of satisfaction. They themselves are in the wrong ; and therefore they are always, as they put it, injured and oppressed. Their faculty of introspection is, like all their other gifts, unused and paralysed ; they have become in every sense incapable. Thus, in their absurdity and impotence, they will demand the wages of capacity ; and, by the aid perhaps of those who should know better, they obtain a temporary rise of pay. But neither they nor their advisers seem to see that this advance can be but for a time ; that higher wages do mean abler work, or that inferior labour will be superseded by machinery. We have it on the authority of Mr. Livesey that in the gasworks at Cincinnati, since the adoption of machinery owing to the labour troubles there, some twenty men now do the work of eighty ; sixty strikers being superseded.

One very painful subject of remark concerning the condition of the working class is their habitual want of energetic and instinctive honesty ; and of trustworthiness in the expenditure of their employers' time, of the allotted hours of work for which they get their pay. A modern workshop, with its driving foreman, and timekeeper, is, in feeling, very like to a prison, with hard labour. There is always present the idea of compulsion ; and the idea, unhappily, quite fairly represents the fact. Workmen are just as other men in want of resolution to do well ; and many possibly have never learnt, or thought, or heard that they should willingly do right, or, in the least, do more than they may be immediately compelled to do ; that they should have a power of self-direction, and a sense of honour and of duty to direct the power. It is the sordid principle of making pay exclusively the object, when it should be specially regarded as the fair result of work, that keeps so many workers of all classes in a morally inferior state. Each man should know, and rightly feel, that work is providentially expected of him ; and should do it as his duty, trusting for his suitable reward. A conscientious labourer, in whatever rank or sphere, must be essentially a gentleman. All this, it seems, most workmen have to learn ; and, that duties come before rights, is the first lesson that they should be practically taught.

This teaching should, however, have been given before they have begun to work. The great failure of our present schools for children of the working class is that the boys and girls are scarcely ever educated into dignity of manners and of character ; a dignity that should as well be cultivated in the lower as in any other rank in life. It has been said that in all classes there

there is want of truthfulness, but that in the working class there also is a want of shame at lying. But however this may be, it is evident that the 'Arnold' system of education, and the truth that 'manners makyth man,' have not generally reached our National and Board Schools. Children are instructed in the elements of many things; but the one thing needful, their sound moral education, as distinct from mere instruction in a theory of morals, is not recognized among the items of a school curriculum. Of scientific teachers there is now a plentiful supply; but of good masters of high character, true gentlemen in spirit and in manners, men of power to educate the children at the very early age when character is really formed, however it may be subsequently modified, there seem to be but few, and these few are quite occupied with ordinary teaching work. Until such gentlemen, and ladies, have the immediate control and daily conduct of our children's schools, the moral elevation of the working class is not quite hopeful or secured; yet on this moral elevation hangs the future fate of England.

With good character, tranquillity of mind and sober judgment are associated; and habitual self-reverence is never eager, grasping, or ambitious, but can think and act with wisdom, as distinct from cleverness. Thus worthily endowed our working men will seek to understand the true condition of their own affairs, and will not be controlled or led by clamorous, inferior men. They will be wary of such headstrong methods as will lead to general strikes; but will, in concert with employers, who have learnt to trust and to respect them, find some equitable way of estimating the proportion of the gross returns to be allotted to the profit and the wages funds respectively. Being individually worthy of confidence, they will have trust in one another; and economy and co-operation, either among themselves or with their employers, will secure for them the profits both of capital and labour. The great weakness of the working class at present is their want of well-grounded mutual reliance; or of intelligent, discerning trust in any one whatever. Being ignorant, and sometimes not quite honest, they are inclined to be suspicious; and where employers offer them remarkably good terms of partnership, they or their Union, to which they are so often slaves, haggle about details, and then denounce the scheme as something treacherous. The essential elements of confidence and credit in affairs of business are not duly recognized by working men; who, owing to this negligence, attribute to 'oppression,' or to accidental adverse circumstances, their own failure in the race of life; which is however generally due to their deficiency in strictly personal

personal endowments, without which success is seldom possible. The working class have failed to notice these peculiarities of business aptitude; and those who would befriend them should, with kindly frankness, make them understand the matter; so that thus they may have hope to cheer, instead of disappointment to embitter their whole course of life.

A real hardship for superior working men is want of general and special public recognition and applause. To say of a fine picture that it was the work of some commercial firm would seem absurd; but similar negation of their individual claims to authorship by workmen of the higher class is almost universal. Capital and enterprise have their own equitable share of public deference and repute; but working-class inventors, scientists, and artists should not be, in any way, ignored. 'Boulton and Watt,' not 'Boulton' merely, was the proper style and title of a great historic firm.

Not only should the working class be courteously helped to rise, but they must raise themselves. It would seem strange to set the upper or the middle class to cultivate and patronize the other. Each class among us must, of course, work out its own salvation; and indeed improvement generally rises from below. Our noblest mountains are upheavals mostly of the lower strata of the globe. The working class, with suitable association and due opportunity, would gradually free themselves from those who, trading on their ignorance, and being generally ignorant themselves, mislead and injure them; and, that they may thus be liberated, and have time for culture and intelligent discernment, every reasonable man would sympathise with their desire for some reduction of the hours of work. That many thousands of our people are now doomed to dig in mines for more than half their waking day must be an evil, not only for the men themselves and for their families, but for the whole community. And so it must be hoped that in the getting of the coal, as in the using of it at the Cincinnati gasworks, the employment of machinery may soon cause a diminution of some seventy-five per cent. in the amount of human labour underground. Railway and canal contractors now use excavating engines, and machines for boring tunnels; and if solid rock is treated in this way, coal surely may, with judgment and by practical experience, be similarly worked. Our English foremen are not generally less adroit and capable in such affairs than the Italians and the French.

The hours of labour for our working people being thus reduced, to 'leave them leisure to be good,' the men will have some time at least for self-improvement, which will further
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bring the inclination to improve; and they will seek to qualify themselves for the important influence in the state to which they now have been so prematurely and improvidently called. This has become a social and political necessity. The power and responsibilities of England cannot be entrusted to a mob; though certain of the politicians, who have gained the foolish confidence and admiration of the working class, do actually boast, in private, that they play upon the ignorance and the credulity of their constituents. Intelligence, they say, can see the falsehood of their statements, but their fabrications have been made for those who are without discernment. 'Now we have mob rule; and so it is the mob that we intend to gain.' Such politicians of the market-place have no desire to raise the people, since they would themselves be left behind.

But things at first move gradually in this world of ours; and wisdom is best shown by careful waiting on events, and not by hasty action. Working men in England are not independent of the world beyond; and Europe, and America, and Hindostan, have influence on the hours of English labour. And, besides, are labouring men in England, in their circumstances, quite prepared for longer hours of relaxation? What will they be doing, or we may say suffering, when away from work? A labourer in the South Metropolitan Gas Works gives a word of evidence on this subject that suggests consideration. He remarks, with reference to the eight hours' system: 'I go off work at two o'clock in the afternoon. I cannot spend the rest of the day at my own home; and I go about the streets, spending my money, and am a poorer man.' It is clear that men require preparation for good, as well as fortification against evil; and that the greatest blessing may become a curse when men are unprepared or unfit to receive it. This unfortunate gas-worker was not, it appears, endowed with household circumstances suited for his gift of leisure; and, accepting him as a fair average illustration of his class, we find that, as a fact, the man was homeless. He had somewhere, possibly, a bedstead, and appliances and space for sitting down and eating an uncomfortable, ill-cooked meal; but really he had no true home to go to. He was a wanderer in the streets, with but the public-house as an alternative.

As we have said, the working class are generally twice as well conditioned as they were some fifty years ago. But at that period the working men of London had some kind of home; they certainly were not worse off than our complaining labourer: they could but say that in the daytime they were in the way among the domesticities and children. And from this it would appear that though in every other respect the working man's position

position has so cheerfully improved, his abject home-condition has remained quite stationary; and is at present, in comparison with all his other circumstances, twice as bad as it was half a century since. The workman is in daytime practically homeless.

Such extensive inconsistency must have some special cause; and the peculiarity affecting all the population of the great metropolis, and most disastrously, as we have seen, its working men, is the duality of tenure of the houses. If the working class could be well liberated from the present system of house tenure, and, the Government or County Council laying out the future roads of London on a well-considered, liberal plan, the building plots were all made freehold, and judiciously arranged for various styles and rates of houses, and the costs of law and registration were no greater than the brokers' charges on the Stock Exchange, the workmen would soon undertake to build their own free houses; and would promptly find that they could have salubrious and ample homes, within the cost of their old dual rental, plus the present daily waste of time and money in the tavern and the street. Until the working class have houses of their own, there is no hope of their re-elevation. The huge cellular constructions, rising on all hands, in which to stow away our working population, are not *homes*; and, probably, our labourer at the gas works had his unattractive domicile in one of these large warehouses.

That this great city should be so oppressed by a malignant custom, and by long municipal neglect, that rich, compassionating individuals from impoverished Ireland, and from another hemisphere, should seek by their munificence to give the shelter that the working people of the richest city in the world should be, and are, quite able to provide with quadruple completeness for themselves, is probably, for any thoughtful visitor, the greatest wonder in the place. His first enquiry would be, why those who squander untold wealth in multitudes of public-houses, and amid the costly splendours of the drinking taverns, should not find the money for their poorer neighbours, to provide them decent homes. And when the prompt reply is made, that these same squanderers are the very people for whom the huge barrack buildings throughout London are in charity provided, since the law and customs of the place prevent their buying freehold land and building proper houses for themselves, the visitor might further ask why these bad laws are not reformed, and such pernicious customs legally proscribed. The answer would be silence; there is no reply. The blocks of workmen's prison cells and suffocating torture chambers, and the glaring public-house

house in every street, are monuments of our municipal stupidity, developed into vice. The agitation against public-houses here in London is grotesque, when, for the great majority, convenient private houses are quite unattainable.

'The worst of the worthy sort of people is that they are such cowards. A man groans over wrong, he shuts his lips, he takes his supper, he forgets.' And so, while many feel that dual tenure is in every way an injury, and is in Ireland admittedly impolitic, they leave it here, especially in London, unabated; though the solution of the trouble would be sound and economical philanthropy. There may of course be some anxiety about the effect on neighbouring property of such a change. The general challenge is: Would you then have a butcher's shop in Grosvenor Square? But the reply is cumulative and sufficient, namely that no open shops, or even any 'stall,' invading public rights for private gain, should be permitted; and that no goods, or signs other than small inscriptions, and, especially, no pictures should be exhibited, except behind glass windows. The great glaring sheets of coarse advertisements, our really 'national' display of art, are a comparatively novel nuisance, instituted within living memory; but butchers' and other open shops in London are a survival of a semi-barbarous condition, when plate-glass was not invented, and blown glass was costly. And such open stalls, obtruding on the public way, should now be wholly superseded by enclosed glass fronts. There is no reason why butchers more than bakers, greengrocers more than grocers, or fishmongers more than ironmongers, should have shopboards open to the streets; and to abolish these would have a very civilizing influence on the feelings and the habits of the working class. In Edinburgh, the butchers' shops being, by civic regulation, always glazed, give to that city an aspect of decency and comeliness that is observed by every visitor from London; though perhaps the cause of the superiority may not have been perceived.*

But land for workmen's houses, in the immediate or inner suburbs, is comparatively dear; and further out it is, from want of suitable highways, remote and inconvenient. The proper action of the County Council would, however, overcome

* The comprehensive municipal regulation is, that 'every person who conveys, in an open cart or otherwise, the carcasses or any parts thereof of horses or cattle without the same being properly covered up from public view with clean cloths or such other coverings as the magistrates and Council prescribe, or exposes such carcasses or any parts thereof, or the skins or offal of such, outside of the doors or windows of any house or building' is liable to a penalty of forty shillings; with additional sanctions for aggravators. When will our London Councillors attain to similar municipal propriety and common sense?

the difficulty. Most Londoners will have observed that, in addition to the outer streets and roads from the old City gates, with their continuations, there are certain groups of broad, extended thoroughfares, that give a character of spaciousness and civilized administration to some portions of the town. The Circus at the Surrey Obelisk, with its wide radiating roads; the Old and New Kent Roads; the New North Road, and Camden, Caledonian, and Seven Sisters Roads; the Finchley, New, and City, and Commercial Roads, with Junction Road and Highgate Archway, were a statesmanlike provision for the increasing traffic and development of London. If we consider what the present state of the metropolis would be without these admirably prescient works, we may anticipate the future and immediate condition of the suburbs due to the persistent negligence of our municipal authorities to extend continually this needful system of great leading roads. The works that we have quoted were all done in the old Tory times, before the first Reform Bill, when foreseeing men of action, and experienced administrators ruled; but for two generations, though some works of various magnitude, and various merit or deficiency, have been done in Central London, the construction of circuitous and radiating roads, in practical anticipation of the growth of the metropolis, has been entirely neglected; nothing whatever of this kind has been projected by the parochial authorities, or even by the late disreputable Board of Works.

Now this neglect must be abandoned; and the County Council have to plan and carry out, all round the outer suburbs, a complete and well-designed arrangement of exterior boulevards, with spacious avenues connecting these wide, doubly-planted, circular highways with the existing larger thoroughfares. Within the area thus treated there should be distributed abundant liberal reservations for new play-grounds,* parks, and gardens; and throughout this outer suburb, thus appropriately planned, there will be ample space for artisans to build their freehold houses—leaseholds being interdicted—at a cost for sites much lower than the present price for leaseholds

* From every suburban railway may be seen abundant plots of ground at present used for cricket, football, and lawn tennis. But the pity of it is that these attractive grounds are only waiting for the builder; and the players, year by year, are ousted, having always to go further from their homes for recreation. Why do not the various clubs unite in one great metropolitan association, and themselves prepare a full suburban plan of lands required for playgrounds, to be rented or be left entirely open? The young men of London have, unfortunately, latent influence enough to get whatever they can reasonably require. Why are their energies so limited in action? Have they no breadth of view, no foresight or determination? Are they capable of nothing public but a game?

in the suburbs. Workmen will then migrate largely to the newly-opened territory; and a due proportion of the local trades and manufactures will soon follow. Thus, the central districts being gradually relieved of surplus population, it will become possible to open out new thoroughfares and gardens in the older parts of the metropolis, without undue expenditure, or inconvenient displacement of those resident inhabitants, particularly of the working class and poor, whose local occupations may prevent their prompt migration.

To arrange and make its great highways is the first duty of a civilized municipality; and this duty our London parishes have constantly evaded, with the result that London has become chaotic in its general plan. Thus, while the value of the property in London has increased threefold, the obstruction of the streets is also constantly increasing; and the attempted regulation of congested traffic by police, instead of being an occasional occurrence, has become a system, just because the government of London by its own citizens is imbecile. Almost every great improvement in the place has been promoted by imperial power; since, owing to their want of territorial interest, the Londoners themselves have been, and are, the great opponents of expenditure for necessary local works. The improvement of the working class in all their circumstances of domestic life is thus habitually hindered; while too many of the people who permit the injury are talking about spending other people's money for the still further dreary and congested lodgment in huge barrack buildings of our suffering and homeless artisans.

The true character, or want of public character and energy, of any English town may be correctly estimated from the nature of the local tenure of house property; and London is a grievous exhibition of municipal infirmity and public impotence. In social politics, as in other cases of peculiar difficulty, the first care of the wise is to discover the chief faults and failings of their own position; to look round at the immediate, and to see what modification in their own conduct or customs, and in the circumstances of their own affairs, may be most necessary for the public weal. In the present case such social self-examination is particularly needful. If a workman cannot with his earliest savings make a fit home for his wife and family, he is excluded from the first, most natural, and urgent motive for persistent thrift; and here in London this provision is at present almost universally prohibited. Thus, those above the working class are most to blame for very much of what is wrong that working men indulge in and endure.

At present, owing to this cause, the working population suffer
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very much from narrowness of mind ; they seldom read, except perhaps the paltriest news ; and their associations, and the incidents of their domestic lives, are so monotonous that, however naturally able they may be, their intellects are apt to crystallize upon a very few immediate facts in their experience ; and thus they do not grow, they merely settle down. The remedy for this has been, in part, provided by the State ; but like so many similar provisions—swords without guns, and volunteers without equipment—half the necessary good is paralyzed for want of the remainder. We have here in London, in our great museums, the most wonderful collection that was ever formed of illustrations ; but the word, that they would serve so copiously to illustrate, is not there. And for the immense majority of Englishmen, and more especially for those who most require instruction, our museums are mere show rooms of expensive, unintelligible wonders ; of less interest, and yielding far less satisfaction and amusement than the recent show provided, at a thousandth part of the expense, by Mr. Barnum at ‘Olympia.’ These galleries and museums are attended mostly by the class of loafers ; people who have time to spend, and also have, it may be, fair intelligence to appreciate and enjoy the ‘exhibits,’ if they understood them. But the teacher does not come ; and so they wander through the rooms, and go away in aggravated ignorance ; developed by the poor conceit of having *seen* the show, though not appreciating it.

Is this folly to continue ? There are millions in this vast metropolis who desire instruction, and who pay for these institutions, but get nothing beyond sad amusement. Probably no such egregious and distressing waste, and loss of opportunity can be discovered in our national affairs. While working men are now forlorn without instruction, here, in these museums are the means for a great teaching university, with which no university in all the world could bear comparison ; and this is all neglected. The museums, among other things, are exhibitions of the vanity of English governments, and of their wondrous want of observation and of common sense. At present, even after all the years since they were each established, their contents are neither comprehended nor appreciated by the nation ; and modern statues, notably from Hyde Park Corner down to Palace Yard, exemplify the failure in artistic influence of the unexpounded show so long exhibited at Bloomsbury. Few things more pitiable can be seen than the dull, wandering visitors at these huge warehouses ; except perhaps the desolation and neglect at some of the great galleries. Who would think that the large empty room at Bethnal Green was the chief

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National Portrait Gallery of the greatest nation in the world? Probably, of all our thirty millions, here at home, not one intelligent and studious visitor per hour attends the place; and yet, if lectures on our national biography, and on pictorial art, were given, not only would the people flock in crowds to hear them every day, but the result would be such increased interest in the history and fate of England, and of her great Empire, as would raise the spirit of the nation, and would give enormous strength to the Queen's Government in face of Foreign Powers.

This is the sort of liberal education that the working class immediately require; they need a general introduction to the world. Those who are not on speaking terms with people of the labouring class can hardly understand how naturally intelligent, and yet how ignorant they are; how narrow are their minds and understandings. Were there lectures, several each day, and 'gallery rounds,'* in the museums at Kensington, and Bloomsbury, and Bethnal Green, to audiences of a hundred, more or less, so frequently that casual visitors could hardly fail to be in time for one at least, the effect upon the working people, not to say on those above them, would be great indeed. Much has been lately said about the value of Imperial Federation; but how could the Imperial idea be more efficiently encouraged than by such constant welcome of the working class to study, in the most attractive way, our great Imperial history of men and things? And then, again, how promptly such wide care and teaching would secure the confidence of those who are instructed. Nothing would more quickly tend to make the working class, both Liberal and Conservative, true Unionists, than such beneficent consideration; and the gain to all of us from witnessing intelligent appreciation substituted for blank wonderment and ignorance in those who visit our museums would be a hundredfold reward for all that could be done in this respect to elevate our artisans.

The method for this is quite simple, and it might be, for the present, carried out without additional expense. A few years back the sum of eighty-seven thousand pounds was given to secure two pictures for the National Gallery, on the suggestion that for certain years the annual grant for pictures should be thus forestalled. It has not yet been shown that any one is much the better for this large expenditure; but it is quite clear that

* Peripatetic discourses on the exhibits in museum galleries. Since the above was written, 'Mr. Maunde Thompson, the head of the British Museum, has organised a staff to take small parties of working men over the Museum, and to explain in a popular style the objects of chief interest there.' A wise and thankworthy undertaking, capable of great extension, and pregnant with good results.

by the lectures we propose, great good will come to multitudes. How much better that our people should be able so to appreciate and benefit by what they have, that they themselves may learn to make at least companion pictures to these costly purchases, as Turner rivalled or even surpassed Claude; instead of, in blank ignorance and incapacity, acquiring more possessions. Might not the annual sum for purchases for our museums be for one year utilized in fitting up small lecture rooms, and printing synopses of lectures; and then the help of able men to lecture be invited? The experiment can be made immediately, in any one, or all of our great metropolitan museums. Certainly the scheme is in its object worthy of so small and inexpensive an attempt to test its influence and value; more particularly as its first result will be to gain enormous popularity for any Government that undertakes it.

With their minds thus modulated and expanded, working men will bring more sober judgment and matured experience to the conduct of their own peculiar affairs; they will discern, by multiplied analogy, that all progress to be fortunate and steady should be gradual; whereas too often the advancement of the working class is catastrophic and uncertain. Strikes, half of them, are promptly failures; and they often, in the long run, do the working men themselves more harm than good, by paralysing trade; the total loss that they occasion, on the average, probably exceeds the gain. Our working men at present do not see their way in the financial world; they act from crude ideas, rather than from accurate information; and they strike from impulse, misdirected by their fellow-workmen, not more wise than they, but more aggressive, or controlled by those who may for various objects, good, indifferent, or bad, obtain an influence on the workmen's mind. Were working men more educated, and informed about their own affairs, they would, from year to year, appraise the labour market; and thus, meeting their employers on fair terms, they could adjust their pay with friendly and considerate equity, without the suffering and loss that in this period of strikes occur to both employers and employed, to capital as well as labour; and to labour, in again a secondary way, because of the anterior loss of capital.

The elevation of the lowest stratum of the working class will raise the entire mass. Wages will rise, and the long hours of labour may, by mere accumulation of intelligent capacity for work, and of mechanical assistance, be effectually reduced; while the general output will be much increased, at lower prices for the public, but mostly at a higher rate of profit for the manufacturer or capitalist; for, after all, appropriate culture

brings increase of wealth to the community of every rank. The decent working class will further be relieved of the discredit and the stigma that result from near connection with a failing and disreputable set of people; and their individual and social self-respect will thus be correspondingly enhanced; their economical condition also being sensibly improved; which would delight us all.

The recent contests between workmen and their large employers have revealed great want of wisdom on all sides. Why the colliery proprietors should have resisted an advance of pay, when but a four days' strike could wholly change their minds, is not explained; and evidently the South London Gas strike, and the Dockers' strike at Liverpool, were ill-advised. In London the Dock labourers' strike became successful, for a time, because the public, who are vastly generous at other people's cost, professed to have a serious opinion on a subject about which they were particularly ignorant; and they thus supported a demand which, while it is conceded, causes grievous injury to real artisans. It puts unskilled on a level with skilled labour; and thus lowers by comparison the status of the better men, who now are on a par with probably the lowest of the ill-conditioned in their rate of pay. Those trained in idleness, and desultory and inferior work, are for the present to receive the wage of industry and workmanlike ability. Of course this will not last; and when the various Dock Companies have been reorganized financially, appropriate machinery will be substituted for these striking labourers.

The first desideratum is a syndicate of men of capital, and shipowners, to buy up all the docks along the Thames, to rearrange the buildings, and to introduce the utmost help of engines and mechanical contrivances to simplify and expedite the loading and unloading of all kinds of craft. Thus time and money may be saved, and British commerce be protected from the ignorant caprice and foolish greed of probably the most incapable collection of mere labourers to be found in England. It is a curious and disreputable episode in the illustrious history of English trade that any inconsiderate whim of an excited gathering of waifs and strays, the lowest of the low in handicraft, should bring, and be allowed to bring, unprecedented injury to English business character and enterprise. For the good credit of the nation this peculiar anarchy should cease; and those who are supposed to be directors of our great commercial interests should really have the needful power. Without such suitable control of all our docks and wharves the commerce of the Thames will pass to other
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ports, and the dock labourers will thus, by reason of their own presumptuous folly, be condignly punished. That these dock labourers should take the place of dock directors, and prescribe how work is to be done, and when, who is to do it, and at what amount of pay, and even should decide that some men should not work at all, is a ridiculous idea, that in a few months' time will surely be exploded. But for the present it is practical; and is a national disgrace, emphatically manifest before the whole commercial world.

Great strikes on railways should be specially discountenanced; but they should also be without excuse. This is, unfortunately, often not the case. Directors hardly seem to understand that railways are all worked by men as well as by machines; and, thus, that men as well as engines should be frequently inspected, and secured from over-work. The physical and mental state of every railway workman should be strictly supervised by an experienced medical man; that both the public and the workmen may be satisfied; and that their work may never be so arduous or protracted as to exhaust or overstrain the workmen's physical or mental power. A wise display of thoughtful, generous sympathy is, after all, the best preventative of accidents and strikes. Had the afflicted signalman at Taunton been relieved of work, and liberally pensioned, a great 'accident' would have been prevented; and the Great Western dividend would have been more gratifying to its numerous proprietors.*

The prohibition of a labouring man to accept the work that should maintain himself and family, is novel as an element of social Christendom; and there are thousands of poor men who are, 'on principle,' obstructed in this way. Trade unions are often acting in restraint of labour and of trade; and the whole power of the country is at times in real although tacit combination with the unions. This does not now refer to the weak-minded, undiscerning sentiment that lent its ignorant support to the dock labourers' strike some months ago, and was directed by the volunteered grotesque assurance of Lord Brassey, the Lord Mayor, and Cardinal Manning, but to the conduct of the Government authorities on that occasion. It is said, with every appearance of truth, that if the men at Beckton Gas-works should turn out there would be an efficient force of military and

* The risk of such accidents is needlessly constant throughout England. Some years ago, at a suburban station, a signalman repeatedly begged the manager to remove him. The request was pooh-poohed; and eventually the man, worn out by his monotony of care, became a lunatic; not, happily, while serving in his box, or the result might possibly have been a terrible disaster.

police to screen and to protect all willing labourers. If this is just and legal, and indeed if every man among us pays for such protection, why were the abundant unemployed, who were at recent strikes quite willing to go in and work, not perfectly protected by the powers of the State? The Government can have no legal option in this case, or those who suffer also have an option to defend themselves in their extremity. If Government officials were so menaced as to hinder Governmental work, there would be short work with the adversary; and if these Government officials, so secure, neglect to give security to all our population, abdicating their legitimate authority, the sufferers are manifestly free to undertake their own protection. Thus free-labour unions, armed and militant, will be the only trust for independent workmen, who, not having joined the striking unions, are still the great majority—above three-quarters—and the ablest men throughout the country, of the working class.

Our workmen, like the rest of us, are individual as well as social beings; and have individual rights as well as social duties. The first social duty of us all is to protect the individual rights of each; and to no class is individual protection so continually needful as to working men. Thus this new tyranny of Unionism, in its aggressive form, subordinating individual rights to corporate cupidity, would be disastrous to the class it is presumed to serve; and, to the better part of them, unbearable oppression. In the spheres of intellect and of religion we have, after centuries of contest, gained full individual liberty; and it would now appear a strange anachronism, and a social degradation, to allow the individual rights of working men to be diminished or withdrawn. Religious persecution had its root in popular deficiency of mind, in ignorance and craven jealousy; and our new social persecution of the righteous working man is similarly founded. These free workers are the men who would rely on their own character, and energy, and competence in work; and they are certain of success. The persecuting unionists are those who are deficient in these qualities, and attributes, and aims; and are in fact the arrogant impostors of the working class, whom none would permanently keep in their employ, or wish to re-engage.

Employers always would prefer their own accustomed men to aliens and strangers; but if labour agitations, and capricious or unwarrantable strikes occur, and capital is seriously in danger, it will either migrate, or adopt new labour-saving engines, or it will import new hands, who, knowing by experience that the

wages

offered are above the rate in other districts, will pour in, gradually take the place of their less accurately informed enduring predecessors. There is still throughout the abundance of good labourers, who can come to capital, or can go to them; and British workmen, excellent in ways, considering their long misfortune, must be temperate and not forget that competition does eventually control the price of labour, just as it controls the money market. They must never let employers look away from their old, well-known

a great proportion of the working class, those least conscious and wise, will be aggressive. Workmen will combine, and demand increase of wages, shorter hours of work, and other privileges; and if these are not conceded they will strike. There is no help for this, save education and instruction on the part of the State, that equity may be attained, and separate interests may be combined for mutual benefit. At present neither workmen nor employers have, it seems, attained to wisdom in this matter, and the happy medium is seldom found; the working class must have to make their way, and few will give it them without compulsion. But perhaps it will be well for the State to let them to work out their own re-elevation by themselves; thus they will gain experience, somewhat sadly, for their new position. At the same time the employers also should combine to moderate and regulate the movement. Where intelligence is lacking, the co-ordination of antagonistic forces is the method by which equilibrium and orderly progression are secured; and in the present social economics such antagonism may at times be useful for all classes. A concurrence of desire and will, without fit, strenuous discussion or experienced information, may become a dangerous ruler for an active and developing community. It means either dull indifference or wild infatuation—movement without proper guidance or restraint. In any action there should be reserve of force, to limit and moderate that order may control and regulate emotion.

Without emotion led by hope to resolute endeavour there is little expectation of improvement in the general condition of the working class. 'At Mercedes, Uruguay,' says a man, 'I asked two men why they did not work. One said the days were too long; the other that he was too

This sounds grotesque; and yet there is an element of truth to be found in each reply. The days of work are generally too long for healthy life, and mental growth, and relaxation; and either work is carelessly performed, or in the course of it the worker suffers from protracted, close attention, or

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from monotony, and want of proper, varied mental exercise. Mill-work, though so simple, compels training, which if unrelieved is deleterious to mind and body; and to many of both sexes such compulsion is at first unbearable. Recruits, in their first year or two in barracks, or on board, fall ill from sheer depression under the continuous discipline; and in factory machine-tending there is danger of a similar nervous failure. Thus, no doubt, as working men become more bright and cultured, there will be an irrepressible desire to shorten factory hours; and owners of machinery might be well employed in scheming some arrangement by which this desire may be satisfied before it rises to a sharp, immediate demand. To foresee, and to anticipate legitimate desires by prompt and generous action is the essence of sound management in all affairs. In manufacturing districts one peculiarly irksome incident is the sameness of the hours of work; and the longing, of young people especially, to be out of doors at certain hours, because they always at those hours are shut up in the factory, is distressing. If in the course of a few years the eight hours' system should become the rule, and two or three shifts per day could be arranged, a voluntary change of watch occasionally would be a grateful boon.

It may be that by shortened hours of work the recognized antipathy to work may be abated; and the driving foreman may be superseded by the general alacrity and willingness of all the hands. But that the unwilling and the inefficient should by legislation limit the productive power and the extra pay of every energetic and industrious workman, and reduce his status to the level of their own incompetence or idleness, would be a tyranny to individuals, and ruinous as public policy. Again, development of moral character may be the beneficent result of shorter hours; since persistent hard endurance is not often favourable for either intellectual or moral culture. With good homes, and time to spend in comfort in such homes, the improvement of the working class up to the level of their great responsibilities, and to the consummation of their self-respect and happiness, may well be hoped for. 'Never think that as long as you are master of your own fire-side and of your own time you can be unhappy, or that any other circumstance can add to your enjoyment.' It was want of hope in Darwin's second respondent that made him indolent. Men who are very poor can often see no prospect of improvement in their actual condition, and they live habitually from hand to mouth. They thus never have experienced the slightest increment of wealth; and all their natural talent lies perpetually buried, without even a protecting napkin. Here again the chief thing for us all
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to do, or to attempt, is to elicit and encourage active, energetic hope among, especially, our lowest class of workmen.

Not only is such hope essential to success, but there must be financially the means by which success in life, admitting of retirement at a proper age from arduous labour, can be prudently secured; there must be thrift. The earliest financial lesson for the workman is the absolute necessity of due provision for old age; and then, with reference to this, that cash habitually saved and properly invested, always is at work, and multiplies itself at compound interest, however small, in a surprising way. By early and continuous accumulations working men may easily avoid the stress of labour when the power to work diminishes; and, further, it is only by the help of such accumulations in some form or other that a workman can obtain a profit share in any enterprise.

But enterprise means risk, profit and loss; and loss must be accepted as a stimulus, concomitant with fair success. Healthy progress is generally fluctuating, and is often irregular; even the improvement of the working class, collectively and individually, is subject to disturbance from sharp competition; and we find success and failure co-existing side by side. Moreover, it appears that workmen are themselves not always actively considerate and liberal to their dependent workers; but can be as jealous and exclusive as the much-abused superior employers. There is in Lancashire a co-operative society, for the supply of goods to co-operative stores, consisting of and managed by the working class exclusively, which annually turns over about seven millions sterling; a company indeed of middle men. In 1888, its realized profits were above eighty-two thousand pounds; but its own workmen were not begged to take a share. While on the other hand, in London, Messrs. Peto Brothers handsomely proposed to divide among the men on one of their large contract works one-fourth of all the profit; those who should neglect their work, or strike, or do disreputable work would be excluded. The men concerned were willing to accept this offer; but the Building Trades Committee interfered; demanding, not without impertinence, the withdrawal of the scheme. Thus, as workers and employers, working men have actively or tacitly repudiated or obstructed a most influential method for the improvement of their own class; which seems particularly inconsistent with the general complaint of labour against capital. In France and in the United States, however, profit sharing has had much success; and now, in spite of jealous opposition or of cautious hesitation, it is gradually becoming popular in England. There is a

Labour

Labour Association for Promoting Co-operative Production; and it appears that many thousand men are working on this system. Messrs. Hazel, Watson, and Viney, printers, of London and Aylesbury, employ a thousand profit-sharing hands. The Handbook of their rules states that at the annual stocktaking up to March 31, 1890, a certain sum will be set aside by the Directors to the reserve fund; a dividend, if the profits permit, of ten per cent. will be paid to the shareholders, and the surplus, if any, will be divided between an increase of the dividend and a common provident fund. Messrs. T. Bushill and Sons, printers, of Coventry, gave a bonus, in 1889, of six weeks' wages; half payable in December and the other half reserved for a provident fund; a balance of five days' wages being carried forward. Mr. Thomas Bushill mentions that the gas bill has been lower since the scheme has been set on foot, the men being more economical; and that the departments and individuals pull better together.

This reference to the gas bill is very hopeful. Community of interest brings common carefulness; and habitual carefulness, which supersedes corroding care, is what the working men of England greatly need. There is a very general idea, almost held to be a doctrine, that what is called excess of population is the cause of lowered wages. Speaking broadly, this is no doubt a truth; but it is a temporary, superficial, and not fundamental truth, since wages fall because the wage fund has been spent in various kinds of waste, and owing to the lessened confidence and credit due to 'business-like' dishonesty. Thus population is in what is called excess because men are so wanting in those qualities of regulated mind that tend to healthy trade and general employment; and they then, each one, complain that other people are too numerous; never considering that their own individual improvidence and failure have assisted to prevent this so abundant population being profitable. Numbers are too frequently, no doubt, in great excess of due intelligence, and industry, and virtue; but each man should take the measure of himself in this respect, and not complain to Jupiter that other people are a surplusage, and lower wages. The greater the population the more numerous are the benefits that can be shared in common, and so at a less cost to individuals. Here is an absolute opportunity for saving; and if people will use only what is good for them, and what they reasonably can enjoy, there will be a substantial surplus for the future, which is capital; and this, by suitable employment, will result in further profit. But if workmen will consume entirely, or greatly waste their pay, of course they may become

too numerous ; and some must become paupers, or must starve. Intelligence is given to men to be employed, from age to age, in making due provision for the race ; for self-support of each when strength declines, and for the sustentation during lifetime of a wife, and, for some twenty years or more, of children. If instead of this, and of provision for the accidents of life, men drink away their means, and waste them, there will be, of course, deficiency of capital for further work, and for the employment of the people ; or, to put it conversely, if the deficiency of wages comes of population being in excess of capital, the population should not waste the profit fund. Besides, our people, of all classes, should be honest ; so that, home investments being thus secure, and properly remunerative, capital will stay in England to support her worthy citizens. Again, it has been said that overthrift, by causing a deficiency of trade, prevents employment. But our frugal people do not in these days lock up their hoard ; it goes into the mass of capital, and is again employed as wages ; whether here in England or abroad, depending very much upon the honesty, or otherwise, of Englishmen. The great obstacles to trade are waste, that dissipates what should be capital, and folly and dishonesty that damage credit ; for on capital and credit all our trade depends. Abundant labour is not held to be a reason for deficiency of corn ; for each farm labourer can produce immensely more than his fair contribution to the general need. But if the husbandmen waste all the surplus crop, and have none left for seed, then in the early future there will be, of course, starvation.

The first great command, to multiply, was not without the corresponding gift of 'every herb' for food ; and if men labour honestly, and waste not, they need never want, however much they reasonably multiply. In England there is annual waste that would support, a hundredfold, our pauper poor, and raise surprisingly the personal and home condition of our working class. And though the land is going out of cultivation, and decreases in its profits, needing for its proper culture twice the capital at present spent upon it, yet the natural manure provided is withheld ; and is, instead of being purified upon the land, diverted as pollution to the rivers and the sea. Then, owing to the legal costs of every transaction in the land, forbidding petty culture where it might be profitable, and to the want of business-like ability and insight of so many landholders, the great surplus capital of England is laid out on distant, foreign enterprises ; and our people must console themselves with 'Turks,' or 'Cedulas,' instead of making moderate
investments

investments in good, highly cultivated land at home. Thus, altogether, our great working class, and others, become discontented; themselves being, by their own great folly and neglect, the origin and cause of their chief discontent.

Of course advancement is not made without some measure of accompanying distress. All movement causes heat, and sometimes suffering; for every good there has to be a sacrifice; but then the good arrives. With us, as a community, it has arrived, and is advancing, so that now we hope the very lowest and the least advanced among us will be raised and carried forward by its influence. But though the workman's state is thus improved, and there is hope that his day's pay may be, quite properly, increased, this under various circumstances might be for the moment but a doubtful benefit, and might even be to him a means of harm. A rapid increment of wealth is trying to most characters; it may develop the conceit and folly latent even in the wisest and most modest men. However, the increase of pay should be conceded generously, as the course of trade permits, judiciously, as something wisely due, and not spasmodically, as a gift of patronage or as an evidence of weakness or of fear. The workmen then, perhaps, will not receive their increased fortune as a sort of gambling prize, to be incontinently fooled away; but having been by gradual habitude of prudent thought prepared to save, or by intelligence to utilize their larger income, this will become for them a blessing, not, as so often hitherto, a curse. They will discern that the chief benefit of wealth is not in its immediate enjoyment or display, but in its power in reserve; that a degrading reverence of wealth must injure its possessor; who, with superior self-reverence, should chiefly value wealth for the increasing independence, greater leisure, and abundant power of dignified beneficence that it bestows. For while there is no station in which industry will not obtain power to be liberal, there is no rank or character on which liberality will not confer honour; and it is generous liberality, and not, as they so commonly suppose, impetuous greed, that will most surely raise the character, and thus the social and financial status of our working men.

To resume then, we have found that the essential, natural state of labour is not one, as moderns are so apt to think, of social or of intellectual inferiority; but in its higher ranks it has immensely more of dignity and value than the state of trade. The greatest of our merchant princes or our land proprietors are evidently not superior in quality or merit to the

the men who by their gifted labour built the Parthenon, the Choir at Westminster, the Cathedral at Rouen, and all the greater monuments of workmen's art throughout the world; and to restore our working men to their old status in society would be a gift of dignity and happiness to every class. This, recent teaching in the schools has led our working people to perceive; and they are now endeavouring to raise their rank to its original and natural position. The first step in this recovery is their self-endowment with a proper kind of home, that they can live in with their families; and this they must have opportunity and proper means to do, in substitution for the present evil and injurious system of house-tenure and room-hiring. But this reform must not be undertaken in a merely personal, or an unjust way; the object must be solely public good, not individual financial gain; with generosity and full consideration, both in cash and feeling, for the actual proprietors, so that both sides may approve, and be legitimately satisfied.

The working class must then be educated, not instructed merely; and instruction should be aided by the use of ample means now under Government control. Excessive working hours should also be reduced, by independent mutual arrangements with employers, and as soon as possible, to give more time for education; so that working men may morally and intellectually rise in due accordance with their higher status in the world of business and of politics.

Then, those men who are honest, and industrious, and wise, will systematically save; and will invest, in harmony with capitalist employers, in their profit-sharing undertakings, so that the interests of labour and of capital may be made obviously concurrent, instead of being, as at present it is often thought, antagonistic. Thus mutual respect between employers and employed may be combined with the most favourable means and methods for success. Those who are not thus wise will spend their earnings wholly; and when they become dissatisfied with their condition, they will strike with special valour, since the failure, when it comes, will mostly fall upon their wives and families, but any accidental good that may result will be their own. These unwise men may be sustained in their contention by a corresponding want of wisdom in the capitalist employers; and still more by the officious vanity of fussy meddlers, ecclesiastical and other, who attain cheap notoriety and transient popularity by such display of ignorance and subterfuge as Mr. Livesey has so cleverly exposed.

To meet the striking system the employers also must combine. They must not leave this for the future, and be taken unawares;
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but always should have their own methods well arranged to meet at once a startling outbreak. And they must, besides, be constantly considerate and frugal, with a good reserve of capital available; they must not be poor. The London Dockers were successful for the time because their chief opponents were, from previous long mismanagement, so grievously impoverished. Employers should look out with carefulness on both sides of their way; they should make every arrangement that will tend to improve the general condition of their workers; on the other hand they must prepare to meet judiciously the wild demands of folly, by securing within reach a full supply of new-imported labour, or by plans prepared for transferring their business capital to other districts where cheap labour is not organized for evil by a combination of the docile and the truculent unwise among the workmen. In a word, the masters must be equal to their appellation, and be strong; and in their strength be generous, considerate, and kind, with an anticipating grace that will commend itself to working men and gain their confidence. Sick funds and pension funds should be promoted; and although strict discipline must be maintained in all affairs of business, and in working hours, there should be increased amenity of sentiment and of address between employers and their workmen. How can working people have a cultivated manner if their leaders and employers hardly manifest to them a symptom of such culture; or perhaps of anything but sheer negation of the courtesy that marks a gentleman?

Non-unionists must be protected. During the Dockers' strike these willing workers were abominably treated by the Union men, and still more shamefully neglected by the Government authorities. It is a scandal that, when men desire to work and need the pay, they should be interrupted, terrified, and injured. Men in Parliament are very circumspect that they themselves shall be protected, in their work, from 'moral suasion,' 'conversation,' and 'appeal,' when backed by threatening physical display; but, in their cowardice, or greed for votes, they have delivered over the majority of working men to grievous personal and social terror of a many-headed tyranny. Perhaps when one of these poor fellows, thus abandoned, makes himself his own protector, since the law or the authorities had failed, and juries disagree, or justify the homicide, then Government and Parliament will think that 'moral suasion' had in every case and form be better left alone.

All that has thus been said is evidently free from social bias or exclusive prejudice, and is intended to promote the cause of peace, and happiness, and order. The advancement of the
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working class is now in progress, and it will go on; it is then wise for all of us to understand the matter, and to bring ourselves and our affairs into concurrence and co-operation with the actual and the inevitable. Those who are in the movement need perhaps some words of warning, more than those who are but partly influenced by its course; and our great care should be to save these hopeful and ambitious working people from the dangerous whirl of revolution, and to advance for them that peaceful progress which secures material interest, promotes good government, and raises both the intellectual and moral qualities of men. That thus, each class among us being properly endowed to meet its vast material and political responsibilities, the powers of the State may be maintained; and that our commonwealth of England, with its unexampled influence for good throughout the world, may long be happily preserved.

ART. XI.—1. *Returns of the Polls in Parliamentary Elections, 1874–1886.*

2. *The Autumn Session of Parliament, 1890.*

THE results of the Barrow and Eccles elections, following upon several previous bye-elections, in which the Unionists had been unsuccessful, led the official Radicals last autumn to profess the noisiest confidence in their coming triumph. Mr. John Morley, as we know from his own admissions, was discussing with Mr. Parnell on the 10th of last November how a Gladstonian Government could give protection to the evicted tenants on the Plan of Campaign estates, and, ‘referring to the probable approaching victory of the Liberal Party at the polls,’ was inquiring whether Mr. Parnell would be willing to assume the office of Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Since the disruption of the Parnellite Party, Unionist speakers and writers, with equal confidence, have foretold an overwhelming defeat for Radicalism at the General Election. In both cases the prophets base their hopes on a partial view of the political situation, and argue from certain selected events, favourable to their own side. They have not regarded the gradual development and changes in the character of contending parties during a series of years, or the underlying feelings, which are in consequence of these changes at work in men’s minds. It is, therefore, opportune to review in its broad aspect the course of the policies pursued by parties since the last General Election, and to endeavour to estimate what effect it will have upon the future of political thought in England. The general conversion of the educated classes from Liberalism to Conservatism dates from
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the first ascendancy of Mr. Gladstone in 1868. It has been fostered by his successive abandonments of all fixed Liberal principles, and reckless lapse into opportunism. The modern expansion and popularity of the Conservative Party spring from the closer contact with the wage-earning classes, which was necessitated by the Reform Act of 1867, and was extended by the Reform and Redistribution Acts of 1884. Those who superficially compare the total result of the General Election of 1874 with that of 1880 have concluded that there was a reaction from Conservatism between these two dates. This conclusion is misleading. The elections of 1874 worked out as luckily for the Conservatives, as did those of 1880 for the Liberals. In 1874 the Conservative representation was as largely in excess of that, which a proportional system would have given, as was the Liberal representation in 1880. In 1874 there was an active conflict in many constituencies between the sections of the Liberal Party, and in all, a rankling soreness and indifference amongst the Nonconformists. In 1880, the Conservatives lost seats by very narrow majorities in the smallest Boroughs, where the shifting of a few votes altered the colour of the representation. They lost seats in the Counties. But no close observer can believe that the Counties were lost by any real revolt from the Imperial policy of Lord Beaconsfield. They were lost in consequence of agricultural depression, and because the farmers were irritated by what they deemed to be the want of sympathy with their distress, shown by the Conservative leaders, and chose either sulkily to abstain from working and voting, or, for the time, to support the other side. In the large towns, and indeed in all districts, in which political life is most active, there was a positive increase in the Conservative polls, and a distinct increase in intelligent Conservative enthusiasm. In 1885 the spread of Conservatism was marked in the old constituencies, and amongst the old voters. Then came the General Election of 1886, fought under completely exceptional conditions, but in which, after making every allowance for the crowning effect of the Liberal Unionist vote and attitude, the increased strength in England of the Conservative Party was again made manifest.

Since that time, under the Government of Lord Salisbury the country has enjoyed four years of peace and prosperity. Ireland, excepting some few isolated plague-spots of disturbance, has been rendered orderly, and comparatively prosperous. The specific form of lawlessness, which in 1886 was epidemic, has been virtually stamped out. Encouraged by the successful operation of Lord Ashbourne's Acts, the Government have introduced a
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great measure of Land-purchase, which was read a second time in the House of Commons by a majority of 138. A portion of this Bill contains the first serious legislative attempt to remedy the condition of the congested districts. In the Session of 1889 a measure for the construction of Light Railways in Ireland had been passed, in the face of bitter Radical opposition, and, at the end of last Session, when there was some fear that a failure of the potato-crop would produce exceptional distress, further powers were obtained, after a night's sitting of Irish obstruction, to expedite the commencement of the work in distressed districts. In the sympathetic and elaborate statement which Mr. Balfour made in moving a vote on account of proposed relief works, ample proof was given that the problem of dealing with this immediate distress, and also of adding permanently to the material resources of Ireland, had engaged his whole mind. Abroad, possible causes of quarrel with Russia, France, and Germany, have been removed. The expansion of Great Britain in Africa has been assured. Egypt has been regenerated. In administration, permanent provision has been made that the strength of the Navy should be adequately maintained. The Imperial coaling-stations and harbours have at last been put into a proper state of defence. In finance, by the conversion of Consols an annual relief of 2,600,000*l.*, will shortly be given to the taxpayers. In the four years the National Debt has been lessened by 29,404,000*l.*, Imperial taxation has been reduced by 7,500,000*l.*, and Local taxation relieved by 3,641,000*l.*, while the expenditure is less by 6,140,000*l.* than it was in 1886. In legislation, by a comprehensive scheme of constructive statesmanship, popular, representative, local government has been given to London and the Counties. From their design, their scope, their details, and their successful working, the Local Government Acts would by themselves give permanent distinction to the legislation of any Government. During these years the most malignant opponents have been unable to point to any flagrant jobbery, or to detect any gross administrative blunders. In addition to this record of the work accomplished by the Government for the nation as a whole, an ingenious platform speaker might draw an effective picture of the benefits which have been conferred by it upon particular sections of the community. He might take the concrete case of an artisan, or a miner, or an agricultural labourer, or a soldier, or a policeman, or a merchant sailor, and show how in the daily life of each one of them, the Fraudulent Trade Marks Act, the Coal Mines Regulation Act, the Allotments Acts, the Barracks Act, the Police Superannuation Acts, the Load-line Act, and

Mr. Goschen's

Mr. Goschen's successive reductions in taxation, had given material advantages. He might place his typical workman in an insanitary house, or quarter, and show how the Housing of the Working Classes Act would improve his opportunities of securing a healthy home. He might follow the school-days of his children, and explain the added provision for technical and continued instruction which the Technical Education Act and the new Code have supplied. He might compare the present rates of wages, and the means of employment at home, and the outlets for enterprise abroad, with those which prevailed during the depressing rule of Mr. Gladstone. With such a record of Conservative work, the old Liberal charges against Conservatives have become palpably false. Against this Government and the Parties which support it, it is idle to raise the antiquated cries of extravagance, delight in war, aristocratic prejudice, legislative or administrative lethargy or incapacity. The essential and abiding distinction between the work of this Government, and the threatened action of the Radicals, is, that in all its branches it has been actuated by a single desire to add prosperity to the community as a whole, and has not been impelled by ulterior designs of damaging some hated class, sect, or institution. In a word, the policy of the Government in every department of affairs has been wise and successful.

On the other side, during these four years the Radical Opposition has been led to adopt the aims and the methods of Irish agitation. Everywhere it foment the discontent, on which alone it thrives. Rejecting experience, contemptuous of principle, on every occasion it opposes authority, discards law, and sides with the law-breaker. Content, if it can pander to some passing local, or class prejudice, it never looks forward to the ultimate consequences of its acts. From mining districts it is reported that seats will be lost unless the Radical candidates swallow the Eight Hours Bill, and this measure is promptly accepted as an integral article of his creed by every orthodox Radical candidate for such constituencies. In Scotland, impatient Disestablishers of the Church have loudly asserted, that the interests of the Party demand an authoritative pronouncement in favour of Disestablishment, and Mr. Gladstone obsequiously bends to their clamour. In both these instances the wire-pullers are probably right in thinking that electoral success in a few strictly limited constituencies depends at the moment upon the adoption of these cries; in both instances they have characteristically disregarded principle and authority, but in both they may find in the end that, in yielding to the clamours
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of a noisy faction they have committed a great error in tactics, and that the large majority of voters, both in England and Scotland, is not prepared to endorse these revolutionary proposals. There are solid grounds for the belief, that the general and matured sense, in the first instance of the English wage-earning class as a whole, and in the second instance of Scotland, will condemn the Eight Hours' Bill, and Disestablishment, and will punish the hasty adoption of these cries by politicians, who have been simply actuated by an overmastering desire to purchase votes, everywhere, and by any means. In its real distrust of the intelligence of the people, the 'New Radicalism' always assumes that the most votes are with the unreasoning and discontented sections of the community. And this, it may be hoped, is the cardinal blunder which will in England cripple its future power. The melancholy past and the natural poverty of Ireland may for some time yet to come make such tactics acceptable to a majority of her people. But England is a prosperous country. She has no historical causes of dissatisfaction with her institutions. She has enjoyed for generations civil peace. Her social order has been rarely disturbed. There are no deep race or religious divisions amongst her population. Her aristocracy and gentry are being constantly recruited by self-made men. Her wealthier classes, on the whole, realize the responsibilities of wealth, and discharge its duties, and, in consequence, command the general esteem. And, as the dominating fact of all, wealth is being more and more distributed, and the general standard of comfort raised.

In England, therefore, it might have been anticipated with confidence, even before the collapse of Parnellism, that the effect of the opposite policies of the Conservative Government and the Radical Opposition during the last four years would have been to increase the number of convinced and rational Conservatives. The evidence of events goes to prove that this is the case, and even the most unfavourable of the bye-elections do not militate against this fact. The Radicals have fought these elections with desperate energy. They have brought to bear upon particular constituencies a concentration of rhetorical and electioneering power which would not be available at a General Election. They have not been nice in their methods of obtaining votes. In many instances they have been lucky in their choice of a candidate, and in the occasion of the vacancy. They have thus, it is true, generally increased the polls they received in 1886. It is certain that in every recent election some portion of the fluctuating vote, which adventitiously supported the Conservatives in 1885 and 1886, has deserted the party which has been

for some years in office. And yet, with remarkable uniformity, the Unionist polls of 1886 have been at least equalled. It is clear, then, that the place of these indeterminate voters has been taken by others, who, it may fairly be assumed, have become convinced Unionists and Conservatives. Again: any one who watches the work of Conservative Associations, and the astonishing vitality of the Primrose League, and compares their activity with the state of Conservative organizations, even between 1880 and 1885, will be struck with the advance in the number of strenuous workers, in their devotion to the work, and with the fact that very frequently the most untiring and unselfish of these men are drawn from the middle and working classes. Such an observer of practical politics will also have noted how in every constituency since 1886 quiet but influential local men in each class, who have hitherto abstained from politics, now publicly support the Conservative member or candidate.

The chain of events that has followed upon the verdict in the Parnell divorce case must weigh heavily against Home Rulers. The public and private character of the titular and real leader of the Irish Nationalists has been irretrievably damaged. He has shown himself to be utterly untrustworthy, and wholly unscrupulous. But the vain hope of carrying a Home Rule Bill, which should at the same time not offend British susceptibilities, and satisfy Irish aspirations, was mainly founded on the specific assurances of this man. And the alliance with the Parnellites was justified, and smooth things prophesied of the action of a future Irish legislature, chiefly because of the 'moderation,' the 'statesmanship,' the 'calm, cold judgment,' and even the 'Conservative temperament,' which the Gladstonians were never weary of attributing to Mr. Parnell. Not even the imagination of Radical journalists can impute such qualities to any one of his possible successors. But, now that these versatile judges of character are lightly branding their former idol as a traitor and a maniac, it is important to remind them how large has been the part which Mr. Parnell has played in the Gladstonian myth of what the Irish meant by Home Rule, and of the uses to which they would put it. It was the assurances given by Mr. Parnell in the debates on the First and Second Reading of the Home Rule Bill, to which Mr. John Morley referred in his speech at Scarborough on the 8th of last November, as proving that the Bill of 1886 had been accepted 'as a full satisfaction of Irish demands;' it was Mr. Parnell's speech on the Second Reading that Mr. Gladstone, in winding up the debate, marked out for special praise, as 'the masterly exposition,

sition, for I cannot call it less, of the Hon. Member for Cork.' was Mr. Parnell, who, in the elections of 1886, was called on to illustrate on English Radical platforms the constitutional character of the Nationalist movement. It was Mr. Parnell, whom the Eighty Club delighted to entertain, and whom Lord Spencer honoured with the 'historical hand-shake.' When the freedom of Edinburgh was conferred upon him on the 14th of July, 1889, Mr. Childers moved, and Mr. Herbert Gladstone seconded, a Resolution, which congratulated him on the near prospect of the triumphant success of the great constitutional movement he had guided with so much dignity and capacity,' and a letter was read from Mr. Gladstone to Lord Aberdeen, containing these words:—'I will further frankly state that in the great controversy which is now going on, I consider Mr. Parnell with his friends to be, in the best sense, conservative and restorative force of great value and importance with reference to the peace and happiness of Ireland, the honour of England, the integrity of the United Kingdom, and the permanence and greatness of the Empire. I am convinced that at the present moment they, and he in particular, have been labouring to consolidate the foundations of legality, on the strength and stability of which our welfare essentially depends.' Again, it is to Mr. Parnell, and to Mr. Parnell alone, that Mr. Gladstone has confided his proposals for the next Home Rule Bill. Mr. Morley will no longer quote Mr. Parnell's assurances as having any weight. Mr. Gladstone, 'at the present moment,' will refuse to consult Mr. Parnell. But is there any other Irish Nationalist leader, Parnellite or anti-Parnellite, who has the character, or the commanding position, or the representative power to give, in his stead, authoritative expression to the wishes of the Irish people? No; the Nationalist party is, for the time, headless. And it must be pressed upon the mind of the English people, that the public careers of every one of the real 'patriot' leaders prove them to be as untrustworthy and unscrupulous as Mr. Parnell himself; while their silent quiescence in Mr. Parnell's repudiation of the 'trumpery Bill,' shadowed forth by Mr. Gladstone, makes plain, what was indeed always obvious, that their real aims are as dangerous to the Empire as are his, and that it is as vain to try by a moderate Home Rule Bill to satisfy their aspirations as it is to satisfy his. It is unnecessary to dwell here on the full import of these events, as it affects the fortunes of the Home Rule alliance, and the practicability of Gladstonian Home Rule. These events would have a larger and a lengthier effect upon the history of the parties. They show conclusively that the leaders of the

Gladstonian party have, in a matter of the deepest moment, been the victims of a gross infatuation, and have profoundly mistaken the character and the aims of their chosen political allies. This demonstrated incapacity disentitles them to any claim to respect or authority on any other branch of public affairs, on which they may essay to guide the opinions of their fellow-countrymen. The Bassetlaw election was an opportune illustration of the immediate influence of these events upon the electorate. It is notorious that the Gladstonian candidate's support of the Eight Hours' Bill seduced from the Unionists an appreciable number of miners, who had voted for the Conservative in 1885, and yet Sir Frederick Milner polled fourteen votes more than Mr. Beckett had polled, while Mr. Mellor received 419 votes less than had been given to the Liberal candidate in 1885.

But, even if all the antecedent probabilities, and the actual facts, go to show (as it is contended that they do), that for any measurable future a Conservative majority would be assured in a purely English Parliament, the probability must be faced that for the same future Scotland and Wales will return a majority of Radicals, and Ireland a majority of Nationalists of some shade. To prevent the passage of a Home Rule Bill, or of destructive Radical measures, it is consequently necessary that the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists should be in an overwhelming majority in England. This was the case in 1886, when in England 271 Conservatives, 55 Liberal Unionists, and 126 Gladstonians were returned. Will it be the case at the next General Election? On the one hand, it is here contended that the convinced Conservative strength, voting on political grounds, will be materially increased. It is now certain, that in every constituency an appreciable Liberal Unionist vote, but one largely varying in size, will be given to the Unionist candidate. On the other hand, there are considerations which must be most seriously weighed by all who desire to make a forecast of the political future. It must be borne in mind that throughout the country the polls were low in 1886, and that, as compared with 1885, the Unionist figures did not show an increase corresponding with the diminution in the Gladstonian figures. At every General Election the bulk of the great shifting vote, which is given for irrelevant reasons, and on side issues, will always be cast against the Government of the day. It may be reasonably assumed that the grave and palpable blunders of Mr. Gladstone's last Administration induced in 1885 a more than usually large proportion of this vote to be given, in the Boroughs, to Conservative candidates.

In 1885 the English Boroughs returned 115 Conservatives to 111 Gladstonians. In the Boroughs, then, the Unionists will have to make good the votes lost by this chronic aberration from the Government of the day, by the increased sensible Conservative, and by the devoted Liberal Unionist, vote. In the Counties, a different set of conditions prevails. In 1885, the newly enfranchised agricultural labours were influenced by three main political ideas: that the Liberals had given them the vote, that 'the Tories' (of the Radical fable) were responsible for 'the little loaf,' and that the Liberals were in some mysterious way going to put them 'upon the land.' They were also greatly influenced by a wish to show their independence of their immediate masters, the tenant-farmers. With this great voting body, time is on the side of the Conservatives. The Church will gain, Dissent will lose, ground. Landowners and farmers must alike see that it is their plain interest to endeavour to keep good labourers in the country by assisting their legitimate ambition to have gardens and allotments to cultivate. In the rural community, even in the most remote districts, the tendency of economical changes will be to diminish the number of the poorest agricultural labourers, and, probably, to increase the number of men, who will regard themselves either as masters, or as having interests allied to those of the employer class. The permanent stable social forces, moreover, throughout the country, are powerfully on the side of Conservatism. They will increase, but very slowly, in the most sparsely inhabited districts. They will grow in power, more quickly, in those other, not purely agricultural districts, such as the Home Counties, parts of Cheshire, Lancashire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire, into which the wealth of adjacent trading or manufacturing districts finds its way, makes its homes, gives employment, and diffuses comfort. They will gain power, too, in those other country divisions which are being colonized, not so entirely by the wealth of particular urban districts, but to which, either a healthy sea-coast, a charming inland scenery, or a picturesque old town, is attracting well-to-do residents. It may, therefore, be concluded that the English country seats will always be more Conservative than they were in 1885, and that they will steadily become more Conservative. This, however, can be but a gradual growth.

At the next General Election a special danger to the success of Unionist candidates will arise out of the manufacture of side-issues by the Radical electioneers. They will be universally driven to this by the necessities of the case. The general policy of the Government has been indisputably successful. Home

Rule

Rule had made no way in England before Mr. Parnell's disgrace. It is now flagrantly discredited. They know that, if every voter were to give his vote according to his judgment on that one question, a separate Parliament would never be set up in Dublin. So, they will try to distract the minds of the electorate by every art from that question, and will everywhere seek to seduce them by some local, personal, or sectional bribe or prejudice. That the results of bye-elections should be decided by the woes of Miss Cass, the perjuries of Pigott, or the bad character of the retiring member, is sufficiently absurd. But the possibility that the result of a General Election, held nominally on a vital constitutional issue, should be determined upon irrelevant side questions, raises far graver dangers. The Kilkenny election has made it impossible for Mr. Gladstone to abandon the cry of Home Rule, and so the essential question to be decided at the coming General Election will still be—Shall, or shall not, a majority be given to Mr. Gladstone to enable him to pass a Bill to create a separate Parliament and Executive in Dublin? Logically, therefore, the electors should give their votes primarily on the merits of Home Rule, and the candidates should in each constituency be labouring to convert the electors to their view on this one paramount question. But, as every working politician knows, the subjects, upon which speakers and canvassers will in fact dwell, will be widely different. Home Rule will be the last topic on which the Home Rulers will rely for support; and on the provisions of the Bill, which they are going to carry, they must necessarily be dumb, or they would be forcing their great leader into 'a trap.' No, in the agricultural districts they will be talking of Allotments and Free Education; in the mining districts of the Eight Hours Bill; in the boroughs of Temperance Reform, and taxes on property; while the Scotchman and the Welshman will be declaiming against the Established Church, tithes, and the Land Laws. In fine, the Separatist will be perorating of the 'new heaven, and the new earth,' which a Gladstonian Ministry is to create, and promising an era of vaguely philanthropic legislation. As a result, it is conceivable that a Separatist majority may find itself at Westminster, because there is abroad an indefinite humanitarian spirit, which it is easier for Radicals, than for Conservatives, to gratify with illusory promises of legislation and administrative supervision. The inherent absurdity of such a process will be aggravated in this case, because the details of the new Home Rule Bill are avowedly to be determined by the wishes of the individual 'items' who may be returned as supporters of Mr. Gladstone. Sir W. Harcourt, speaking

speaking in Wales in October, 1889, said, 'as to the details of how it (*i.e.* Home Rule) is to be done, that is for the Home Rule majority to decide.' It may then come to this. A Home Rule majority may be returned because a majority of the electors prefer the nominal Home Rule candidates on grounds other than that of Home Rule; and then, the character of the Home Rule to be granted will depend upon the hitherto undisclosed whims of representatives, who have never consulted their constituents upon its details. These candidates, as candidates, will have left the details to be settled by Mr. Gladstone, and then Mr. Gladstone will accept from them, as members, the very points on which they will have not only received no mandate from the constituencies, but on which they will have sedulously and deliberately avoided inviting their opinion.

It is in London that side-issues will be most industriously raised, and upon certain considerations that will be stated presently, it is in London that there is most reason to apprehend that these tactics may be dangerous to Unionism. The present representation of London is a political phenomenon. In 1885, out of its sixty-two members, thirty-seven were Conservative, and only twenty-five Radical. In 1886, two Liberal Unionists retained their seats; the Gladstonian strength was reduced to eleven; and the Conservatives headed the polls in forty-seven constituencies. It is notorious that these results were surprising to the Radical framers of the Redistribution Act. Sir Charles Dilke, a master of the arts of chronic electioneering, who had been an assiduous local member, had no suspicion of the change of feeling that had been in progress in his own constituency since 1880, and recommended Fulham, one of its new subdivisions, as a safe seat to his official subordinate and friend, Mr. George Russell. As the number of representatives for London is now so large, and as that number is certain to be increased, it is of real import to endeavour to ascertain what were the causes of the Conservative and Unionist victories of 1885 and 1886, and to determine whether these causes were transient, or are likely to be permanent. It may be asserted with confidence that the following general conditions have produced, and will continue to produce, Conservatism in London. In the first place, amongst large sections of the population there is a quick and intelligent interest in current politics. They are close onlookers of the course of events. The success of the last two Conservative Governments, and the transparent demagoguism of the Radical leaders, have created and confirmed a great mass of matured Conservative feeling. This feeling is, before all else, patriotic and Imperialist; and

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the contagion of this Imperialist sentiment extends to, and impresses itself upon, thousands of others who are not strictly Conservative. Then, Nonconformity in London is not a distinctively or aggressively Radical force. In that huge, uncompact, society the Nonconformist minister has no sense of social inferiority, while the devoted lives, and the admirable labours of the picked clergy of the Established Church have made it impossible to stir up any popular feeling against the Church. As a matter of fact, in the London constituencies, some of the most zealous Conservative workers are Nonconformists. Any speaker, who in the autumn of 1885 had experience of London audiences, and also of audiences in poor and remote country districts, must have been struck by the different feeling shown by them towards the Church. In too many of the agricultural villages there was at the best no popular feeling for the Establishment; at the worst, there was distinct hostility to it. In London, on the contrary, even with Radical audiences the cry for Disestablishment fell flat, and attacks upon the Establishment and its clergy met with no response. Furthermore, the great majority of clerks and shop-assistants are Conservative. The pre-occupation of Radicals for one class, the 'working-class,' and their exaggerated estimate of the political virtues of this class, have probably done much to produce this Conservatism; but, as it is especially noticeable amongst the younger men, it may be conjectured that the Volunteer movement, and the ever-growing popularity of athletics, have positively contributed to the prevalence of the sentiment, while, on the other hand, the unattractiveness of London Radical leaders, their acidity and austerity, have repelled from Radicalism a high-spirited and pleasure-loving youth. Another cause of London Conservatism in the past has been the large body of voters connected with Government Offices and Services, who have been traditionally Conservative, and who, it may be hoped, when some present discontents have been healed, will remain convinced that their fair interests are most truly cared for under Conservative Administrations. And, lastly, an enormous contingent of those who are dependent upon, or are benefited by, the wealth of London, and the recurrent London season, goes to swell the Conservative ranks.

But the special conditions, under which the General Elections of 1885 and 1886 were fought in London, were exceptionally favourable to the Conservatives. In 1885 the Gladstonian Irish and Foreign policy supplied innumerable texts upon which the least eloquent of Conservative candidates could dilate with effect. Trade had been bad, wages low, and employment

employment scarce, for many years. A vague desire for some change in our fiscal system was widely felt amongst the working classes, and certainly not confined to one side. It cannot be questioned that Fair Trade was a popular cry, or that its echoes, however they might be modulated by individual speakers, lured hundreds of otherwise indifferent voters to the Conservative candidates. On the other side, the Gladstonians were tarred by their past record, and for the future they had no positive popular promises to make. No urban equivalent for 'the three acres and a cow' had as yet been invented. The conventional Gladstonian candidate was not yet quite educated up to swallowing every Socialist nostrum, or to side entirely with the 'have nots' against the 'haves.' Under these circumstances, the Socialists held aloof from the contests, and the more advanced Radical working-men took but a grudging and lukewarm part in them. In 1886, again, the Conservatives fought at a great advantage. They had lost, it may be, the Irish vote, but this did not counterbalance the Liberal Unionist defection from the Gladstonian side, while as a subject for platform speaking, and as an emblem for a fight, the Union, and the Union Jack, left nothing for electioneers to desire. And yet in both of the General Elections the number of votes unpolled is as remarkable as the Conservative preponderance amongst those that were polled. In 1885, the proportion of votes polled to the number of electors was smaller in London than in any other class of English boroughs; but, in 1886 there was a further, and very significant, falling off in the totals of the polls. In that year out of 425,889 registered electors in the fifty-five constituencies, in which contests took place, but 278,212 recorded their votes. This enormous number of abstentions cannot be attributed to any large number of sham fights. The proportion of polled to unpolled votes may be shown to have had a general uniformity in every district, and in every class of these constituencies. No words are needed to point out how pregnant with possible future dangers these figures are. Since 1886 the Gladstonians have indefatigably worked the London constituencies. A special London programme has been evolved for their benefit. Their cheap press has (unlike the great Conservative daily papers) paid attention to local politics and elections and has striven, with some success, to capture for Radicalism the Vestries and Boards of Guardians. If London sentiment is predominantly Imperialist, in municipal matters there is a strong current of discontent. Speciously described as 'progressive,' this is a force which London Conservatives must recognize. It trades on certain supposed grievances, in the incidence of taxes and rates,

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in house tenure, and in the housing of the poor. It proposes certain definite changes in law as remedies. It appeals to humanitarian sentiment, and promises an urban Utopia, to be built, drained, watered, lighted, planted, instructed, and educated at an expense which shall be felt by no ordinary householder. Conservatives must study these questions, and the suggested remedies. If the remedies are unjust, or futile, they must be shown to be so by sober argument. But the subjects themselves are eminently worthy of the careful and sympathetic attention of Conservatives, and cannot be dismissed by a superior sneer at the County Council, whose existence has without doubt stimulated interest in these and kindred municipal problems. If they are wise, Conservative candidates need not be at a disadvantage by their treatment of these topics.

But on the deep underlying issues of political thought, it is likely enough that at the next General Election a larger Radical vote will be polled in London than before. The Socialist propaganda has been zealously pushed. The Socialists at the next election (but not the succeeding one), will probably work and vote for the Radical candidates who affect to have adopted virtually their principles, if not their name. The rising aspirations of labour, the new demands for legislative control over the hours of work, and the ferment amongst the various classes of Government servants, will all tell against the Government of the day. Will the additional Radical vote that thus seems certain to be polled from amongst the abstainers at the last two elections be balanced by an increased Unionist vote derived from the same source? Amidst that inert mass there must be thousands who are not Separatists, and not Socialists, but simply ignorant or callous. Much depends upon the persistent exertions of educated Conservatives. The 'leisured classes,' as Mr. Gladstone has called them, have not hitherto done their duty in London, either as local administrators, or as leaders and organizers of political opinion. They are, even in London, nobly doing their duty more and more year by year, in perhaps higher kinds of unselfish service. In charitable and philanthropic work, the West End is endeavouring to ameliorate the condition of the East End. But it is still most difficult to excite gentlemen into local administrative or political activity. It is a fact that in wealthy divisions in the South West of London no gentleman candidate can be found for the next County Council Elections. In most parishes it is the hapless Member of Parliament, who, in default of any known local man, is expected to discharge all the social duties of a good country squire. The gentry cannot exercise their legitimate political
influence,

influence, because they are not known by, and do not know, their neighbours. One permanent stable force which might have great effect upon London politics is, therefore, almost entirely absent from them. Add to this fact, that the unpolled vote leaves a singularly large margin of uncertainty, and that the very political quickness of the population makes it liable to be swayed by the shifting cries and fortunes of the moment, and any dispassionate observer must conclude that after duly reckoning upon the undoubted and growing permanent Conservative forces in London, there is yet more reason for anticipating fluctuations from time to time in its representation, than in that of any other part of England.

The quality of candidates is a factor in the political future, which will have a special importance in London. There, a good local candidate can be but rarely procured. It is obvious that, so long as the division of parties keeps its present shape, and is virtually a division between historical Toryism, steadied by moderate Liberalism, and an opportunist Radicalism, 'permeated' by Parnellism, an overwhelming preponderance of good candidates should be forthcoming on the Conservative side; and men of wealth, character, and ability, standing as Conservatives, for the London seats, will have a striking personal superiority to the adventurer, who emerges from the National Liberal Club to seek the votes of Londoners. But will there in the future be an adequate supply of good candidates? And, with especial anxiety, may this question be asked in London, where for the most part there is no local aristocracy, with a traditional sense of local obligations, and where also the duties of membership are peculiarly harassing. The answer that experience will give to this question is of vital importance, not merely to the electoral chances of Conservatism, but also to the character and efficiency of the House of Commons. It is true that at the last two General Elections, young men of birth and ability, and older men of position and experience, came forward with admirable zeal on the Conservative and Unionist sides. And since then there has been a steady accession of young men of mark to the Conservative benches. But for how long will this continue to be the case? Will it continue to be the case when the present life of an ordinary member of Parliament is thoroughly realized?

Beyond the tedium and mechanical silence to which the present state of the House of Commons condemns the ordinary member sitting on the Ministerialist side, it is constantly making larger positive demands upon his time. Last session ran, with the short recesses at Easter and Whitsuntide, from
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the 11th of February till the 18th of August. This Session began on the 25th of November, and will be resumed on the 22nd of January. The brevity of the Autumn sittings, was due, of course, to causes wholly exceptional. The Government will steadily absorb more and more of the time of the House. This is clearly wise; but to the patient Ministerialist it means the daily 'four-lined whip,' and no chance of 'a count.' The wholesome change in the hours of the sittings involves a further encroachment by the House upon the working hours of the day. And 'devolution' imposes upon Ministers and upon the hardest-working members additional sacrifices of daytime. Outside the House, the system of single-membered seats and the size of the modern constituencies have increased the inevitable correspondence and business of individual members; while the tension of public affairs, the keenness of party strife, and the elaboration of party organization, wring from them innumerable speeches and incessant local activity. The hope of power, it may be assumed, will always be an incentive sufficient to attract ambitious minds to Parliament. But political power is now linked to a routine of irritating drudgery, and can only be wielded by a Commoner under a yoke of galling labours. 'The sweets of office' is a phrase of bitter irony. What sound can it carry to the ears of a Home Secretary anxiously pondering over some issue of life or death amidst all the distracting questions and worries of his department, or to those of an Irish Secretary struggling to carry a Light Railways Bill through the dawning hours of an August morning?

It is not malignant obstruction, used deliberately for party purposes to defeat a particular measure, or to discredit a Government, or even the sporadic obstruction of intentional individual offenders, which is the main obstacle to the effective despatch of business in the House of Commons. The main cause of delay is unnecessary, but not dishonest, loquacity. It is the constituencies which are the promoters of this, and it is from them alone that a cure can come. The Democratic constituencies, it must be understood, like their representatives to keep themselves prominently before the public, and are keenly anxious that they should speak frequently in the House of Commons. Members of great local influence, or of high County repute, may be able to disregard the strong pressure to speak which comes from zealous constituents; but in proportion as seats are won by candidates in virtue of their powers of speech, and not because of more old-fashioned qualifications, the larger will be the number of members, to whom this pressure becomes well-nigh irresistible. This class of member knows that he owes
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his seat not to family influence, not to a reputation for local philanthropy, not to proved administrative capacity. He knows that he has won it by his fluent tongue. If he remain silent in the House, he is bluntly told that he is a failure, and not the sort of man his constituency wants, and that unless he makes himself more conspicuous, he will have no chance of re-election. And so the less scrupulous and the weaker men of this class are worried into speech.

Will the invaluable class of politically unambitious members continue to stand for Parliament under these conditions? Will the proved administrators, the great landowners, and the successful men of business, who have been the very salt of it in the past, care to enter it when the calls it makes are so heavy, and when its time is so egregiously and ignominiously wasted? And if the House of Commons were to be composed mainly of politically ambitious men, the germs of the disease would be supplied by which it would be consumed. In fact, a vicious process may work itself out. With our present constituencies, it is most necessary to return to Parliament unselfish, self-controlled men, who have some sense of the relative importance of things. But year by year Parliamentary life is being rendered more nearly intolerable for such men, and there is danger that their places may at the best be taken by ambitious politicians, and, at the worst, by self-seeking demagogues, who will both alike aggravate the epidemic of talk. And so the more the time of the House of Commons is wasted, the less will the sensible, unselfish men be attracted to it, and, as a corollary of this, the less such men find their way to the House of Commons the greater will be the consequent waste of time there, and the more will its deliberative and legislative efficiency be impaired.

Apart, then, from the interests of the despatch of its business which call for a rescue of the House of Commons from its bores, its future character and composition largely depend upon the emancipation of its sensible members from their present impotent slavery. The House suffers not simply from the tyranny of bores, but even from the tyranny of its least worthy bores. They do not merely positively waste time by their unnecessary talk, but they also prevent that time being usefully occupied by the worthier members, who are perforce condemned to silence. There is, therefore, not merely a glut of speeches from those whom no one wishes to hear; there is also a dearth of useful speeches from those who would be gladly listened to. It seems highly improbable that self-respecting men, with other interests and duties, will in sufficient numbers
continue

continue to enter a chamber where deliberation has for the most part been reduced to this dismal farce.

Some timid Conservatives may be dreading the effect upon their party of the new Reform Bill for which the Radicals are clamouring. Already the great settlement of 1884 has become obsolete. The two millions of additional 'capable citizens' have disappointed the fond hopes then cherished; and so a fresh jury must be empanelled, and a more satisfactory verdict arrived at through new methods. And the leaders of the Radicals have declared that the very first work of the next Parliament shall be the enactment of their favourite formula, 'One man one vote.' An examination of what is involved in this cry will modify Conservative apprehensions. Under this formula two distinct kinds of alterations in our electoral system are aimed at. First, there are those which would simplify the registration laws, correct anomalies in them, and, speaking roughly, would make the qualifying period of occupation shorter and more elastic. There need be no party opposition to the principle of these proposals, which would affect all classes of voters equally. Experienced men on all sides are convinced of the desirability of large changes in our present cumbrous and expensive system of registration. But, secondly, there are those alterations under which the explicit meaning of the phrase 'one man one vote' would be realized, and no voter should be able to possess more than one vote. This includes the extinction of the freehold qualification, and would be in effect a large measure of disfranchisement. It is a change promoted notoriously for class or party objects. It is a departure from the spirit and meaning of our representative system, and should be firmly opposed by the Conservative Party. But a merely negative opposition will not suffice. If in the golden hours of a Radical Parliament this change is proposed by the Government, it must be met at once by a demand for a new Redistribution Bill. If representation is to be based on numbers alone, or if it is intolerable that one elector should have more votes than another, it is equally intolerable that the vote of an elector in one Division should carry five times the weight of the vote of an elector in another Division. There must, at all events, be an approximate equality in the value of votes in the several constituencies, and in the several parts of the United Kingdoms. The sensitive soul of Sir George Trevelyan is vexed that a country landowner, who has a residential vote in London, should have a vote in the county of his freehold, in respect of which he is paying taxes, in the laws affecting the staple industry

industry of which he is closely interested, and in which he may be employing labour, and distributing wages. Does not the representation of England, as compared with that of Ireland, jar upon his sense of political justice? Does he think that the eternal fitness of things requires that the Boroughs of Galway and Newry, with their populations of 19,171 and 15,591, and their 1598 and 2045 registered electors, should have the same voice in Parliament as Huddersfield and Dudley, with their populations of 87,157 and 87,527, and their 15,338 and 14,233 registered electors? Is he satisfied that Wandsworth with 14,155 registered electors shall have no more power than St. George's-in-the-East with 3648? or that 72,445 Welsh Borough electors should have the right to return 11 members, in the proportion of one member to every 6767 electors, while the 104,445 Kentish County electors should return but 8 members, in the proportion of one member to every 13,055 electors?

It is not necessary here to enlarge upon the detailed effects of a Redistribution of seats * based more strictly upon numerical representation, and the intrinsic and essential principle of 'one man one vote.' But it is plain that the broad consequences of an even roughly equitable Redistribution would be to diminish the representation of Ireland as a whole: in Ireland, to increase the representation of the North at the expense of the South and West; to take members from Wales; to give a substantial increase to the number of English members, and to give this increase to those districts, to which life is vigorous, and there is a just admixture of mutually dependent classes, thriving together, and therefore, on the whole, contented and Conservative.

Another matter which will imperatively call for reform whenever questions of suffrage are next dealt with by Parliament, is the system under which votes of illiterates are recorded. In Ireland, where the number of illiterate voters is significantly large, it is notorious that the present system lends itself to priestly dictation, and that the priests avail themselves fully of their opportunities. The complaints of Mr. T. Harrington, and other Parnellite Members, who were present at the North Kilkenny election, of the methods by which that election was won, prove that this charge is not a Unionist calumny. It is noticeable that in Italy illiteracy forms a disqualification for the franchise. Either it must be made a disqualification in this

* Mr. Robert Giffen in his last book, 'The Growth of Capital,' says, 'reckoning by wealth, England should have 86 per cent. of the representation of the United Kingdom, or 576 members out of 670; Scotland by the same rule should have only about 64, and Ireland no more than 30.'

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country, or some mode of recording the votes of illiterates, widely different from the present, must be devised.

To sum up the considerations which have been here advanced: the policy of Lord Salisbury's Government is increasing the number of convinced Conservatives in England. This increase will be continued, as the abiding wisdom, and the permanent good effects of its administration, become with time more and more incontrovertible. The disgrace of Mr. Parnell, and the disruption of his party, will, as in 1886, keep from the polls thousands of Liberals. On the other hand, the apparent attractiveness of the bribes which Radicalism offers to discontent, and the largeness of the indeterminate vote, preclude us from any certain expectation that the Unionist majority in England will at the next General Election decisively counterbalance the Radical vote from the whole of the United Kingdom and Ireland. The result will largely depend upon the political activity of educated Conservatives. The result, not only of this election, but of all further conflicts between parties, will depend even more largely upon the extent to which the wealthier classes by their public spirit, and practical sympathy with their poorer neighbours, justify to the people the existing bases of society.

THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

- ART. I.—1. Goethe: *Sämmtliche Werke*. Berlin, 1873.
2. F. Schiller: *Briefwechsel mit Goethe*. Stuttgart, 1881.
3. Th. Gautier: *Œuvres Complètes*. Paris, 1882.
4. Leconte de Lisle: *Œuvres*. Paris, 1874, &c.
5. Th. de Banville: *Œuvres*. Paris, 1873.
6. C. Baudelaire: *Œuvres*. Paris, 1885.
7. J. Richepin: *Œuvres*. Paris, 1890.
8. W. H. Pater: *Essays on the Renaissance: Marius the Epicurean*. London, 1873, &c.
9. J. A. Symonds: *The Renaissance in Italy*. London, 1877.

GOETHE, in the 'Venetian Epigrams,' has depicted with enthusiasm the Bacchanalian revelry, or dance, not of death, but of life, which took his fancy on the sepulchral urns of the Greeks and Romans. The marble, he says, becomes living and musical. Dancing fauns, birds on the wing or coquetting with golden fruits, Love with kindled torch, and the Satyrs blowing their wild sylvan music; a chorus of lovely figures circling hand in hand about the monument, wherein naught save dead ashes recalls the memory of suffering and loss: in such forms was the high Pagan wisdom revealed to him, which overcomes death with the exuberance of eternal nature, all rhythm and harmonious evolution, a great unceasing festival of flowers and lights and easy sensuous love. It is a picture worthy of Titian, though the lines were drawn in a mood which no Italian artist would wholly comprehend. For the imagined victory of life over death in the very stillness of the tomb breathes an air of defiance, familiar to Goethe in his young days, and reminding us more of him who stole its secrets from Heaven and felt the vulture at his heart, than of the naïve Venetian, taught by instinct to paint, but hardly to philosophize. The Northern poet is intoxicated with the hues, at
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once glowing and lustrous, which burn for him on the thousand wings and shine out of the eyes innumerable, of that mysterious Nature at whose shrine he worships. But elsewhere in 'Faust,' for example, he has struck a deeper chord, as when he murmurs, 'What a Vision! but, alas, a Vision only!' The intoxication and the awakening, the defiance which modulates into despair, and the despair which would fain lose itself in a never-ending whirl of passion,—these are notes of a significant and widely-extended movement in our time, which has been called the New Paganism.

It began a good hundred years ago, when the public order of Europe established at the Peace of Westphalia was breaking into fragments, and the revolt against Puritan ideals was every day enlarging its bounds. Hume had dethroned Calvin; Voltaire shook his cap and bells over the dark pages of Pascal. Religion, no longer hoping and fearing as in the presence of an everlasting Hell or Heaven, had become for 'beautiful souls' a diary in which they set down their pious sentiments, not a pilgrimage through the Valley of the Shadow, where Apollyon came out flaming amid doleful voices. The Deity was asleep, or woke only to shower His benevolence on creation. The prophet whom he had visibly anointed was Jean Jacques; and Jean Jacques, like Wieland, threw a grace not its own, of the sweet morning air and woodland dreaming, over adulterous passion, encounters of the moment, and lyric licentiousness. The art of landscape poetry was born anew. Three famous pilgrims—Winckelmann, Lessing, and Goethe—journeyed to Rome, not as great lords did, to walk round St. Peter's and praise the Apollo Belvedere, but to evoke with the aid of its statues, pictures, and ruins, beheld under a canopy of bluest ether, the vision of the world long past. There, in the Villa Albani, Winckelmann, struck with a marble blindness to modern things, recovered that inward sight on which the Antinous and the Ludovisi Bacchus were to shine once more. Lessing, a Roman born out of due time, saw the Laocoon face to face, and with strong sense, more fortunate as he was more manly than Sadoletto, wrote the admirable volume which is now so little read, chiefly because its teaching has passed into commonplace. Goethe, a universal genius, but in character at this time Euripidean, transformed his 'Iphigenie' from prose to an exquisitely simple and stately verse, in which the antique marble blushes, one might say, with a faint rose colour. His 'Roman Elegies,' 'Venetian Epigrams,' 'Alexis and Dora'—not to speak of 'Hermann und Dorothea,' in which an idyllic though sentimental freshness reminds us of Theocritus, while so unlike him in the prevailing

ethos—

ethos—were striking restorations of a lost sense, and essays towards building up the *templa serena* which an iconoclast Puritanism had burnt and ravaged. They foreshadowed the change which would pass over the European spirit not many years later, the consummation upon which poets and learned men alike were bent.

Winckelmann is the great forerunner of that change—himself, it has been happily said, ‘like a relic of classical antiquity laid open by accident to our alien modern atmosphere.’* He was not precisely a teacher of commanding power. But as a temperament, a palimpsest inscribed with rude German characters, beneath which lay decipherable the fragments of a tragedy by one of the softer poets, such as Agathon, he excited Goethe’s admiration, and revealed to his contemporaries the charm of those deathless writers whom an age of pedantry had degraded and misunderstood. Now, as Schiller sings, ‘Never alone appear the Immortals;’ and in the train of a critic who did nothing less than create an original taste and a corresponding organ for the literature of Hellas, making it a commentary upon the sculpture which filled the museums of the Vatican and the Capitol, came the famous Teutonic masters from whom our century has learned to read its classics aright. Ruhnken, illustrious in Latin as in Greek; Wolf, the old man eloquent, who, if he dissolved the nebula called Homer into a galaxy of stars, was so enamoured of the volumes in the study of which he lived and died, as boldly to style them ‘sempiterna solatia generis humani’; and even Heyne, reflecting in his commonplace mirror the light he gained from Winckelmann,—were pioneers in a way which has since been made plain, but which was then a track in the wilderness. They produced no immediate or general effect; neither had they a share, like the men of the Italian Renaissance, in that creative instinct which they analysed, and the works of which they rescued from corrupt manuscripts. Comprehension, not imitation, was their aim. They were scholars, not poets. In the sanctuary of Apollo they served but to draw water from the fountain and to keep the sacred lamps trimmed. In them was no inspiration; yet, without them, who shall say that a second Renaissance would have come to pass? They were the dusty lexicons from which Herder, Schiller, Goethe, the historians and singers, drew that knowledge of the letter, which, had it failed them, we cannot suppose that the light of antique beauty would have dawned again. For the eighteenth century was given over to elegant dissipation, and had not an atom of respect

* Pater, ‘Renaissance,’ p. 193.

for ponderous learning, such as a hundred years previously would have won applause on every side.

But of all Humanists none will compare, in breadth of influence or large achievement, with Goethe. The era, to which cultivated moderns of whatever school belong, begins with the complex personality which united science, art, life, and literature in a strange amalgam, the result of a fiery fusion and melting down of elements as diverse as they seemed to be antagonistic. Yet they were but waiting for a genius strong enough to overcome their native hardness, and reconcile them on its own method. The secret of Goethe's culture was that he declined to look upon the manifold forces of existence as a denial of one other. To him, the spirit of negation alone was Mephistopheles. He fascinated opponents by agreeing with them. Hate any one he never could, for he desired too eagerly to see how the world looked from his enemy's point of view ; and the Olympian indifference, with which lesser men taunted him, was but a rare curiosity wrought into the art of living. He would have acquiesced in the tender French proverb, '*Tout connaître, c'est tout pardonner.*' Thus much he had learned from Spinoza. Yet it was Spinoza, no less than Kant, who taught him to divide between light and dark, to dwell by preference within the ring of clear ether which, in a noble sonnet, he calls the artist's sphere, surrounded, as he deems, by an abysmal void of which the human mind can take no soundings. The ring of light is a little world rescued from primal confusion, a rainbow of distinct or melting colours on the tapestry of night. Germans had been content to abide in the darkness of mysticism, provided they might dream about the Infinite and the Absolute, and worship the Divine depth of Silence. But when Spinoza or Goethe had seized that distinction, instead of dwelling on the Titanic elements relegated to the nether deeps, their love of the formed and the definite urged them upwards to the light. With Schiller they descant on the beauty of clear outlines. They desire to be as it were sculptors of the Divine which they apprehend. They are not seers or prophets, in their own conceit, but artists. Their ambition is to breathe fire into clay and to make it live and move, or to fix in marble the lineaments of flesh, giving it a surface so smooth and victoriously kneaded together that Death itself cannot pierce its texture. The immortality in which they believe is a visible endurance of the forms of things, one had almost said a crystalizing of fire in the diamond, not a second world to restore the balance of the first. Such in Goethe's view, as in that of others, like M. Renan and Berthold Auerbach, is the everlasting calm which

which broods over Spinoza's Ethic. And such, we cheerfully admit, is the fixed and tranquil grace of the 'Iphigenie,' the refined and ironically handled passion of 'Torquato Tasso.'

At the close of his long career, the Weimar poet, speaking to Eckermann, made a notable confession. 'Mental culture,' he said, 'may advance as it will, the knowledge of nature grow in depth and breadth, and the mind of man along with it; but farther than the sublimity and moral discipline of the Christian teaching, as it shines and lightens in the Gospels, it will not go.*' Elsewhere, he has written of the 'Religion of Sorrow,' to the heights of which humanity has attained, and from which it can never fall away. Yet we must not imagine that, in his unconquerable toleration of old as well as new, Goethe was bowing down before the historic truth of the Creed. In his correspondence with Lavater, and even more clearly when writing to Herder and Frau von Stein, he protested against any doctrine which would 'weave a garment for Christ,' by a 'dramatic identification' of His personality with all the good in man. Yes, he insisted, that was mere play-acting, as really as when he himself projected his own qualities, and, he went on to say, his own foolishness, into the characters of Werther and Egmont. Nay, the 'legend of Christ' ('das Märchen von Christus') was reason good why the world might stand still for ten thousand years, and no man come to understanding, since it demanded as much knowledge and insight to defend as to assail it. Toleration was the only wear. In Goethe it was mild and sympathetic, though when hot-headed fanatics like Lavater provoked his scorn, it could be as disdainful as Voltaire's. But toleration it always was, never submission. Christianity was a form of art. He might have likened it to the transparent watch-face, under which the mechanism with all its springs may be seen and studied, while to the ordinary citizen it tells merely the time of day. Goethe had not simply revolted from Christ to Apollo and the Muses. In his own thought he had broken the shell of religious conventionalities altogether, and grasped the open secret that they are symbols, grave or pleasing, of that which cannot be named. Religion itself is but a dialect; and the Christian hero-worship a variety of that dialect. Picturesque, barbarous, affecting; the key to much in the human mind, 'the melody of a familiar *chorale*, which runs with admirable effect through another style of music, and draws into one by common associations the whole assembly,'—such, and no more, it was to him. The best exposition of his mind is given, with a solemn

* Eckermann, iii. 256.

aphoristic grace, in that eloquent *Te Deum* which he has called the 'Creed of Nature.' It comes to this, that all things are the tragi-comedy of an overflowing but unconscious Life, a play in which the audience are the actors, and yet *they* understand neither plot nor *dénoûment*. It is the stream of Heraclitus hurrying along, full of golden gleams; for some the wine of inspiration, for others a deadly elixir, but always lapsing through endless space, in the Epicurean void. 'Geburt und Grab, ein ewiges Meer.' Goethe, as years went on, grew too majestic to be a reformer. But we could not be astonished, did we find among his verses, a stanza like that of Leconte de Lisle,—

'Consolez-nous enfin des espérances vaines,
La route infructueuse a blessé nos pieds nus;
Du sommet des grands caps, loin des rumeurs humaines,
O vents ! emportez-nous vers les Dieux inconnus.'

Spinoza, Kant, and Goethe, give us by anticipation the nineteenth century of which Carus excellently observes, that 'it has struck its own chord on the harp of human existence.' The dramatic power, which Lavater, as Goethe objected, was applying on false principles to the Gospel, is characteristic of an age wherein, though no great tragedy has been produced, the world's chronicle is being re-written with a patience and impartial insight betokening at once scepticism and sympathy in the historians. What has been said of ancient and modern worships, is now applied to the whole of men's associated life and customs. 'In both, the fixed element is not the myth or religious conception, but the cult with its unknown origin, and meaning only half understood.'* Feeling, introspection, is everything; the idea which it clothes remains undetermined. God has infinite attributes according to Spinoza; while Kant, though he discerns a luminous Beyond in the law of conduct, dares not so much as put the tremendous question, 'Is there knowledge with the Most High?' But we must descend from these regions of speculation.

While the Germans were thinking, their neighbours across the Rhine had begun to act. The French disposition is both despotic and revolutionary. When, therefore, Voltaire, without critical faculty or the enthusiasm of the poet, had reached the conclusion that the religion of Christians was a barbarous interlude between classic culture and modern enlightenment, he had simply one counsel to give his countrymen, 'Écrasez

* Pater, 'Renaissance,' p. 175.

l'infâme.'

l'infâme.' With their impetuous logic, the men of '89 proceeded to carry his doctrine into effect. Goethe might complain of their unphilosophic violence, and prefer the secret action of light to the noise and smoke of Napoleon's artillery; but his remonstrances were in vain. There was to be a French Revolution, a sham revival of the Roman Republic with all its *dramatis personæ*, consuls, lictors, tribunes of the people, prefects and triumvirs, and at last an Emperor so like in eyes and mouth to Augustus Cæsar that the bust of one might serve to represent the other. A hard, withering classicism, all straight lines like the architecture of Versailles, a metallic universe where no green thing would spring up, was built on the ruins of that rich and curious medley of laws, institutions, inheritances, and traditions, which had spread over Europe since the Roman Empire. But Christians had their revenge. Life and poetry which, fifty years before, had seemed incompatible with the orthodox dulness of the pulpit, deserted now from the French eagles. It broke on the astonished thoughts of Chateaubriand, Friedrich Schlegel, and the rising Victor Hugo, that the dew of their youth was on those very Middle Ages which had been so mocked. The motive, out of which came Romanticism, was neither strictly Christian nor at all dogmatic. With the poets of 1830, as with their master when he chose Goetz von Berlichingen for his strength, and gave to 'Werther' its sentimental pathos, it was a principle that 'Humanity' atones for all sins,—

'Alle menschlichen Gebrechen
Sühnet reine Menschlichkeit.'

The calmness of Goethe, lost to his generation by the drums and trappings of three conquests, was not recovered in the school of medievalism. Rosalind and Orlando might play at lovers amid the glades of Arden; the hunt, as it swept by with sounding horn, might seem to renew the world's springtide; but in the whole of that literature, despite its gorgeous tones, we are conscious of an unreality. The masked figures, who are so well made up, cannot take off their visors without the enchantment vanishing. Rebels and Antinomians, delighting in the grotesque and the impossible, these young Romanticists had too little philosophy to purge their disordered fancies, too little science or criticism not to believe that when they had scraped and coloured the dim Gothic sanctuaries, they could bring back the spirit which had builded them. Never, surely, was an epithet better deserved than that of 'dilettante,' which Carlyle, the last of the Puritans, hurled at the artists of his generation. They could not raise the dead; but they found

huge

huge delight in imitating their grave-clothes. Religion signified little to the author of 'Notre Dame de Paris' and his contemporaries. When the medieval properties had grown familiar, they were flung aside; the mask of what was now termed 'Christian Mythology' was taken off as unconcernedly as it had been put on, and a new fashion, not a religious restoration, vindicated to itself the influence which Chateaubriand and Sir Walter Scott could no longer wield.

All this might have been foreseen. Heinrich Heine, beginning as a romantic sonneteer, in no long while threw his monk's frock into the hedge—he had worn it in the easy style of Filippo Lippi—and avowed his preference for Olympus with its joyous deities to the grey mist, which, he said, was sure to overspread the earth whenever Christians believed in their Bible. Of him we have spoken enough in a previous article. But it is remarkable that he made his Hegira, or flight to Paris, only a little while before Théophile Gautier began to write. Gautier is the French Heine, not to be mentioned in the same day with him for wit, or humour, or passion: yet a man of varied and unquestionable genius, and destined, as Heine was, to traverse the enchanted forest of Romanticism on his way towards freedom and the Greeks. Baudelaire has acutely remarked, that in a time when French writers were duping themselves with make-believe religions and indulging in *pastiche*, Gautier could not keep from laughing, nor would be his own or any one else's dupe. He had the eye of a painter, the richest colour sense, and a skill in bringing out the precise tints of language, which showed him to be a real poet. His too facile eloquence attains in 'Émaux et Camées' to the firmness as well as the brilliancy of an engraved signet. He knew the magic of words; that some have in them, as he expresses it, the sheen of rubies, pearls, and emeralds, while others glow like a piece of phosphorus when it is chafed. In the hands of an every-day writer, language is inert, and at the best mere composition. But without doing violence even to French, he made his colours speak and his syllables vibrate with a life of their own. His mature style is large, airy, and solid, yet as light as the arabesques which he saw at Granada and which he has described so charmingly. One feels that it would be possible to walk about in his pictures. There is a perspective as of open sky behind the words which he employs, a supple movement in his rhetoric which carries the reader along with it, and satisfies the craving for life and progress not easy to content when books are written without any purpose but the æsthetic.

It is often said that the author of '*Mademoiselle de Maupin*' was not a man of feeling; that he cared only for the beautiful, and made all else a means to its expression. We grant that, if ever he indulged in French sentiment, it was merely to be like others, for his poetry and prose are both singularly calm. A celebrated phrase in that first unclean volume brought down on him, not unjustly, the anathemas of many good men. 'I think,' his hero observed, 'that correction of form is virtue. Spirituality is not my business; I prefer a statue to a spectre, and high noon to twilight.' We shall see that even the '*bourgeois infallibility*,' against which Baudelaire uttered his cry, was not quite in the wrong when it condemned that sentiment. Nevertheless, on reviewing Gautier's career, and allowing for the sins and ignorances of his youth, we shall be persuaded that he cared as little about vice as in this daring page he professes to care about virtue. His mind followed his hand; he dwelt among the forms of things visible, and could no more see through them into the spirit than a child whose conscience is not yet awake. The vision and the faculty divine, which interprets because alone it creates the tragic situations of life, was not his; nor had one of the same school, except Heine, who was Semitic and a son of the prophets of Israel, so much as a glimpse into that high realm.

The artist, Mr. Pater tells us, in producing his supreme achievements, 'will have gradually sunk his intellectual and spiritual ideas in sensuous form.' And he contrasts with the Greek, indifferent to spiritual elements and quite unashamed, the modern, who cannot steep his thought in the fire of colour without to some extent disavowing the Christianity in which he is supposed to have grown up. That is true, and is admirably expressed; only we must bear in mind how complete was the break, in France at least, between the generation which saw 1789 and that which arose after Waterloo. Gautier, in his obscene romance, puts on doubtless a 'false air' of intoxication. But never was a man so disdainful of the cheap Parisian pleasures. On the other hand, we may search his volumes through, and nowhere shall we light on the spiritual intuitions which abound in those poets who have written for mankind. His colour-sense was unrivalled. He had a splendid and graceful vocabulary and a quick power of imitation. But he keeps his enthusiasm for the decorations on which he has lavished his skill. Paint—yes, he does so with a lovely pencil; yet after all, three things alone please him,—marble, gold, and the purple dye. His dreams are sunlight. He would have agreed with Heine's suggestive observation
that

that to the Pantheist, as to himself and Goethe, 'the story of Nature,' and not of man, 'must in the end seem of chief importance.' The art, indeed, which corresponds to physical science is neither dramatic nor strictly human. It is landscape poetry, as in Wordsworth; the delineation of cloud-phantoms and reproduction of ærial music in which Shelley won his greatest triumphs; or a retracing of the outward semblance of living things apart from the soul which animates them. And here precisely is the significance of Théophile Gautier. He wrought under the new conditions of the time. On every side we mark the decay of personality as a factor in life and literature. The immense background called Nature, Fate, Necessity, Evolution, has become all at once vividly illuminated; the *flammaria mœnia mundi* have taken all eyes. On so wide and vast a scene, what is man, what the works of his hands, the thoughts of his heart? Nothing, and yet again nothing. As entering into the picture he may deserve to be painted, but evermore he grows less and less; the proportions of the world overwhelm his littleness; and though Pascal vindicated for him the privilege of mind, how slight to modern analysis will appear that trouble among the molecules of the brain in which he was wont to glory?

Of course, while 'the individual withers,' and the bold claim of man to be as one of the immortals is put aside as a dream, it is always possible to hate and loathe those fruits of the Christian faith which have grown in their congenial soil. 'Virginity, mysticism, melancholy,' the young Gautier exclaims, 'three words unknown,'—to the classic manliness, he means,—'three fresh diseases brought in by the Christ.' What wonder if he deems thus of any creed which interferes with his passion for regarding, as again the English writer says whom we have several times quoted, 'all works of art, and the fairer forms of nature and human life, as powers or forces, producing pleasurable sensations, each of a more or less peculiar and unique kind.'* Sensations, observe, not ideas or spiritual disclosures, are in these words defined as the end of art. But how shall we fabricate that miracle of existence, the human Ego, out of sensations? The thing cannot be done. If art has sunk to this level, personality must follow; and literature becomes so much the poorer that, instead of the large discourse of reason, we can now interest ourselves only in tones, perfumes, colours, the thrills and spasms of a nerve, or complications of intense and faint feelings. Here commences, in

* Pater, 'Renaissance,' p. ix.

short, the fatiguing and monotonous worship of the so-called Real which has taken the salt out of modern life, and has evoked a morbid curiosity, 'insatiable as barrenness,' always devouring like the infernal pit, yet which can never be filled.

Théophile Gautier, however, deals seldom in ugliness, and is hardly acquainted with the psychological puzzles which fascinated Balzac. He is jovial and exuberant, and once in a way Rabelaisian; but conveys to his reader by a side-glance that nothing in his subjects is of consequence to him, and that they are musical themes which he has embroidered, or studies in grouping and drapery. He cannot persuade you that his characters are real. 'Fortunio' is an operatic extravaganza; 'Le Capitaine Fracasse,' a rich piece of medieval tapestry; 'Spirite,' a fantasy; 'Mademoiselle de Maupin,' a celebration of sensuous beauty, in the guise of a defiance thrown out to the bald and smooth-faced bourgeois who believes that the Ten Commandments were devised for the protection of his household gods from thieves. 'Le Roman de la Momie,' that monumental Egyptian tableau with its solemn architecture breaking the line of a dark blue sky, has little human interest, not so much as the 'Book of the Dead,' and yet some wonderful old-world charm is spread over the landscape, the streets of palaces, the procession of the Pharaoh returning from victory. It is only a picture, but vivid and clear, as though the mist of centuries were swept aside, and Egypt and the Nile brought within our perspective. Flaubert has done a greater thing in 'Salammbô,' were not the awful light in which man-devouring Carthage stands out before us, too monstrous, too sickening, for the canons of a sane art. The irruption of Oriental ideas into French literature has, however, its peculiar significance; though neither in extent nor duration is it comparable to the extraordinary triumphs which the Hindu theogonies and the philosophy of Buddhism have won over English and German thought.

The poet of 'Émaux et Camées' delighted in travelling; he gave his countrymen the most graceful sketches of lands and cities which lay on the verge of their horizon or even below it, seeing everywhere, with eyes of a Parisian *flâneur*, not the struggling millions at their task, but man the cunning artificer in stone, metal, ivory, silken fabrics, and a universal bric-à-brac. He registered and kept a solemn vow to behold the reality of those visions which haunted him from the 'Arabian Nights' and the 'Lament of Boabdil,' last King of the Moors. He visited Russia in winter for the sake of its snowy prospects. He lingered at Constantinople, Cairo, Seville, Granada. His love of sight-seeing was not merely to make a holiday, but

to enlarge his imagination and complete the symphony of colour, which under the Northern Heaven fades into the dimmest shadow of the rainbow for lack of sunshine. His poetry, from first to last, he does not shrink from calling a 'Pantheistic madrigal.' It abounds in correspondences between one order of sensation and another, and its scope is to pass onward 'from white marble to white flesh, from the bloom of roses to the crimson of the lips.' It is a series of golden arabesques. He has read Heine, too, in translation, copying, as far as may be, the lightsome touch, but unaware that no French verses will ever give the sense of inward satisfaction, the warmth and poetic *naïveté*, which have somehow dissolved themselves into German ballad-singing.

The truth is that a conscious study of the beautiful ever tends to mannerism and artificiality. The flow of feeling is checked; a sort of gossamer, light yet clinging, interposes between the poet and his experience. He finds it impossible to be simple and direct; while, to quote a rare piece of home criticism from Baudelaire, there is something in the nature of the French that obliges them to judge analytically before they can feel. They are critics, and not spontaneous or enthusiastic. What they admire is 'good sense.' With Joubert, they find it necessary to be sure that they are thinking as they ought, and the standard by which they determine how they ought to think is a well-digested, square-drawn theory. French logic is famous. Their poetry, on the other hand, does not attain the noble freedom which, like Lope de Vega, puts the rules of the drama under lock and key, that it may follow the creative instinct and not the 'old masters.' The hieratic cultus of beauty, as in the age of the Alexandrians and the Renaissance, is a sure sign that Homer has yielded to Callimachus, and Dante to Beccadelli and Vida. It is the substitution of barren logomachies for religion, of pedantry for poetry, of mechanical principles for insight and power. The stinted temperament, which obeys fashion in its very revolt from orthodoxy, is a pre-requisite of such close imitation, and it has been rightly condemned as provincial. The Neo-Pagan artist, too often, has not even brains to mix with the colours he has borrowed. He is a scholiast, a beggarly feeder upon better men's leavings. And though he may possess an ear for music, there is one thing he can never do, the want of which betrays him. He cannot laugh. Wit and humour alike are out of his power. Sad for wantonness he may be, but not merry. When Gretchen said of Mephistopheles, 'It is written on his brow that he never loved a human soul,' she might have added, 'and on his lips that he never broke into
a human

a human laugh.' Sneering and a kind of languid sarcasm are natural to the analytic mind. But not laughter, not the mockery which is so good-tempered and hearty that it sets the table on a roar. There are piles of nauseous Greek epigrams and lyrics, written with deadly earnest on subjects unspeakable, which would melt into noisome fumes at the laughter of a genuine poet. For humour is an appeal from overweening fancies which are pompous, or merely absurd, or criminal, to the truth and balance of nature; it goes to the quick, and there is no more discomfiting proof that French civilization is losing somewhat of its intrinsic value, than the decay, for many years past, of its sparkling yet chivalrous gaiety. Jacobins of the stamp of Robespierre had their vinegar aspect, and took their banquets of blood and slaughter sadly, *moult tristement*. In like manner the Neo-Pagans, since Gautier, have forsworn jesting. They cultivate Nirvâna, preach the hollowness of things, see life around them in black, and practise their scales with a dolorous gravity. Some, as for instance M. Catulle Mendès, are adepts in erotic themes on which we need not enlarge. Others, and of these none have surpassed M. Leconte de Lisle, worship the austere Muse, disdain the praise of the multitude, and confine their attacks on the Christian teaching to miniature prose volumes for the use of schools.

M. de Lisle, who succeeded to Victor Hugo's armchair in the Academy, on that high bard's promotion to the senate of the gods, is a Creole, and a very resolute Pagan. He holds by the lugubrious thought of Alfred de Vigny, which Mr. Swinburne has rendered in a most musical strophe of 'Atalanta : ' 'La vie est un accident sombre entre deux sommeils infinis.' Yes, 'between a sleep and a sleep.' The supreme illusion, it would appear, is to fancy ourselves awake when we are but dreaming. De Lisle has won the name of a strong yet tranquil poet, exclusive and refined, who never sought popularity, and who, if once and again he has called up a throng of disciples, seems as little acquainted with the fact as if he were a dead classic. To him, all varieties of civilization since the Greek are steps on a decline; what is not ancient, or at least Asiatic, he terms with haughty affectation, barbarous. In his panegyric of Victor Hugo, we learn how he was smitten with the splendour of 'Les Orientales' when still young in his native island, as though 'an immense and sudden brightness had lit up the mountains and the woods,' of which as yet he felt only the unconscious charm. He was no slave, he says, to an outworn rhetoric, and could admire what the Parisians did but criticize. Nevertheless, his own humour is far from the lyric enthusiasm. The
Creole

Creole who travelled from a land of the burning sun, who was nourished on heady perfumes, and should have chanted the voluptuous reveries into which thought dies down amid the tropics, proclaims himself a lover of the impassible and the unimpassioned. He has not given ear to that 'voice of the heart,' which in the Romantic age excused, when it did not consecrate, the vagaries of fancy and the contempt of mere prosaic duties. The tenderness or effeminacy of Winckelmann's devotion to the antique has vanished from Leconte de Lisle's pages. He may sometimes permit a thundercloud, with its edge of purple menace, to darken the sky; but he seems not to know that human passion is as old as the race of men, or, to speak his own language, that Eros sprang first among the gods out of Chaos, and rules over them.

Hugo, he observes, undertook in the '*Légende des Siècles*,' 'to paint humanity under all its aspects, history, fable, philosophy, religion, science, summing them up as one great immeasurable ascension towards the light.' It is the doctrine we call Optimism. De Lisle himself follows another route. '*Tu te tairas, ô voix sinistre des vivants*,' is the savage cry with which he concludes his '*Poèmes Barbares*.' In spite of the Greek radiance and beautiful severity, though he feels the inspiration which he has personified in '*Hypatia*,' and writes, it has been admirably said, like one who has come upon the lost originals of Athens or Lesbos, and is simply translating them, he cannot stay within the limits of that golden prime. Something drives him backward to the enormous world of India, from Helicon to Mount Meru, and from the Ilissus to the Ganges; or else onward to the *Dies Iræ* and twilight of the gods, beyond which unbroken silence shall reign. The Orphic Hymns, with their curious scent of frankincense and sacred mystic flowers, give place to the Vedas. Forests of inextricable and gorgeous vegetation; jungles within whose secret places the tiger and the cobra lurk; streams which fall out of a snowy heaven and wash away the sins of penitents as they roll towards the horrible dark water which none may cross without pollution,—these things make the scenery in which the contemplative poet unfolds his story of Brahma and Bhagavat, or, condescending slightly to human weakness, tells, with a faint touch of sympathy, the love tale of Çunacepa.

The characters, in these far-away idylls, are not likely to affect European readers, although Sakontala has stirred many a heart, and the '*Light of Asia*' seems now a familiar and beloved name. But there is magic in the sonorous verse; and, whenever De Lisle touches upon his favourite theme, '*L'unique, l'éternelle*,

l'éternelle, et sainte illusion,' he breaks forth into singing, of which the fervour and sublimity cannot for an instant be questioned. No other, among Western poets, has attuned his strings to this message as though he believed, and were not running over a theme for the sake of exercise, to show his dexterity rather than his faith. De Lisle is an ardent mystic, lifted on the waves of desire, intoxicated with the Divine Nirvâna, glad to escape from the 'frightful clamour of the shipwreck without end,' which is eternally swallowing down those who trust in that specious falsehood, the nature of things. He can say, with a calm smile, 'I have suffered my heart to die,' while yet he lives on, waiting till the pitcher shall be broken at the fountain, the light blown out, and the 'glittering mirage' be carried off on the wings of time. If he must pray beside the tomb of a friend, his petition will be, that, like the dead, he may cease to feel 'the shame of thinking, the horror of knowing himself to be a man.' It seems to him exceedingly vain and idle that any one should attribute what genius or kindly feeling he may possess to a Power which has created heart and brain. 'Know well,' he would say, 'that the only heart which beats with pity for the race of mortals, is thine own.' He denies absolutely the mercy and the justice in which generations have put their trust. 'Arbitrary dogmas, revealed religions,' he will have none of them. 'Man,' he repeats, 'has made that holy which he believes; that beautiful to which he has given his love.' All religious conceptions have been true in their turn; for what is truth but the ideal form in which we express our dreams and our aspirations? The adept, who has seen into all mysteries and all knowledge, who dramatizes past and present, making himself coeval with every mood and aspect of being, has learnt that the veil of Maya, though it cannot be rent, hides only fresh appearances, as vain and fleeting as those which he has traversed. He is a wandering, pensive spirit, solitary always, forgetting his disappointment when a new scene is unrolled before him, but almost instantly discounting its promise, and weary of the endless cascade that falling will not pass away in silver foam. However, he knows where comfort is to be found. He can 'deliberately renounce the sentiment that he shall survive and be himself,' when his earthly tabernacle is dissolved. The light to which he looks in death is an assurance of mortality. There is no such thing, he declares with melodious asseveration, as eternal life. Accursed were the centuries, and cruel no less than ignorant, in which men sacrificed this world to the next that was never to be born. What is the last judgment according to science? he asks. Not Paradise regained, but the ruin of a solar system, its particles scattered

scattered through infinite space, and Chaos come again. The supreme vision of philosophy is Nirvâna.

We may contrast this phase of Neo-Paganism with the feelings in which it started. Goethe remarks that while Schiller loved Freedom and sought always to express it in his tragedies, he himself cared for Nature, with its large developments. But he would have judged Nature incomplete, were its fruit and blossom not the human world, active and self-conscious, intent, as *he* was during a busy life, on turning capacities to acquisitions. The greatest of modern Pagans, he believed in Humanism as the roof and crown of things. 'Wilhelm Meister,' sentimental and fantastic as it often is, preaches in varied tones the lesson of self-culture,—not absorption in the Unknown, but strenuous effort towards getting the mastery over blind forces. That, when old age drew on, he indulged overmuch his aboriginal Gothic tenderness for symbolic art and legend, is undeniable. He loved mythology, and he mystified himself as well as his readers. Nevertheless, he maintained, in the presence of a young and lusty Romanticism, the conviction which he shared with the greatest poets, that man is himself a universe, and the most wonderful and interesting; that he is not an excrescence upon Nature but its inward essence. Nothing would persuade him to become less familiar and stay-at-home than he had been, though instead of Goetz with the Iron Hand, he described, as in the 'West-östliche Divan,' camels and cup-bearers, Hafiz amid the Persian gardens, and bulbul singing to the roses of Shiraz.

What a gulf there is between this indomitable native sense and Leconte de Lisle's fakir-like raptures! Goethe, the kinsman of his own Prometheus, sits calmly down, defying Zeus with all his thunders, while he fashions men that shall have an immortal spark in their veins. He is so sure of the proportion which, at all events in poetry, the never-ending vistas of Nature bear to man that, opening as he does the sky on every side about human life, he will not remember, though it be true, that all our comedies and tragedies are acted in the infinite. When he has sung the Prologue in Heaven, he descends to earth and ranges from Faust's laboratory to the wine-cellar where peasants sit drinking and carousing. He has grasped the vital truth that Homer's gods would not delight us, were they anything but men in extraordinary situations. Though he enters like a Brahmin into the mystery of our littleness, he will not suffer it to lessen the intrinsic worth of feeling, thought, and aspiration. Poetry, he would say, must not be read through a telescope. The heart of existence for man is man himself.

Goethe

Goethe is not ashamed of the most trivial accidents of humanity, any more than Homer when he sings how the divine Achilles feasted on roast flesh and was his own carver, dividing the joint fairly. He was acquainted with good society, learned professors, and the jargon of the Court. He knew when to be refined; and he struck out hexameters and pentameters as deftly as the Humanist who could do nothing else. But he did not confound the faces of living men and women with a gallery of plaster-casts. Nature, the inexhaustible, had never limited herself to the Greek profile. Ugliness was piquant and humorous; the grotesque, as in 'Reineke Fuchs,' had its charm. Why imprison the rich world in a museum? The Shakspearian mind does not admire, as did Napoleon with his military stiffness, *les genres tranchés*. It is not in the least given to pedantry. But the new Paganism which we are studying is Academic and artificial. Its very corruption is designed, not instinctive; a culling of deadly simples out of which Locusta, in her finest court-dress and after a prolix ritual, may brew the liquor which is to poison young Britannicus at Nero's banquet.

We need not expect, therefore, in De Lisle or the school of Parnassians who imitated his Lydian measures, the strongly drawn characters by which Goethe, Schiller, and even Victor Hugo, will be known to the after-world. Helen, Niobe, and the rest, whose names meet us in the 'Chants Antiques,' are scarcely more than hieroglyphics. The imitation of medieval Spanish and Norse legends which the poet has also attempted, fails to reproduce not only those stark and gloomy heroes, but the rhythm of their iron verse. We care nothing for Magnus, and as little for the story of Don Fadrique. When De Lisle would be dramatic,—in Hiéronymus, to choose the least unsuccessful of his ventures,—we can hardly tell the first 'walking gentleman' from the second. What he succeeds in is the half-human, the monstrous creature dwelling in much solitude, like Chiron, or Echidna, or the elemental Glauce, and Cybele, with her frenzied rout. But he lapses constantly into the life which has no eyes, and which is neither sad nor joyous, because it cannot feel. The summer landscape in 'Midi' is perfect painting:—

'Midi, roi des étés, épandu sur la plaine,
Tombe en nappes d'argent des hauteurs du ciel bleu.
Tout se tait. L'air flamboie et brûle sans haleine;
La terre est assoupie en sa robe de feu.'

In like manner, 'La Ravine Saint Gilles,' 'Le Manchy,' and 'Le Sommeil du Condor,' give back, with an intimate sense of reality and a picturesque vividness, the scene which has opened

upon the poet's dreaming eye. He is one with the objects of his contemplation; and, since they call for no exercise of the more spiritual faculties, but are level, so to speak, with an indolent though not inattentive reverie, they rise up in his verses by a natural magic and enlarge our community with the inanimate. Amid their many-coloured vegetation, in the languid atmosphere, we perceive the silent white statues of Hellas, neither enshrined nor worshipped, but divinely indifferent to the change that has come over men's thoughts. It must needs be a lonely realm, and the poet who wanders along its moss-grown paths can chant no triumphal resurrection ode. He is the singer of plaintive elegies, graved with leisurely and minute care on his ivory tablets, abounding in grace and harmony, but faint as echo-music in the hills, and touching no fibre of the heart which throbs in us to-day. The gods have gone into exile.

Heine discovered these divine pilgrims under strange disguises, and caricatured them, like the mocking Lucian that he was, in their fallen estate. When, he says, their sacred groves were confiscated, the heathen deities underwent a fate not wholly dissimilar to that which they had endured on the Titans storming Olympus. Long ago they had been compelled to flee from their golden palaces, and, masking themselves as well as might be, to roam over the earth in search of a livelihood. Nearly all of them went down into Egypt, where they hid in the forms of animals, and so escaped the fury of the earth-born, or Typhonic powers. Now, for the second time, they were cast out as demons, their temples ruined, and the cross exalted above them. From gods they sank to day-labourers; they exchanged the blue skies of the Mediterranean for the mists of the Teutobergian Forest, slunk away amid the ignorant peasantry, and drank German beer instead of ambrosia. Apollo, who had learned a little of cow-keeping under Admetus, became a herdsman in Lower Austria; Bacchus renewed by stealth his Dionysiac festival in Tyrol, if it was not rather at the good old town of Speyer on the Rhine; Mercury, in the garb of a Dutch merchant, was seen on the Frisian coast, ferrying souls across the misty waters; and Jupiter himself, the father of gods and men, was once detected as a seller of rabbit-skins, dwelling amid the icebergs in a remote northern island, where he held a conversation in Homeric Greek with sailors from the Levant who chanced to pass that way.

These shreds and tags of a doubtful tradition, whirled about in the poet's fancy, have more coherence than appears at first sight. They have been dipped in the colour of fable, but the truth

truth they represent is worth insisting on. When Théodore de Banville, whose death is announced as we write these pages, peoples the woods of Druidism with the exiled troops which can no more return to their shining heights, while Zeus leads them sadly beneath the oaks, oracular once at Dodona but silent and gloomy in this strange land, he expresses rather a sentiment in which scholars might share than the actual course of events. The new Christian tribes did consult by night and in lonely places those gods which their clergy put under a ban ; but they took them for devils. According to the legend of Tannhäuser, Venus, who in the 'Iliad' is a simple-minded goddess, soon hurt and ready to cry with pain, is transformed into a witch bent on the ruin of her unhappy lover's soul. Diana, the Arcadian huntress, mingled in the diabolic gathering on the Blocksberg, and was mentioned far down the modern centuries among evil personages to be avoided, with cobolds, wizards, and the rest of Satan's retinue. Apollo was a vampire ; and no one could fall in with a wandering god, on the desolate heaths from which they derived their name, or in woodland solitudes, but he was exposed to peril of soul as well as of body. All were servants of the mighty Master who was worshipped at the cross-roads, and of whom Celtic or Norman peasants talked as 'the Other ;' that is to say, the great Enemy. Paganism, when it lived at all, had these gruesome and forbidding associations. It was the dark but defeated rival of the creed which openly triumphed in churches and saintly shrines. It lingers still, but like a half-forgotten dream, or whines and murmurs in odd and apparently trivial superstitions, for which those who practise them can render no reason. The great Pan is dead.

Now religion has inspired literatures, and out of the phenomena of Nature, its sunsets and sunrises, its winters and springs, mythologies were created by the first men, the poets who lifted their eyes towards the sky and answered with sublime audacity the questions that have since dizzied or tormented their descendants. But from a mere literature when has religion gone down into the popular imagination ? Books are the record, and may serve in a greater or less degree as the instrument whereby religious ideas are perpetuated. Yet the prophet is seldom a scholar. He touches the heart more easily than he can describe or analyse the tremendous impulses to which his enthusiasm, kindling the multitude, gives a scope and an object. When Julian attempted to restore the Pagan worship, he sought help from Libanius and the rhetoricians ; but all they could do was to vote addresses of condolence to

the gods of the *ancien régime*. The creative force was spent; and the temples fell, as the oracles, centuries before, had grown dumb, by a species of fatality. Rhetoric and learning are a poor substitute for the spirit.

Even so it is now. Hellenism, or to give it a wider name, Humanism, may play its part in disintegrating the present system of beliefs and usages. As a factor in the building up of society on a scale corresponding with the resources put into our hands by physical science, and by the higher stage of consciousness at which mankind seems to be arriving, it may help powerfully towards the good of the world. But we shall find it a duty to distinguish between the two elements, or perhaps we should say tendencies, which a careful student of antiquity cannot fail to have observed. One of these is sensuous, opposed to the intellectual no less than the moral development which Christian civilization has pursued, and is in the present day revolutionary. The other has greatly advanced the progress of nations on the way pointed out by the New Testament. Contrast Lucretius with Plato, and our meaning will not be obscure. Or we may draw a line in the Dialogues of Plato himself, on one side of which we shall mark a continual ascent towards the Ideal he felt after yet could not reach, while on the other is a swiftly gathering darkness. It is this second element we should say—and Mr. Pater allows it,—which is represented by ‘that brilliant group of youths in the “Lysis,” still uninfected by any spiritual sickness, finding the end of all endeavour in the aspects of the human form, the continual stir and motion of a comely human life.’ Not to dwell on the ambiguity which underlies this concluding expression, we can hardly refrain from astonishment when the doctrine of Plato, whether in the ‘Lysis’ or even the ‘Charmides,’ melts from the high abstraction to which he would fain lift us, into a stream of voluptuous feeling, as it does in this account of it. Plato has again and again satirized, with delicate but killing irony, the sentimentalism which pastures on ‘the aspects of the human form,’ and which refuses to go onward to the spiritual essence of which form and sense and colour are but the lowest adumbrations. Is it requisite to quote the ‘Phædrus’ and the ‘Symposium,’ to prove that Socrates was not an Epicurean, or that he was something more? Of course, as a matter of taste, we may rank Praxiteles above Phidias, or the Caracci above Raphael and Leonardo. But let us not argue as though Greek sculpture could not be severe, and softness and effeminacy were the characteristics of Italian painting. There is a noble as there is a base Hellenism, and the laws which govern both are unchangeable.

We

We have seen how the conscious study of form, in Leconte de Lisle, has carried him on to the formless Hindu cosmogonies. Quite as inevitably, the cultus of the mere 'aspects' of the beautiful turns to its opposite, and awakens a morbid desire to search into things foul and hideous. The sensual curiosity, of which some traces may be found in the Greek poets, grew to monstrous dimensions in Imperial Rome, and is far from unknown to the Paris of the nineteenth century. Its most remarkable exponent is, perhaps, Charles Baudelaire. He would have scorned the name of Neo-Pagan—yet he has himself recorded, not without complacency, the judgment of critics who assured him that Caligula or Elagabalus might have written '*Les Fleurs du Mal*,' had either been skilled in French metres.

It must be well understood that disciples of the school known as Decadent, though by no means classic in a noble sense, are unquestionably Pagan, deriving their inspiration from Catullus, Apuleius of the '*Golden Ass*,' Petronius Arbiter, and the host of Greek lyrical singers whom Cicero could never, as he observes, find leisure to read. The style which corresponds to their sentiment is, in Gautier's language, debased if you please, but really nothing else than 'art arriving at the pitch of extreme maturity under the descending suns of civilizations in decline—an ingenious, complicated, learned style, abounding in shade and refinement,' which borrows from the dictionary of science, takes colours from every pallet, and notes from every keyboard; which 'hearkens to the subtle confessions of the nerves that it may translate them into speech, as to the self-betrayals of depraved passion verging upon old age, and to the wild delusions of a fixed idea becoming downright madness.' He is reminded of the green and marbled hues of decay which spread over late Latin and Byzantine literature, as he dips into Baudelaire's poems; but what then? The dawn is long past; nor can we feel astonishment if all tones and suggestions of colour melt in one great blaze while the sun goes down. The bouquet of this new artist is woven of strange flowers with metallic lustre and intoxicating smell; in their cups we find, not the dew of the morning, but tears and deadly venom. How should others grow, asks his defender, 'in the black soil, soaked with corruption, as though it were a graveyard, of our decrepit civilization?' We live, he continues, among the mephitic fumes which the dead and gone centuries have breathed into our atmosphere; and it would be as simple as it is vain to look for springing violets and forget-me-nots from an earth so tainted.

But the end of art, we observe, is still, as with Leconte de Lisle

Lisle and the entire sect of modern heathens, 'to evoke the sensation of the beautiful.' Not eloquence, passion, or truth,—Baudelaire affirms it with energy—but this one specific mode of feeling is the artist's aim. It leads, however, to the search for excitants, and, like the drunkard, turns aside from wholesome food. The triumph of poetry, we are told, is to bestow a fresh taste on the jaded palate, or, as Victor Hugo wrote of 'Les Fleurs du Mal,' to 'add a ghastly ray of horror to the artist's Heaven, and create a new shudder.' These are the magic philtres of advanced putrefaction, not unlike the incredibly nauseous mixtures given by our ignorant ancestors to cure diseases; the more desperate the malady, so much more undrinkable was the potion. It is the irony of Paganism; sweet turns to bitter, self-dissection plunges a sword into its own heart. The grave Eleusinian mysteries, after solemn chanting and symbolic dances, end in a debauch. Baudelaire himself, who did not wish to be regarded as a victim of the nightmare which he painted, tells the men of his time that they 'kiss stupid Matter with great devotion, and welcome the pale light which hangs over decay.' Heaven is now, he says, nothing but an illuminated ceiling above the *opéra bouffe* in which the nations amuse themselves. The foolish actor dances in blood; melancholy has planted its black flag in the brain. None save an idiot gives credence to the raving about progress and Utopias to be manufactured on the morrow, that take with delusive hopes the crowd round the ballot-boxes. Even death is a lie, not a revelation. Modern literature he calls 'a saturnine, dismal, orgiastic volume'; modern life 'the fatiguing spectacle of immortal sin,' the 'alembic of endless sorrow.' Addressing the figure of a woman in the Danse Macabre, he exclaims, 'Thine eyes are an abyss of horrible thoughts,' but he is considering, not that imaginary creation so much as the Parisienne whose heart, to call it so by an abuse of terms, 'has long lost its freshness, though not its unrest.'

The only humour discoverable in verses of this wormwood kind is Satanic,—the calm and direct narration of monstrosities as though they were things commonplace, which would set the guests marvelling at a banquet of horrors, and perhaps send some from the table. Deliberately, Baudelaire forswears reflection; as a poet he declines to sketch anything but the outward show and the sensation to which it gives rise. Matter, form, and feeling, these are his gods. But all must be artificial, bizarre, and, if possible, depraved. He too, and in ampler measure, is of the strangely foreign, Asiatic, or barbarous school, to which De Quincey, Leconte de Lisle, and even Coleridge,

Coleridge, to the latter's great misfortune, belonged—of those who seek to enlarge their vision by the use of haschisch, opium, and sensual perfumes. He has written much and curiously on the effects which they produce in his book with the significant title 'Les Paradis Artificiels.' The same taste in literature, which qualified him to discourse upon Eastern intoxicants, led to his idiomatic and highly-wrought translation of Edgar Poe. Anything which departed from the normal charmed him at once; and the author of 'Ligeia,' 'William Wilson,' and the 'Fall of the House of Usher,' ranged with easy skill over the 'gamut of exasperated tones,' and revelled in a disorderly wealth of colours, which betrays his affinity with painters like Eugène Delacroix, and makes him appear more French than American.

It would be the height of absurdity, however, did we speak of a Zolaesque realism as marking any of these singular and dreamy poets. That after which they seek is not a definite and precise order of sensations, but something quite different, viz. the nervous ecstasy which comes with intoxication. They seem to hold, as Byron professes, that 'man, being reasonable, must get drunk.' Such, in rude Britannic phraseology, is the upshot of all those contrivances to surprise the fancy, break through custom, and set propriety at naught, which drive us, when first we read men like Baudelaire, somewhat too hastily, upon the conclusion that he who devised them is a monster, whereas, in nine cases out of ten, he is but a drunken Caliban, enraptured and overcome with a draught of spirits from the wreck of better things which he could not turn to account.

Yet Nero's dying exclamation, *Qualis artifex pereo!* applies with great force to Baudelaire as to De Quincey. In spite of frustrate hopes, 'life was to be the end of life'; the wild dancing procession, weaving in and out its eternal maze, seemed to promise the Emperor, the student, and the poet, a joy which might be acquired by some *salto mortale* that should leap beyond the ordinary laws of action and reaction, landing them in the hitherto unachieved, where fruition equals and does not baulk desire. A vain dream, but some have died for it! Epicurean martyrs, who, on the one hand, would make Rome a conflagration that they might fiddle while it was burning, and, on the other, have sacrificed manliness and the sanity of intellect to procure themselves a phantom delight! Omar Khayyam (if it was not his English translator) has warned us in a tremendous line, that 'Hell is the shadow of a soul on fire.' Read the modern æsthetics, and with them

Tacitus,

Tacitus, and the Augustan Histories; and say whether a description of the torment which grows from ever-new and never-to-be-satiated longing could be more accurately given. The imperial voluptuary commands and it is done; all pleasures are brought to him, in a piquant sauce mingled with blood to heighten its indescribable attraction. But he cannot eat, and he tells the Senate, in that famous letter from Capreae, that the gods torture him day by day. There is something mean, in comparison with such enormous tragedies, about the pantings, and sighings, and impotent lamentations, which are the resource of your literary and artistic pretender, whose brain never had the force of understanding we recognize in Tiberius, and who mistakes an artificially simulated passion for the tiger-instinct peculiar to certain temperaments. Baudelaire has described, not the feelings which surged up within him, but an experience he thought possible to others. He did so, we grant, with a great and by no means unsuccessful audacity. But of his contemporaries and successors, be they French or English, who have dabbled in the same black magic, it would be true to say, that they were deluded not by their morbid nature, but by affectation and conceit. They assail religion with obscene metaphors, and threaten Titanic outrages upon all that is decent. But the 'orgy of freedom' is mostly scene-painting. These highly æsthetic persons are by disposition cowards; were it not for the warm shelter afforded them by the institutions of society which they are always running down, their own frail existence would be swept into the neighbouring ditch. They could not struggle, and assuredly they would not survive.

But the effeminacy, which is now identified with Paganism (in spite of Epictetus and the Stoics), though it has neither nerve nor brain, is not without danger. The moral tone of society tends to sink when peace, combined with an increase of riches like that which has gone on during the last sixty years, wraps the idle and the educated round as with a velvet cloak and suffers them to dream at their ease. Luxury and scepticism have flourished together, especially in France, where the art of enjoyment has long been cultivated. The risk of infection, however, is greatest, not, as might be supposed, when pleasure, with the light Epicurean foam upon it, fills the cup, but as soon as it is drained to the lees. For if self-indulgence slays its thousands, despair slays its tens of thousands. De Banville, laughing at the philosophers, exclaims gaily, 'Des mots, des mots; cueillons les roses.' It is a charming old refrain which will hurt none of us. But the voluptuary

voluptuary turned Pessimist wields a two-edged weapon. He argues from the senses against every higher science of things beautiful, and from his experience as a man of the world against what he contemptuously terms the folly of systems,—meaning, as a rule, the Christian Gospel. Our view of modern Paganism would be wanting in completeness did we pass by this supreme and final type, which, exemplified to some degree in Charles Baudelaire, is nowhere perhaps more strikingly depicted than in the poems and romances of M. Jean Richepin, whose *Opus Magnum* bears with praiseworthy frankness the title of ‘*Les Blasphèmes*.’

We beg the reader's pardon if against his will and ours we are leading him into very undesirable company. But we have our reasons. The average Englishman is neither æsthetic nor a blasphemer. He cares hardly at all for ‘the True and the Beautiful,’ when offered him in this abstract Greek fashion; and he has a great regard for the proprieties. It is with extreme difficulty, therefore, and a reluctance which does more credit to his heart than his head, that he comes to perceive, if he ever perceives, the length to which an intellectual and moral revolution has gone among the educated classes in French society. Nothing analogous, except in a narrow and somewhat esoteric circle, has taken place on this side of the Channel. Mr. Arnold may have published his elegant diatribes against the Philistines, and gone about, as he said with a touch of the arrogance which nobody minded in him, ‘Confirming the Churches.’ Mr. Swinburne may have denounced, in his vehemently cold fury, the ‘pale Galileans’ who do not understand his allusions, but think him merely improper and young. The essays and histories of Mr. Symonds, the thoughtful and languorous prose of Mr. Pater, may have drawn students to expend a vacant hour upon them. But in England all this, like any other literary movement, is for the few to whom politics, business, philanthropy, and sectarian interests, have not a prevailing charm. The nearest approach an English lad makes to Paganism is when he gives himself to athletics; and in doing so he is delightfully ignorant of the tradition of the palæstra. If there is one thing which he hates and does not understand, it is effeminacy. He would call Marius the Epicurean disparaging names, were he compelled to read about him; it is certain that he would never get to the end of the second volume. But in France, what appears to us a sickly and even contemptible manner of thought, has become the substitute for a religious creed. Not, indeed, among the middle or the working class, to either of which these painted and chiselled enormities
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are simply incomprehensible; but in that ever-widening circle of fashion, politics, and literature, to which the rulers of the nation, its spokesmen and representatives to the rest of Europe, its journalists and Prime Ministers, have always belonged.

The argument of M. Richepin's volume is more formidable than his genius; yet he shows himself characteristic, bitter, and vigorous. Those who remember Bazaroff in '*Fathers and Sons*' will have silently compared the Russian Nihilist with the French, and found them in many points resembling. One is the Sansculotte of politics, the other of poetry and supernatural beliefs. Had Bazaroff not despised rhyme, he might have broken forth into this rabid protest which foams at the mouth, tears itself with rage, and runs wild in the hope of getting loose from the universal and stupid craze of men who, even when they are rebels and atheists, fall down before the ideals they pretend to have anathematised. M. Richepin has taken upon him the task of denouncing, in hard and impetuous verse, those 'cowardly compromises' and 'bastard doctrines' which refuse to go more than halfway down the steep, suffering themselves to be entangled in prejudices, respect for which survives all belief in them. 'Ought we to be so wanting in logic,' he asks with great and not undeserved scorn, 'like the devout people who have not the courage to be martyrs, or false materialists to whom virtue is yet honourable, or imperfect sceptics who doubt of everything but their own doubt? No,' he exclaims, 'I prefer to urge my premisses to their conclusion; cost what it may, I have compelled my atheism to march to its journey's end.'

Swift might have written thus, but with a more incisive style, and we should recognise the irony of unbelief which not only doubted of its doubt, but despised mankind, its religion, irreligion, gods and idols, too profoundly, ever to trouble itself about proselytizing or polemics. The Nihilist, however, is a fanatic, and hates the good partly because it escapes him. 'Tracking the idea of Deity,' continues M. Richepin, whom we quote textually with a certain reluctance not difficult to understand, 'I have found it amid a forest of other adventitious ideas, among which it has been my duty to carry fire and hatchet.' He is human enough to allow, that in rooting up the grand superstition he has not spared more amiable delusions—the trust in Righteousness, the longing after an Ideal, the worship of an Eternal Order in things, nay, 'the very hope of a better life, whether in this world or in the next.' But logic—and particularly French atheistic logic—does not hesitate. The idea of God has its 'subtle and seductive avatars,' even where
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it seems to have been swallowed up in larger conceptions. It lurks behind the notions of causality and belief in law (alas for the Haeckels and Huxleys who dreamt they had satisfied the thirty-nine articles of Agnosticism!), in the very apotheosis of physical science, and in the 'last religion,' which adores progress. Good citizens will come forth, he observes satirically, to hiss and cackle like the Capitoline geese, in defence of Law, Property, Morals, and family life, when he assails them. Hippocrides does not care. Scientific men, again, will not consent to look upon their formulas in the light of logomachies; nor Positivists to have the censor snatched from their hands in which they were offering themselves delicious incense; neither will Freethinkers abandon without tears their absurd trimurti of 'the Good, the True, and the Beautiful.' Even materialists, who have been so illogical as to talk of laws and causes, who, as Comte might say, have given in to metaphysics, will shriek when cause turns out to be nothing but chance, and law an observed custom. But what else did they bargain for? 'I have pushed to its last expression,' says the French Bazaroff, 'that theory of a universe without God, which none have the courage to proclaim, and all in secret act upon.'

With the aid of passion and reason, of science as well as of poetry,—though he considers them all alike the hallucinations of lunatic man,—M. Richepin proceeds to recommend his version of the Everlasting No. He has not yet, according to promise, given to the world his 'Gospel of Antichrist.' However, the prologue which lies before us may suffice at one meal. It is, in fact, a conclusive argument against the deceptive rhetoric, and gentle or intoxicating romance, in the guise of which modern Paganism has been offered by its votaries. 'Either you will go on to be Christians again,' so the poet urges in truculent style, 'or you must burn the sackload of relics you have brought on your shoulders out of the past.' Oddly enough, Mr. Pater, whose delicate sense of the becoming would shrink from contact with this unabashed and ferocious cynic, has adopted the same method of argument in 'Marius,' carrying it on to a more agreeable issue. Marius starts where Gautier did, with a simple sensuous admiration for 'beauty of human outline, which is virtue,' and, pursuing it, he seems to end by laying down his life for the beauty of holiness. Nay more, with happy insight, he perceives that 'renunciation,' self-denial, which in the ancient cynics put on so rugged an exterior, was a moment, as the Germans say, a second stage, in the cultus of fair forms and of the virtue which they shadow forth to human eyes. There is a confused and somewhat

somewhat dangerous truth, but still a truth, in all this. Only renunciation must be complete, and not a sly underhand proposal to get back the things we have surrendered, and more like unto them. Heine promised the innocent Greenlanders that they should have their sea-calves again, if they became Christians and went to heaven. But that is Epicurus with a cloak on. The firm and sound logic of the matter is, by no means that earthly charms, a hundredfold intensified, will be found in the highest religion, but that all the lines of beauty, as faint and fragmentary as we know them, point onward to the One Ideal. And M. Richepin argues with unconquerable force against the half-measures of scientific atheism as of Epicurean Christianity. His 'Bitter Sonnets' are well named. If we have resolved to precipitate the religious elements out of life, as we might squeeze water from a sponge, is it not laughable that we should still attach a meaning to the words 'sacred' and 'ashamed'? Shame denotes the presence of an ideal, and that which is sacred ought to be worshipped. Now, he says, be a consistent denier, and quench the light from heaven which irradiates love, marriage, friendship, the spring of youth, and even age's winter, when a fresh aurora, as of immortality, comes out of the north. What are the ideas in which poets and philosophers revel but golden bubbles? It is an old saying that man has created his gods like unto himself. Deny them, and they fall into the pit. M. Richepin passes in review a troop of characters from the prince to the hangman, which crowd along the carnival in their multifarious garb, everyone the prey of his own delusion; and their thought, he urges again and again, is merely the echo of that murmuring song which the blood keeps chanting in their veins. Reason is matter finely powdered, the foam of champagne as it mantles in the glass. Nature,—and he sings of her lovely apparitions with a warmth and even a gracefulness somewhat foreign to his mood of disdain—ah, Nature is not the mighty mother whose children rejoice round her steps; she is, if to be addressed as a person, the frenzied woman who murders her first-born. But Spinoza was right, and personality has no foothold in the world outside us. The exquisitely-woven veil is torn down, and reality appears in all its nakedness.

'Comment tout ce chaos serait-il harmonie ?

Comment de cette lutte éternelle, infinie,

Peut-il sortir un mot que l'on érige en loi ?

And so Progress, to which mankind are now setting up altars, with its belief in an end attainable by effort, is the barren, the dangerous chimera that has taken so many forms already. Laws, with all their sublime pretensions, are but
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an optical delusion; for understand, that whoever grants a principle of order in the world, is thereby committed to the interpretation of its details as a poem which the Divine Reason has inspired. But matter alone endures while forces change; there is movement in every direction, but no advance. Doubtless, the Christ will come again; if not He for whom believers look, yet another. What does it signify?—

‘Le monde n’a pas d’âme, et personne n’est Dieu.’

Ohe, *jam satis*, the tired and certainly disgusted reader will exclaim. We should be the last to think or feel otherwise. But that is not the question. When the Lorelei in Heine’s poem is sitting on the rock combing her yellow hair with a golden comb, or singing to the magic harp, with the music of the Rhine for the contrabasso, we fancy she is too naïve and pretty not to be as good as she looks. The boatman, who steers that way and is caught in the whirlpool, will have another story to tell. And so it is with our æsthetic, scientific, curled, and scented Paganism, which cannot endure the harsh Christian limitations on experience, or its antiquated warning about the law of sin in our members. How much more delightful to go back, in theory at all events, to Libitina and Priapus, ‘a Tuscan and Greek’? The cultus of beautiful moments, how exquisite! The ‘rehabilitation of the flesh,’ the philosophy which Gioja has restored and the poet of the ‘Reisebilder’ preached, that we should ‘get as many pulsations as possible’—of sensuous gratification, be it understood—into our brief day—what a self-centered, easily justified ethics, yielding flowers and fruits of the most unexpected savour! It is the ‘new wisdom,’ by which the soul ‘becomes more and more immersed in sense, until nothing else has any interest.’ As Mr. Symonds relates, in such an age licentiousness has been made a branch of literature. Mr. Swinburne finds that monstrous passions have their place in it, and their poets; while Mr. Pater, though he cannot approve, is aware that there may be a ‘luxury of disgust in gazing on corruption,’ which is akin to the feeling he extols. It is all a matter of thrill, of ‘squirm,’ as a remarkably clever man, the late Mr. Edmund Gurney, once said. ‘Nature, when it is healthy and beautiful, as you observe,’ wrote Schiller to Goethe, ‘has no need of a natural law, or of political metaphysics; and you might have added that it needs no God, and no immortality for its stay and support.’ *That*, according to both these enlightened modern thinkers, is ‘æsthetic freedom.’* Freedom, certainly; as for

* ‘Correspondence,’ vol. i. letter 188.

‘æsthetic.’

'æsthetic,' had not the Lorelei a fish's tail, and her dwelling among dead men's bones? M. Richepin completes the delineation which more tender souls would fain leave beneath the Rhine waters. They prefer a half-length portrait. Well, we have not made the waves too transparent. Only we shall never understand Paganism till we grasp the truth that instinct is not wholly charming, is utterly selfish when not directed by higher aims, and, in man, demands a constantly growing capacity of enjoyment which Nature has once for all declined to give. That law, admitting of no exceptions, will suffice to justify the profound Miltonic dictum, 'lust hard by hate.' The hyena laments because, though he should discover the universe to be carrion, he has not, nor ever can have, 'stomach for it all.' Unlucky hyena, who began with the primal falsehood that Nature made the universe to gratify his appetite!

There is another, and a less degraded, reading, not indeed of Paganism, which is a cry of revolt against the light that has come into the world, but of Humanism as the Greeks themselves knew and lived by it. The best among them did not mistake the preliminaries of art for art itself. How can we think of their tragic poets as voluptuaries, or deny that 'thoughts beyond their thoughts to those high bards were given'? The large and tranquil sky which shines over Iliad and Odyssey exhibits hardly a trace of sensuous vapour; the loftiest peaks of Platonism are covered with untrodden snow. What would be the judgment of the grave Thucydides, what the verdict of Aristotle, upon this effeminate, nerveless inanity, which ventures to appraise the putrescent hues of Apuleius above the reason, the wit, and the insight, the plastic vigour and self-control, owing to which Greek intellect is still the type of all sound thinking? Not outward forms and colours, but the living essence, the mind and truth of things, according to the 'Poetics,' is the object of the artist's striving. Socrates would have spent his irony on the poems and pictures which in technique are praiseworthy, but convey no message worth the telling. To divide beauty from life, to put the form on this side, and the spirit on that; to dream of kindling a creative spark in ourselves by studying moods, and indulging subjective criticism, instead of acting in the world's tumult like men with hearts and consciences—what is it except to cut ourselves off from the very sources, whether of a noble human life, or of the literature which is its record? Imitation, said Victor Hugo, with entire truth for once, be it of the classic or romantic, is barren.* Poetry is not in

* See Preface to 'Odes et Ballades' (1826).

the form of ideas, which may be accidental, and varies with the age and the country; it is in the ideas themselves. Genius is neither a reflection nor an echo, but is the name we give to marked originality; and how shall anyone become original by servile copying? As experience shows, only the most robust of temperaments will hold its own against the influences pressing upon it from without. When literature passes into criticism, decadence is not far off. We may worship dead gods, and cry, 'O Baal, hear us,' cutting ourselves with knives if the fit takes us, but there will be no voice nor any that answer; and when the fire does fall from heaven, it is just possible that it will consume us and our gods together.

But the root of the matter, as we have hinted, is not in discussions about style. Do the Neo-Pagans give the key to life? Have they seen farther than the rest of men? What is their connexion with the immense tree of existence, with that Igdrasil whose leaves tremble and speak, whose branches fill the nine worlds, and which is planted deep down in the abyss? Can they sound the heart and reckon its secret throbbings? or have they not gone about the wrong way to understand these mysteries? To all of them, without exception, Christianity is a narrow, barbarous creed; their revolt from it they account deliverance. That is not the verdict of the greatest minds. Even Goethe qualifies it by the wonderful admissions in 'Wilhelm Meister,' of which we have spoken. Shakspeare, Dante, Augustine—to quote only these—who well understood the elements that are combined in Neo-Paganism, and who had traversed that stage, would never have allowed that the Christian was but a child frightening himself in the dark, and the Hellene a grown man, perfect in wisdom. Nor did Æschylus and Plato arrogate to themselves the superior enlightenment now claimed for the disciples of men so much beneath them. We read the 'Agamemnon,' or a chorus in Sophocles, and our thoughts pass on to the New Testament, where these noble bas-reliefs become living forms. The 'Republic' of Plato, whether we will or no, has the air of a prophecy in its grandest enunciations; and, as they fall upon the ear, memory recalls the sacred history which fulfils their promise, the institutions lasting through centuries wherein some of their aspirations have been realized. Aristotle has become a Christian teacher; the training from which our Neo-Pagans derived their erudition was planned expressly to combine 'the fair Humanities of old religion,' cleansed from their dross, with the inculcation of revealed truths. 'The poetic passion, the desire of beauty, the love of Art for Art's sake,'

sake,' were not indeed the purpose aimed at by a self-respecting heathen, any more than by a disciple of Christ. To eat and drink for mere pleasure may be fitting for Ciacco and the herd of Circean swine; but rational beings put before themselves rational ends, they desire to rest in truth and reality, not in the passion of desire. 'To maintain' sensuous 'ecstasy,' if we could, which is impossible, would *not* be 'success in life.' But, of course, it is not difficult to comprehend the principle which prompts such futile endeavours. 'Experience,' says Mr. Pater once more, 'already reduced to a swarm of impressions, is ringed round for each one of us by that thick wall of personality through which no real voice has ever pierced on its way to us, or from us to that which we can only conjecture to be without.*' The universe, then, and our heart along with it, has become that funereal urn which Goethe saw painted all over with dancing figures. Its contents are ashes, beneath which the last glimmer of life has gone out. Personality, which in the New Testament is revelation, a kinship acknowledged between children and their Father, is, after all, the prison from whence we escape only by flinging ourselves into Nirvâna. All this we understand; but one thing remains an enigma. If Leconte de Lisle when he chants 'the Divine Nothing' melodiously, and M. Richepin striking his furious chords, are in agreement with their brethren, and speak the sober truth—if, again, we must consider existence simply as a number of pulsations which will come to an end when the heart ceases to beat, why are we to receive this announcement with rapture, as the Neo-Pagans declare? why hail in it the dawn of a new age? 'The greyness of the ideal or spiritual world' may be trying to endure; but is not the disappearance of ideals the fall of Humanity? We submit that a philosophy which corrupts because it despairs, and which offers man a momentary thrill of passion in the place of Life Everlasting, crowned with perfect human love, might be tidings of great joy to the brute creation, but has no right to call itself Humanism.

* 'Essays,' p. 209.

- ART. II.—1. *Rosmersholm. A Drama in Four Acts.* By Henrik Ibsen. Translated by Charles Archer. London, 1891.
2. *Hedda Gabler. A Drama in Four Acts.* By Henrik Ibsen. Translated by Edmund Gosse. London, 1891.
3. *Ibsen's Prose Dramas.* Edited by William Archer. London, 1890.
4. *The Pillars of Society and other Plays.* By Henrik Ibsen. London, 1890.
5. *The Life of Henrik Ibsen.* By Henrik Jæger. Translated by Clara Bell. London, 1890.

THE curious interest which the dramas of Henrik Ibsen are exciting in London and even in Paris is a phenomenon worthy of study. Possibly it does not admit of a single interpretation, but is due to a combination of different causes. If we take into account the alleged fact that in Norway itself there is a certain amount of scepticism as to Ibsen's pretensions, while in England there is in process of formation a school of Ibsenites, as fervent and as blind in their admiration as the societies which clustered round Browning, we come across the familiar principle that even in literature our taste is as much guided by contrast as it is by affinity. We like what we understand and are familiar with, but our curiosity is more readily piqued by what we do not understand and what strikes us as strange. In Norway, a country which is struggling to develop a literature of its own, men instinctively turn to the older literatures of England, France, and Germany, as presenting them with a maturity and a disciplined skill which they recognize as the somewhat distant goal of their own efforts. In the midst of an older civilization an exactly opposite feeling is often prevalent. We experience a pleasant piquancy in literatures that were only born yesterday; there are amongst us critics who seem to rate the novels of Tolstoi and Dostoieffsky above those of Thackeray and Balzac; and the work that is relatively crude and immature is estimated out of all proportion to its real value. There may be some of this feeling at the bottom of the admiration for Ibsen, as it undoubtedly accounts for the unstinted praise often given to Walt Whitman. But there are other causes at work more intimately connected with the stage and dramatic writing. We are told that the burden of conventionalism is slowly stifling theatrical productiveness; and when a strong and master spirit, who knows nothing about our conventions and our stereotyped formulæ, comes out with dramas full of refreshing novelty and vigour, it is a sign that our older species of com-

position has had its day and that a new era is dawning. The assertion may or may not be true, but the mere fact that it is made accounts for the eagerness with which Ibsen's dramas are scrutinized as the harbingers of a theatrical revolution.

To this must be added the old controversy which in so many forms has appeared throughout the whole course of literature, and which in our day we call the antagonism between Idealism and Naturalism. Should Art give us the glory which never was on sea or land, or should its humbler function be to present us with the real? Are the 'documents' of its activity those old and familiar functions which we call imaginative force, the constructive power of genius, the dream of fancy, the intuitive insight of intellect; or a much more prosaic piece of industry, the accumulations of actual experience, the daily note-taking of a fearless and analytical inquisitiveness? There can be no doubt on which side are to be found the so-called representatives of the modern spirit. Browning gives us this realistic temper at its best—not untouched by the graces of idealistic fancy. At its worst we have not far to look. Shall it be Tolstoi with his 'Kreutzer Sonata'? or Zola with his 'La Terre'? or Ibsen with his 'Ghosts' and his 'Hedda Gabler'? To speak of 'the modern spirit' is no doubt a vague and misleading phrase. But we shall probably not be far wrong if we include in its current signification at least these three elements—Naturalism naked and unashamed, a vigorous though crude unconventionality both of phrase and literary workmanship, and a profound belief in the necessity of democracy, the triumph of science, and the emancipation of woman.

Ibsen, at all events, has some of these features, though he adds to them characteristics of his own. If we take a play like 'The Young Men's League,' it appears that, while he too tends towards the recognition of the inevitableness of democracy, he preserves the attitude of the critic or the cynic, and has a very shrewd suspicion of the kind of leader which democracies will probably develop. If we turn to 'Ghosts,' it is seen that he accepts to the full the interpretations of Science, and with a perfectly merciless hand reveals the doctrine of Heredity as applied to the family circle. Probably it is hardly necessary to say that he paints the emancipation of woman to those who have seen the recent representations of his 'Doll's House,' for the Nora, who deserts her husband and children, and bangs the front door behind her as the curtain descends, is the woman who has recognized that her first duty is the cultivation of her own individuality. Perhaps we should say that Ibsen is indeed 'modern' in these senses, together with that equally characteristic

note

note of modernity, a scepticism of the very ideas which he is promulgating. He wishes to educe the individual, and yet he shows to what repulsive lengths the individualistic craze can be carried. He fears and hates socialism and the tyranny of the majority, which after all are the logical results of triumphant democracy. He would free the woman, and yet shows how unlovely the unshackled woman can become. He welcomes the revelations of science, while he points out what havoc it makes of such ideas as Conscience, Responsibility, and Freedom of the Will. And through all the scenes which he puts before our eyes, he paints without shame, or fear, or literary reserve, in full compliance with the dictates of that Realism, whose boast it sometimes appears to be that the real is the monotonously ugly.

The peculiarity, however, of Ibsen as a writer, as well as thinker,—a peculiarity which adds much to the normal difficulty of estimating a foreigner and a contemporary,—is that he combines the susceptibility to modern ideas with a literary form which is in many respects crude and immature. This is not a criticism which will appeal to the Ibsenite school, nor is it here advanced with any confident dogmatism. But the problem with which we are face to face is so perplexing, that we are almost forced to offer it as at all events a plausible solution. On the one hand we have to acknowledge a freshness and piquancy in the way in which Ibsen advances his ideas, and a consequent attractiveness in the dramas which seems to increase with repeated perusal: and yet, on the other hand, there is a constant source of irritation both in the treatment of his themes and the various devices by which he seeks to reveal his characters. It is easy to illustrate by concrete examples, and we need go no further than the notorious 'Doll's House.' No one who has seen it on the stage would deny that in some fashion the play grows upon the spectator: unexpected points of interest start up, new lights are thrown on the personages, fresh elucidations occur to the mind of what the author is driving at. Nevertheless, on the whole, we are more piqued than pleased: we find fault with the *dénouement*, and are mentally reconstructing a better ending: we get to hate the fatuous husband, Torvald Helmer; and here and there in the long conversations we are appalled with the sudden *bêtises*—such as the incident about the silk stockings in the dialogue between Dr. Rank and Nora, and the incredible vulgarity of the talk about oysters and champagne. It is obvious that just this union of piquancy and bad taste is what is so often met with in the work of some precociously clever young man: it is the very 'note' of juvenility.

Or else, if the expression be preferred, we stigmatize it as 'provincial,' the work not of the centre but of the circumference, not metropolitan but suburban. And indeed the whole of the *mise en scène* of an Ibsenite drama is entirely suburban—the pseudo-culture of the women, the vain bumptiousness of the men, the astonishing frankness of the language, the grasping eagerness to parade the latest scientific idea. It gives us just the impression of the Chicago lady 'dizzy on education,' or of the man nearer home who liked to call agricultural implements by their proper name. But instead of being conjoined with feeble intellectual power, we have it here thrown down before us with marvellous vigour and a real grasp of essential elements, recalling in its general effect that sudden alternation of darkness and light which in the northern latitudes, where our author once had his home, is due to the absence of a soft, pervading, mellowing twilight. Ibsen plunges us at once from brilliance into gloom: there are no stealing shadows, no tender penumbra, no gentle gradations through gold and orange and violet. ¶

The crudity of literary form is more easily perceptible on a larger scale. It is not a mere matter of incidents and language, but it affects to a considerable extent the whole dramatic construction. What, for instance, is the indispensable element of drama? The evolution of character through action. When Browning's 'Strafford' was acted on the stage, it was remarked that we did not know Charles's Minister any better in the fifth act than we did in the first. Something of the same kind is to be found in Ibsen's dramas. The prominent character, for instance, in 'The Young Men's League' is a young lawyer, named Stensgard, whose label of vulgar democrat, attaching to him when the curtain rises, equally adheres to him when it descends. But his peculiarities can hardly be said to have developed before our eyes: we do not get to know him any better, as we do the characters of Shakspeare. It is a Dickens-like personage who exists to manifest a certain quality, not a real person whom we can imagine living and active in other circumstances than those in which his creator has for the time placed him. It is unnecessary to cite other instances, because this want of development in character is the natural result of a peculiarity of Ibsen's dramatic construction, which we are often told to admire. Like Euripides in some of his plays, Ibsen is fond of an analytical method. The successive acts are devoted to the analysis of all that is involved in a given situation which was realized before the curtain ascends. Nora Helmer in the 'Doll's House' has already forged her father's name before the action commences: Dr. Stockmann in the 'Enemy of Society' has

has already discovered that the vaunted baths of his town are impregnated with possible disease and death at the very opening of the first act. It follows that the ensuing scenes must be devoted to the drawing out of the consequences of a realized catastrophe; they must render explicit what is already implicit in the situation with which we open. No one has any right to object to an analytical method, although it is obvious that it is the characteristic rather of a philosophic essay than of a drama. 'Hamlet' might quite correctly be described as an analytical play. But there is one condition which must not be foregone. If there is to be no real development by action, there must at least be an emotional development. Sometimes Ibsen realizes this, and then we get to know his characters. Sometimes he does not, and then we feel towards his work as we do towards some of the work of Euripides. We can, however, excuse the Greek dramatist, because he was not always concerned to paint flesh and blood, but artificially heightened figures with masks on. Ibsen's characters want to be flesh and blood, but the dramatist's method sometimes checks their legitimate aspirations. There is, for instance, often to be found among the *dramatis personæ* a conventional figure by the side of the heroine, a middle-aged friend, half-cynic, half-lover, and generally a man of the world, such as Doctor Rank by the side of Nora in the 'Doll's House,' Pastor Manders by the side of Mrs. Alving in 'Ghosts,' and Judge Brack by the side of Mrs. Tesman in 'Hedda Gabler.' Even if it be admitted that such personages are not drawn in a conventional way, their appearance seems to argue a certain fondness for more or less conventional types.

To these points ought obviously to be added Ibsen's didacticism. It is not so much the fault of his critics that this tendency has to be adverted to, as it is of his admirers. Probably every artist has reason to pray to be delivered not only from his friends, but from the school who look up to him and call him 'master.' For where the founder leaves the outlines somewhat indistinct and blurred, the disciple with patient assiduity fills in with decisive strokes and adds body and substance to what may after all be a pure exercise of fancy. Directly, however, 'the purpose' and 'the moral' become doubly and trebly emphasized, the value of the work of art is gone; it is no longer a piece of dramatic portraiture, but a sermon, an apologue, a fable. An artist need not be without a moral, but by the very conditions of his nature he ought not to be tied down to one moral—rather he ought to be as many-sided and as capable of yielding different morals, as life itself. In Ibsen's case there seems to have been a distinct period of his
life

life when he formally assumed the rôle of a preacher, and gave up that of a poet. The outward and visible sign was the adoption of prose and the abandonment of verse; the inward motive was a fine scorn of his countrymen and of the customs and ordinances of Norwegian Society. 'Semper ego auditor tantum,' he seems to have said, and composed one drama after another to expose the hollowness of provincial respectability, the insincerity of customary ethics, the poverty of connubial lives, proving with equal emphasis the bitterness of his retaliatory ardour and his Timon-like abhorrence of all ordinary social ideals. So far as Ibsen was thus consciously didactic, he may have been a consummate preacher, but he was an immature dramatist. But it is easy to exaggerate this tendency, as indeed is proved by those emancipated women who have gushed over the 'moral' of Nora Helmer's daring act of freedom. It appears to be almost necessary to rescue the dramatist from the embarrassing enthusiasm of his admirers and to point out that the conclusion of 'The Lady from the Sea' seems to suggest, as we shall soon have occasion to remark, a perfectly different moral. Moreover, it seems to be clear that Ibsen himself has done his best to rid himself of the obvious drawbacks of the didactic method: in 'Rosmersholm,' in 'The Lady from the Sea,' in 'Hedda Gabler,' he no longer preaches a moral; or if he does, it is by no means so plain and explicit as his worshippers would desire. Hence there may be confusion in the ranks of 'the school,' but there is, at least, a perfectly satisfactory intimation, that, if ever the character of prophet suited the dramatist, it was a mark of immaturity, from which he desires to be free. It would be difficult to see how an artist could feel otherwise. He must gain for himself, at whatever cost, freedom to study character from any point of view he pleases; and even though an Ibsenite society should find its occupation gone, 'impavidum ferient ruinæ.'

It is time, however, to turn from generalizations and look more narrowly at the man himself and at some of his most characteristic productions; and it is obviously necessary, in the space allotted to us, to concentrate our attention especially on those dramas which are best known and have made most sensation in England. It ought to be remembered, however, that Ibsen as a literary genius has other claims on our study than those to which we propose to advert. He commenced life by being a poet, and it would be quite an arguable position that his contributions to the poetry of his native land are at least as valuable as his later plays. It is very significant, however, that at a particular period of his life he should have
deliberately

deliberately abandoned such inclinations as he felt towards the poetic career. He has chosen the vehicle of prose partly because he can more immediately appeal to all classes of society; partly also, it may be presumed, because the choice indicates a determined effort to become a reformer, or at all events a critic of those institutions of society which in his opinion are imprisoning the modern spirit; partly, again, because prose suits the Realist. We have no space to occupy ourselves with the earlier career, but the briefest of facts may conduce to clearness, and some attempt must be made to suggest the personality of the man of whom we are speaking.

Henrik Ibsen was born on the 20th of March, 1828, in Norway, and lived there until 1864. The latter date coincides with the German aggression on Denmark, when it was for some time thought that England ought for various reasons to come to the help of the over-mastered country. Ibsen, in his distress that Norway and Sweden would not help Denmark to resist Prussia, as well as for other reasons, shook the dust off his feet, deserted his own native land, and since then has mainly been resident in Rome, Munich, and Dresden, producing on an average a drama every two years. He was at an earlier period appointed artistic director of the Norwegian theatre at Christiania, and gained some actual experience of stage work. We need not be concerned with the elaborate reasons which some of his biographers have found for explaining Ibsen by his historical antecedents and by the character of his Scotch and Norwegian ancestry. Let us take the man as his friends have described him—a rather short but very vigorous and impressive personality. He has a peculiarly broad and high forehead, with small keen eyes, blue-grey in hue, of a quality which his sympathisers describe as penetrating to the heart of things. His long grey hair and his whiskers make him look more like a surgeon than a poet and dramatist; but the signs of strength are to be found not only in his forehead, but in his firm and compressed mouth, and it is probably for various adequate reasons that he has been called the man of iron will. He certainly has no look of the characteristically artistic face; there is nothing in him of the vague questioning æsthetic wistfulness which we sometimes associate with the artistic nature. He would probably consider himself, on the contrary, entirely practical—practical, that is to say, not in the popular, but in the philosophic sense, a man who attempts to diagnose the evil of society and to expose the causes of its corruption. In entire accordance with this rôle of speculative thinker we find that he is unusually reserved and silent, a man who propounds his social riddles somewhere about
Christmas,

Christmas, leaves the busy tribe of scribblers and critics to attempt to discover their meaning, and shuts himself up for two years without communication with kith and kin until a new puzzle is ready. If we turn to his dramatic work, we shall find in the first place a certain set of historical and legendary dramas: a youthful 'Catilina,' written in 1850, revised at a later period; a melodramatic play, 'Lady Inger of Östraat,' 1855; historical studies, such as the 'Warriors at Helgeland,' 'The Pretenders,' and above all 'Emperor and Galilean,' a play which by itself deserves a separate study. It is worthy of remark that in it he looks forward to a period which is to succeed the two periods, first of Paganism, and second of Christianity,—a period which is to resolve all the riddles of this painful earth in a new era which shall recognize the rights of the individual man.

Then we find another class of dramatic poems: for instance, 'Love's Comedy,' and the two celebrated poems 'Brand' and 'Peer Gynt,' in 1866-67. It is the third class, however, with which we have to deal—the so-called social dramas commencing with 'The Young Men's League,' in 1869, and continuing with 'The Pillars of Society,' 1877, 'A Doll's House,' 1879, 'Ghosts,' 1881, 'An Enemy of Society,' 1882, 'The Wild Duck,' 1884, 'Rosmersholm,' 1886, 'The Lady of the Sea' two years later, and finally the play which has just been published at Copenhagen, 'Hedda Gabler,' Ibsen's New Year's gift to his admirers. It is of course impossible for us to review all the dramas in this recent group. It will be only necessary to take a few of those which may justly be reckoned characteristic, and characteristic especially of those three leading ideas which have before been referred to as animating a great deal of Ibsen's work: first, the revolt against society, side by side with the criticism of the democratic state; secondly, the influence of scientific ideas, especially of heredity; and thirdly, the position of woman in the social state. Under the first of these heads ought to be placed, disregarding the historical order, 'The Young Men's League,' 'An Enemy of Society,' and 'The Pillars of Society.' A good representative of the second will be found in 'Ghosts,' while the third division will include the 'Doll's House,' 'Rosmersholm,' 'The Lady of the Sea,' and 'Hedda Gabler;' to only some of which we shall have space to refer.

'An Enemy of Society' is by no means a bad example to commence with, because the central figure, Dr. Stockmann, not inaptly represents certain phases in Ibsen's own character. Dr. Stockmann is the successful doctor of a Norwegian watering-place, possessing the advantage of certain baths, to the popularity

larity of which the doctor himself has largely contributed. He has an elder brother, Peter Stockmann, a burgomaster, a prefect of police, a Chairman of the Board of Directors—in short, a municipal official of the ordinary type. Dr. Stockmann discovers that the baths, of which he is medical officer, are contaminated, and that the numerous visitors who come to the town in search of health are likely to be poisoned—slowly but surely—by the so-called salubrious waters. He is determined to set himself right with the society in which he lives by proclaiming his discovery. Need it be said that his chief and earliest enemy is the official supporter of things as they are, his own brother, the burgomaster? In him is typified all that passive acquiescence in the usual, the ordinary, and the commonplace, which is the wonted characteristic of civic authority, but which, in this instance, is aggravated by the reasonable fear of doing damage to the town and alienating the influential patronage of visitors. Side by side with these two personages—the radical scientist and the conservative mouthpiece of Bumbledom—are to be found an editor of a newspaper, a prominent member of the journalistic staff, and a master printer. The newspaper, of course, adopts the policy of prudence, of waiting upon events, of ‘the jumping cat.’ It does not desire to originate any definite policy—that would be too dangerous—but to reserve its advocacy until it sees which policy is likely to be successful. When it thought that it would best secure its interests by supporting Dr. Stockmann, its editor is a friend and guest of the doctor: when it discovers that on the whole its best chances of salvation are to be found on the side of respectability and obtuseness, it goes over to the party in power, as represented by the municipal authority of the burgomaster.

The result of the struggle between the enlightened man, who not only knows which way his duty lies but also resolutely strives to perform it, and the dense and compact majority of his fellow-burghers, is exactly what might be expected. Dr. Stockmann is called an enemy of society, his proposed contributions to the newspaper are rejected: he is hardly allowed even to make his case known, and were it not for the friendship of a ship's captain, who lends him his house, he would have had no chance of a public interview with his countrymen. When the opportunity of an address is vouchsafed to him, however, he loses no time in declaring his mind without hesitation or reserve. It is the one strong and just man against the many ‘who are mostly fools.’ We have in consequence a most powerful and characteristic speech, which represents, it may fairly be assumed, some of the opinions of Ibsen himself. The
points

points which Dr. Stockmann makes are important for our purpose, because they indicate that note of extravagance and of violent over-emphasis, which every moralist, whatever may be the vehicle of his diatribes, whether drama or essay, apparently of necessity adopts, but which, at the same time, are essentially characteristic not of literature, but of the platform and the hustings. The majority, we are told, is so far from being generally in the right that it is never in the right: most of the accepted truths, whether of religion or practical life, when they grow old, cease to be truths and become lies, because they no longer suit the requirements of a younger age: the organs of public opinion not only misdirect, but purposely beguile: school education kills individuality, and therefore destroys all progress in the germ. Dr. Stockmann ends with a doctrine, which is no less a paradox because it is in some senses a truism, that the strongest man upon earth is he who stands most alone. Put in this abstract form, however, the views of Ibsen as a dramatist are exposed to some injustice. If he represents in his hero the strong individual intolerance, he also suggests, side by side with it, those other elements in society without which the 'independent man' becomes in very truth a menace to himself and to others. At the very end of the play Dr. Stockmann is represented as gathering his family around him, his two sons, his daughter and his wife. To them he speaks with an air of absolute conviction: 'You see the fact is that the strongest man upon earth is he who stands most alone.' But two other voices chime in, before the curtain descends. There is first the wife, who shakes her head, and, in smiling deprecation, calls him to her side by his Christian name: and then the daughter, who takes his hand trustfully with the single word, 'Father.' Dr. Stockmann may call himself alone, but if there is any chance of his maintaining his attitude of righteousness and justice, it will be due to that little paradise of wife and children, that last and most sacred refuge of domesticity, which surrounds and overmasters his isolation, and is always vindicating the opposite truth that a man never is or can be alone.

Two other plays which belong to this group may be more shortly referred to. In the 'League of Youth' we have a study of the ardent young democrat, Stensgard, who begins with revolutionary fervour and ends with personal disaster, because, like many others of his type, he is easily conquered by the flattery of his social superiors. There is another reason, too, for his failure. He is a rhetorician and nothing more, a man to whom words come easily, a fluent orator, who throws down his crudest notions with a certain wilful persuasiveness, highly attractive

attractive to his followers, whose aspirations, nevertheless, he has no power to direct or control. This is, of course, no new character in drama. We need look no farther than Sardou, whose 'Rabagas' is painted on much the same lines. Indeed it may be said that many of Ibsen's problems are in no sense novel in our old-world civilization: we are not only accustomed to the loud-tongued democrat, but also to the socially-respectable man, the 'Tartuffe' in provincial life, the conflict between society and the individual, and even the wife who objects to her husband treating her as a doll. Certainly the French dramatists have dealt with subjects closely akin to these: the difference is that when the Latin races take up their parable against the enslaving conditions of modern life, they are not in such deadly earnest as the Scandinavians, they preserve the note of raillery much more happily than their northern brethren. They are less logical in their treatment, it may be, because they 'sit more loosely' to social enigmas: on the other hand, quite apart from the fact that Art hardly requires all this savage earnestness, they have at least the philosophical defence that the wheels of time grind extremely slowly. To carry out ideas in their proper logical sequence in the midst of an old-world society, itself a structure of venerable complexity, argues possibly much reforming zeal, but not much practical dexterity. We hasten on a revolution and make a clean sweep of the past, and lo! instead of the new heaven and the new earth, we find that we have merely been playing tricks with the hands of the clock, whose internal machinery has thereby become hopelessly deranged. 'The Pillars of Society' is another of these studies in social delusions. Consul Bernick is everything that is most respectable: he has, as it were, boxed the compass of civic respect in a Norwegian coast town. There is nothing which his fellow-citizens would not do for him, no honour that they are not prepared to lay at his feet. But he is a humbug, notwithstanding, a whited sepulchre of Pharisaic propriety, who does not hesitate to send to sea one of his merchant vessels, knowing it to be rotten. We need not go through the steps of his moral conversion, but it is interesting to observe that the conclusion of the drama suggests another moral to that which is enforced in the final scene of 'An Enemy to Society.' Dr. Stockmann, it will be remembered, thinks himself alone, when he has in reality staunch allies in his family circle. The course of events brings home to Consul Bernick a different lesson. 'I have learned this,' he says, 'in these days: it is you women who are the pillars of Society.' His sister-in-law, Lona, at once corrects him. 'Then you have learned a poor wisdom, brother-in-law. No, no; the spirits of Truth and Freedom

Freedom—these are the pillars of Society.' Let us be just to the dramatist, even if his admirers are a little too inclined to fix him down to a single set of tenets. It is exactly in the equipoise of the individual and the social ideals that our salvation rests. On the one hand there must be in the individual all the elements of personal integrity and strength: on the other hand, no life can be lived without dependence on the social framework and the social atmosphere. A man is surrounded by an inevitable network of relations towards those amongst whom he lives: yet if he does not keep within himself the salt of individual initiative and honesty, society itself becomes rotten. Dr. Stockmann exaggerated the personal element. Consul Bernick trusted too much to the social framework. Both were right and both were wrong: and the morals of the two pieces must be read side by side, if we wish to see Ibsen's philosophy.

There is, we found, a considerable influence of the latest scientific ideas in the Ibsenite drama. Of this the best, because the most violent, example is to be found in 'Ghosts.' Nothing much need be said of the play, although it has formed the subject of several discussions and one recent representation. It is too frankly horrible, too barbarously crude. Nor must we be surprised at coming across this kind of dramatic enormity in the work of a man who is not only a dramatist, but a surgeon: a surgeon must not be too squeamish about human ills. 'Hedda Gabler' is perhaps another of these curious enormities, where we catch ourselves wondering at a naturalism that has become brutal. Perhaps the explanation is not really far to seek. The Norwegian literature is like all the work of the youthful and the immature. It is the spontaneous outburst of forces which have not yet learnt to know themselves, or to submit to the teaching of commonplace experience. We find in the work of a young man a piquancy, a force, a facility, which sometimes disappear when modesty and middle age supervene: but we find that it is also capable of appalling eccentricities, of which the older and the more humdrum are not often guilty. 'Ghosts' is a *bêtise* of this kind—a horrible drama where the results of heredity are pictured in their most repulsive aspect. Mrs. Alving has for years kept up the reputation of a dead husband, whom she knew to have been a libertine. She has sent her son away that he may not be contaminated, and after her husband's death she desires to build an orphanage to his memory in order to preserve his social reputation. The son comes back, and is found to have inherited not only his father's
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vices, but also that pitiable weakness of physical organization, which is Nature's condemnation of such excesses. All her elaborate constructions to disguise the truth come tumbling about her ears: the orphanage is burnt to the ground; the ghosts of her past life begin to walk again in the peccadilloes of the dearly-loved Oswald; and, last scene of all in this deplorable history, the son becomes a weak, diseased, pitiable lunatic, crying for the sun.

We come now to the third class into which Ibsen's social dramas have been divided, those which deal with the position of woman in modern society, and which are supposed to enforce the views of the dramatist as to the sacred rights of the individual. As has been before remarked, the didactic elements in Ibsen's work are by no means the most successful, and it is far better to regard the plays which are included in this division from the standpoint of dramatic art than from any assumed moral standpoint of which this representation of the modern spirit has been declared to be concerned. Probably it is this group which has caused most attention to be paid to the Norwegian writer's work; at all events it is better known in England, especially within the last year. 'Rosmersholm,' for instance, has quite recently been performed; 'A Doll's House' has been put before an English public on two occasions; and there is almost a certainty that 'Hedda Gabler' will be represented, sooner or later, by an English actress. There are two other plays which ought to be included, 'The Lady from the Sea' and 'The Wild Duck'; but the last may be dismissed without comment, because of its curiously pessimistic tone, and because its meaning and significance are so obscure as to baffle even the acuteness of the most sympathetic admirers.

The position of woman in modern society suggests questions which have obviously proved very interesting to Ibsen. The discovery that she has a soul to lose or gain is the problem especially of 'A Doll's House.' The preservation of a proper individuality, owing to the philosophic wisdom of a duly enlightened husband, is the burden of 'The Lady from the Sea.' The ruin which the emancipated woman can produce in an old-fashioned race is the subject of 'Rosmersholm'; while the analytic study of this new and more terrible Amazon—the woman who is *fin-de-siècle*, and instilled with every modern theory and hypothesis, however false and arbitrary—is apparently the theme of the latest of Ibsen's creations, 'Hedda Gabler.' If the plays are viewed from this standpoint, we are not forced to admit the theories which have been engrafted on Ibsen by his school, but we leave room for the recognition that
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in all studies of human life and circumstances the poet, especially if he be a dramatic poet, is not and never can be the mouthpiece of any one of his personages, but according to the very conditions of his craft is speaking with many voices,—alternately the special pleader and the *advocatus diaboli*. In 'A Doll's House' we have the result of a sudden illumination in the case of wife who has been both by father and husband considered as nothing more than a doll. Doll-like and babyish in all her instincts, it would be absurd to require from such a character even the elements of morality. Nor does Nora Helmer exhibit any of the characteristics of a disciplined mind. She forges her father's name in order to secure the money for her husband's foreign tour, without any thought of possible consequences, and with the usual apology of ignorance that the end justifies the means. In this way she gets into the power of a designing bank clerk, a clever character called Krogstad, and when the crash comes she makes the discovery not only that she does not understand the laws of civilized society, but that her husband in his attempt to be both her heart and her conscience cares more for external respectability than internal rectitude. In the first shock of the surprise Nora Helmer decides to leave her home. She has, she repeats to herself, everything to learn, and there is not much chance of her acquiring valuable lessons so long as she is under the tutelage of her husband. She may be right, she may be wrong. The dramatist, however, is not concerned with the moral; he merely regards the situation as the natural and inevitable one, if we are to assume such a husband as Torvald and such a wife as Nora. If a man regards the partner of his life as a plaything, the wife, when she gains the first glimmering of education and freedom, will be apt to make use of her immature knowledge in a somewhat startling and decisive fashion. It is here, however, that 'The Lady from the Sea' affords an admirable contrast to the final scene of 'A Doll's House.' 'The Lady of the Sea,' who is irresistibly called back to the wilder life of the shore, is induced to remain with her husband because he gives her free scope for the development of her personality, and because his love and his tenderness suggest to him that she should have all those wider chances of knowledge and truth which respect and reverence for another person's individuality bring in their train.

'Rosmersholm' illustrates an analogous problem in a different fashion. Education, illumination, emancipation—all these war-cries of the Feminine Crusade—have no doubt their proper value. In the early stages, however, they are apt to bring not peace but a sword. Rebecca West is at all events the agent of considerable

considerable ruin in Johannes Rosmer's household. You cannot pour new wine into old bottles, and the descendant of an ancient race, who is a dreamer and an idealist, is apt to be too logical in the pursuit of his new-found ambitions. What is the result in this particular instance? His wife is goaded to suicide because she thinks her husband cares more for Rebecca's influence than her own; Johannes himself discovers that it is not a purely Platonic affection which he entertains for Rebecca; and these poor struggling souls, who have invoked spirits too strong for their feeble frames and limited circumstances, find no other issue but death in the same millstream which had engulfed the abandoned wife. It is difficult to see how Ibsen is preaching any particular moral in these more or less gloomy studies. He is, if we understand him aright, exercising his indubitable privilege to regard from a purely neutral standpoint the social complications which are incidental to a modern age. Every new movement, every stage of development, whether in man or other animals, has its victims. Nature, as we know, struggles to her goal of evolved perfection through ceaseless bloodshed; and though the tragedies, through which human beings pass in their pursuit of what seems to them their ideal, may not be so sanguinary, they are in no sense less terrible and overwhelming. And so we come to the last picture which the Norwegian dramatist has drawn for us, Hedda Gabler, a representative or perhaps rather a caricature of *fin-de-siècle* womanhood. Here is realism exhibited in its most extravagant and possibly its most shameless form. The heroine of this extraordinary tragedy, though she apparently does not care for any of the doubtless effete maxims of morality which have hitherto guided the human race, has at least the survival of some æsthetic instincts; and if death must come, she would prefer that it came in a graceful form. Even suicide must be conducted with due regard for what is comely and becoming, and a bullet through the head is the only species of *felo de se* which is to be recognized in the æsthetic code of duties. The only persons who have a right to object to this ruthless and uncompromising analysis are the very women who have hitherto taken Ibsen under their wing. They may weep tears of joy over Nora Helmer as the one righteous soul that repents out of ninety-nine unilluminated sinners, but it may prove a hard task for them to take to their bosom so monstrous a specimen of unfettered womanhood as Ibsen has chosen to paint in Hedda Gabler.

ART. III.—1. *Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens*. Edited by F. G. Kenyon, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. London, 1891.

2. *Hermathena: A Series of Papers on Literature, Science, and Philosophy*. No. XVII. Dublin, 1891.

THE present century has been rich in important additions to our store of classical knowledge. In 1816 Niebuhr found a palimpsest in the Library of the Chapter at Verona containing a copy of the Epistles of St. Jerome; under this writing he deciphered the text of the Institutes of Gaius, and thus immensely enhanced the value of what is perhaps Rome's greatest bequest to us, her system of jurisprudence and law. Shortly afterwards, the discovery of a great part of Cicero's treatise '*De Republica*,' by Cardinal Mai, in a Vatican palimpsest, supplied a further proof of the matchless powers of the great Roman orator in every department of literary achievement, and contributed not a few choice blossoms to a future *florilegium* of the wit and wisdom of Cicero. Hardly had this precious piece of flotsam from the sea of time received the last polish from the hands of scholarship, before the four now famous orations of Hyperides, existing piecemeal in papyri, purchased by Mr. Harris Warden and Mr. Stobart at Thebes in Egypt about 1850, created for us a new figure in literature. Hyperides had hitherto been but a name in lists and lexicons, like those of Harpocration and Pollux, ever since the loss or destruction in the capture of Buda Pesth by the Turks of the codex of Hyperides, which had been the ornament of the library of the King of Hungary. Quite recently large additions to his remains have been made by the papyri of the Archduke Rainer. * This acquisition was soon succeeded by one which was in some respects even more interesting, the papyrus fragment of three pages containing a portion of Alcman's marvellous old hymn to the Dioscuri, with its strange laconisms, and its curious companion pictures of Agido and Hagesichora. It was found by M. Marietti in 1855 in a tomb near the second pyramid; it is quite unique among Greek poems in its tone and style, and affords a new and amazing proof of the myriad-minded versatility of ancient Hellas.*

A century rich in real literary gains is naturally also fertile of forgeries, and some of these have had a temporary success. As Ireland's fictitious plays of Shakspeare imposed on Garrick,

* It is printed in the fourth edition of Bergk's '*Poetæ Lyrici Græci*,' vol. iii. pp. 30-45.

who actually put 'Shakspeare's Vortigern' on the stage, so the sham-antique ballads of Surtees took in even the great master of ballad lore and maker of ballad poetry, the inimitable Sir Walter Scott himself—a fact which can only be put beside Scaliger's belief in the genuineness of two comic Latin fragments of great alleged antiquity, submitted to him by Muretus, who himself had written them. Ever since Onomacritus wrote the poems of Orpheus, the literary forger has been from time to time at work; but in recent ages he has not been so successful as those artists whom some suppose to have fabricated the Homeric poems under Pericles. The Rowley MSS. of Chatterton and the Ossian of Macpherson, though they had many enthusiastic believers in their authenticity, had however only a temporary triumph; and quite recently the Greek Simonides and the Jew Shapira have failed egregiously in their attempts to impose their sham antiques on the learned world. We shall again have occasion to refer briefly to the Shapira MSS., to point out the characteristic notes of disingenuousness which marked the manner in which they were presented to the public, and to put before our readers, by way of contrast, the history, so far as we know it, of the leaves which contain the 'Constitution of Athens,' and which certainly are not a modern forgery. We may here remark that the tendency of modern literary criticism is towards undue scepticism about the monuments of antiquity which we possess, rather than too great readiness to accept fabricated imitations of them as genuine. The Germans are leaving no nook in Helicon unrifled in their wild chase of the 'Unecht.' The method of Wolf's *Prolegomena* has fascinated his countrymen. Kirchhoff has dissected the *Odyssey*, as Wolf the *Iliad*, and Fick has rewritten it in its 'original Æolic.' It has been attempted to show that the 'De Corona' is an awkward fusion of two different speeches written on two different occasions, and on two incompatible plans. Thucydides, Plato, and Xenophon have been treated in the same way—unskilful patchwork all. Quite recently a book was written to show that the 'Annals' of Tacitus were by Poggio Bracciolini, and indeed we are approaching the paradox of Hardouin, who maintained that all the classics except a very few * were written by a committee of scholars under Severus Archontius in the thirteenth century.

The scholar's dream of literary treasure-trove used to carry him to the palaces of Turkey, the monasteries of Macedonia, or the temples of Asia Minor; but of late Africa has been asserting

* We believe the exceptions were Homer, Herodotus, Cicero, Pliny, Virgil ('Georgics'), Horace ('Satires' and 'Epistles').

her claim to her old reputation of being the constant source of surprises. Egyptian papyri have been the vehicle of most of our recent acquisitions, and bid fair to yield a further and still more abundant harvest. Mr. Flinders Petrie has recently exhumed a great pile of mummy-cases at Gurob in the Fayoum. These contain quantities of waste paper stuffed into the interstices between the thin planks or strips of wood which form the walls of the cases, apparently for the purpose of giving to them a greater appearance of solidity, and of enabling the carpenter to economise his timber. Among these bundles of waste paper have been lying for centuries parts of old MSS. of Plato's 'Phædo' and of the 'Antiope' of Euripides. Professor Mahaffy has succeeded in eliciting from these papyri some new fragments of a play very celebrated in antiquity. He has published them in the Dublin 'Hermathena,' and promises full details in the forthcoming Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy. The preliminary labours of deciphering, involving, no doubt, frequent appeals to the art of emendation, have been skilfully performed by Professor Mahaffy and Mr. Sayce, and have been supplemented by the critical sagacity of Mr. Bury, who has made many excellent corrections in the text. The fragment which probably came first in the play contains a speech in which one of the sons of Antiope encourages his mother, and bids her not to fear the approach of her uncle, the tyrant Lycus: 'Surely,' he urges, 'if Zeus is our father, as you say, he will deliver us in the hour of peril; the time for escape is past, the fresh blood of Dirce (wife of Lycus, whom they had slain) will convict us of her murder; we must do or die; we must slay the tyrant.' The leaf ends with the entrance of Lycus on the stage, but his speech is quite fragmentary. The only other portion of the MS. which is continuously legible presents to us Lycus a captive in the hands of his sons, and about to be slain by them, when Hermes appears as 'Deus ex machinâ,' and forbids the death of Lycus, whom he commands to hand over the sceptre to Amphion. This, as we know from the argument given by Hyginus, was the concluding scene of the play, and there is no doubt whatever that Mr. Flinders Petrie has become possessed of some new and genuine portions of a lost play of Euripides, which the affected phrase of Persius,

'Antiope ærumnis cor luctificabile fulta,'

would alone show to have been most pathetic, and to have been admired as such by the ancient world. But the newly-acquired portions of the play have very little interest except of an antiquarian kind, and contrast badly with the fragments of the

'Antiope,'

'Antiope,' already known and published. Naturally too: for nearly all the latter have owed their preservation either to the thought they conveyed, or the beauty of the language in which it was expressed, and have come down to us from Plato or Stobæus; whereas the recently found verses are indebted for their survival to the merest chance, and do not happen to contain any of the characteristic excellences of the poetry of Euripides, hardly indeed a thought or expression which deserved to survive. We would give all the speeches of a 'Deus ex machinâ' in Euripides for that one so Euripidean half-line which the taste of Stobæus has preserved for us from this very play,

κέρδος ἐν κακοῖς ἀγνοσία,

a pregnant anticipation of Gray's touching couplet, now one of our household words,

'Where ignorance is bliss,
'Tis folly to be wise.'

Professor Mahaffy, perhaps feeling this, rests on its great antiquity the claim of the MS. on our attention:—

'The papers found along with these remains of Euripides' famous play are dated in the early years of Ptolemy III., viz. before 230 B.C. As we have found no dates later than this reign in any of the cases, it is extremely improbable that the present literary fragments can be more recent; nay rather, the natural inference that a play of Euripides would take longer than ephemeral documents would to turn into waste paper is strongly corroborated by the character of the writing. From a palæographical point of view the hand is very old, possibly generations older than the company in which it was found.'

But we cannot share the confidence with which the Professor claims such an enormous antiquity for the codex. At least we cannot admit the cogency of the reasoning by which he seeks to establish his opinion. The papers found in the mummy-cases along with the Euripidean fragments are very numerous, and are all of the same kind,—wills, agreements, receipts, leases, copies of statutes and decrees referring to rating and taxation; in a word, documents dealing with property and business transactions. Mr. Sayce has given specimens of them in the same number of 'Hermathena.' Now it seems to us that nothing is more likely than that these documents once formed the contents of some Registry of Deeds, which at last got rid of the portions of its stock which had become useless, by selling them as waste paper, or perhaps by throwing them away. Such documents as these are precisely those which retain longest a right to be preserved. We are far from admitting that the natural infer-

ence is that a play of Euripides would take longer than these papers, which Professor Mahaffy strangely calls ephemeral, to turn into waste paper. On the contrary, we think that many years, perhaps hundreds of years, might elapse before the officials of a public Registry of Deeds would hold the instruments deposited with them to be so worthless as to justify them in throwing them away. They may have lain in the Registry for hundreds of years after they were deposited there, and then at last have become waste paper. Then it was that the old wills and deeds became mixed with the rubbish of a far later age, and helped a mutilated copy of the 'Antiope' and of some dialogues of Plato to impart an appearance of solidity to a jerry-mandered coffin. These fragments must of course be very old, but they are not necessarily older than, for instance, the treatise on the 'Constitution of Athens;' at least the arguments in support of the great antiquity which Professor Mahaffy claims for them must be drawn from the character of the handwriting alone.

But even if the Petrie papyri had all the antiquity claimed for them, and a great deal more interesting contents, they would still have been completely eclipsed by the extraordinary 'find' of the British Museum. Whether the treatise on the 'Athenian Constitution' is by Aristotle or not, is perhaps to scholars the most important question connected with it, and will afterwards be considered carefully; but even if we put the questions of age and authorship aside, the discovery is full of interest and importance. It is a singular, and even unique incident, that some unknown scholar living in Egypt in the time of Vespasian should have copied, or employed persons to copy, on the back of a farm bailiff's accounts, the remains of what he believed to be the treatise of Aristotle so often quoted and so widely celebrated, and that that MS. should have escaped all notice until towards the end of the nineteenth century it came into the hands of the authorities of the British Museum, and was by them deciphered, printed, and published. These authorities have not thought it wise to give us any information as to the person or persons from whom the MS. has been obtained, or the place where it has been preserved. We believe, however, that their reticence is a good sign, and that it arises from a conviction on their part that the same source is likely to yield more treasures, and a desire not to attract rival bidders or encourage dishonest manufacture. For all we know they have been obliged to be a little lax in their interpretation of certain Khedival laws, and have felt themselves constrained to give ear to the crafty counsel of Ulysses to Neoptolemus, and to lend themselves

themselves to frowardness for a brief space, with an intention of ultimately becoming the most upright of mortals. However this may be, we are certainly disposed to act on the old Leonine precept, 'Si quis det mannos, ne quæras dentibus annos:' we will not look a gift horse in the mouth, nor ask whence it came; nor will we make much lament over certain errors in the editing hereinafter to be pointed out. We will at once express our hearty sense of gratitude to the authorities of the British Museum for their splendid gift to the world of learning, and our admiration for the patience and skill which enabled them to decipher a MS. of extraordinary difficulty. Commendation, moreover, is due to the insight of the editor, Mr. Kenyon, into historical questions, and to his lucid exposition of the evidence in each case. The faults which we find in his editing will be noticed afterwards, but he has shown himself capable of ably handling questions connected with history and archæology.

That the treatise is not a modern forgery is, as we have said, certain. All the notes of modern forgery are absent. An artist who had the skill to execute such a MS. would have hawked his wares all over the Continent, to find out where he could get the highest price, and would have made the learned world ring with his name. Shapira carried his forged text of Deuteronomy to Beyrout, to Leipsic, all over the Continent, and finally to Berlin, before he approached the British Museum. He told in detail the way in which he became possessed of his MS., how a sheikh had informed him that some Arabs had little pieces of black writing which they believed to be amulets, and how he had by a lucky chance secured a small residue of them. Above all, he demanded for his invaluable MS. the sum of one million sterling. And with all his craft he did not impose on the *savants* of the British Museum. It is true that their verdict was forestalled by the ingenious Frenchman, M. Clermont-Ganneau, who had proved the fictitious character of the codex before Dr. Ginsburg made his report. But there is no reason to doubt that they would have detected Shapira's forgery without the help of M. Clermont-Ganneau, though the French press of the time showed a disposition to crow over us as if we had only followed the lead of their countryman, and over the Germans for having spent some years before 18,000 thalers on the purchase from the same Shapira of some Moabite pottery which the same *savant*, M. Clermont-Ganneau, demonstrated to be spurious.

The text of the 'Constitution of Athens' is written on the *verso* of the papyrus; that is, on the reverse side, on which the fibres of the papyrus run perpendicularly. On the *recto* are the accounts of a farm bailiff, of which a specimen is given in the
facsimile,

facsimile, and they bear date of the eleventh year of Vespasian, that is, 78-79 A.D. As these are private accounts they would probably have perished within twenty years at most, but for the chance which made our unknown benefactor use their reverse side for the reception of what he believed to be the famous tract of Aristotle.

The writing on the *verso* has marked points of similarity to that on the *recto*, and we may safely ascribe the MS. to the end of the first century A.D. or the beginning of the second. Almost every one of the existing fragments quoted by Greek writers of the early Christian centuries as coming from 'Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens,' or presumably belonging to such a work, are either found in our MS., or are to be referred to the lost portions of it, for the beginning has not come down to us, and the end is much mutilated. The owner of the MS. was not in possession of the beginning of the tract, and left a blank space for it in his copy, in hopes that some lucky chance might supply it. Four scribes were employed. The first, third, and fourth hands are semi-cursive, and very difficult to decipher; the second, which goes from the thirteenth column to the middle of the twentieth, is uncial, and is not quite so obscure.

The work falls into two divisions. In the first, which runs to the end of c. 41, our author gives a rapid survey of Athenian constitutional history from the mythical establishment of Ion down to the restoration of the democracy in the archonship of Euclides, after the overthrow of the Thirty Tyrants. The second gives a list of the various magistrates of Athens and their duties. Much of the second section is lost; but as the later grammarians, especially Pollux and Harpocration, used it very largely, our knowledge of its contents is already considerable. The surviving portion of the work opens at the conclusion of the narrative of the conspiracy of Cylon, and the purification of the city by Epimenides of Crete. It plunges us at once into a historical discussion, by making the attempt of Cylon prior to the legislation of Draco, while Plutarch brings Cylon and Epimenides into the epoch of Solon. Mr. Kenyon, in an excellent note, gives reasons for preferring the new chronology, but fails to draw the natural conclusion (which we shall afterwards examine) that this was not the edition of the 'Constitution of Athens' which Plutarch read.

The development of the constitutional history is then pursued. According to our author, the people were in a state of slavery up to the time of Solon, and it was economic not political grievances that both Draco and he were called upon to redress. The pressure of debt had reduced the poorer classes

to

to a state of serfdom. Before Draco the offices were elective, and were retained for life. The account of the origin of the Archons is quite new. The office of Polemarch existed under the Kings; the Archon came into existence under the Medontid dynasty, and was inferior in position both to the King and the Polemarch. The monarchy was, in fact, delegated to a Board of three, and the name King was for a long time the title of one of them, probably until the decennial tenure of the office was introduced. After that epoch the term was only retained for a sacrificial function, and the magistrate bearing it took rank below the Archon. Up to the time of Solon the Archons had only one court; but when their number was raised to nine, the Archon, the King, and the Polemarch had each a separate court, while the six Thesmothetæ together occupied another.*

The Areopagus is here said to have existed before Draco, though the account of the Solonian constitution in the 'Politics' of Aristotle (ii. 12) seems to imply that it was an institution of Solon, a view which Plutarch combats in his 'Solon' (c. 10), without, however, appealing to the 'Constitution of Athens' in support of his opinion, as he certainly would have done, if he had had our treatise before him. It was very powerful, being recruited from ex-Archons, and exercising control over all the offices of the State. Draco was not merely a jurist, as has been hitherto supposed, but a political reformer—a statement strongly opposed to a passage in the 'Politics' (ii. 12) which speaks of him as solely a codifier. He gave a share in the government to all who could afford to provide themselves with a military equipment, and required for each of the offices a different property qualification proportionate to its importance. Both the property qualification and the Council of 400, institutions usually ascribed to Solon, are here treated as belonging to the period of Draco; the Draconian Council consisting of 401 members chosen by lot from the whole body of the citizens. From the Strategi and Hipparchi was required much the largest property qualification, 100 minæ against 10 demanded from the Archons, and these military officers could only be chosen from such as had legitimate children over ten years of age. These children were, apparently, handed over to the Prytanes to be kept as hostages for their fathers' good conduct during office. On its expiry the same Prytanes took the officers them-

* The Court of the King was in the *Βουκόλιον*. Hence Dr. Sandys has ingeniously proposed to emend a corrupt passage in Athenæus, p. 235, where *ἐκ τῆς βουκολίας* has been wrongly corrected to *ἐκ τῆς βουκολίας*, and absurdly translated *absque dolo*.

selves under their charge until their accounts should be passed, unless they could find bondsmen to take their place.* No one was allowed to hold any office a second time until every qualified person had sat once, a rule which greatly modifies the apparent irrationality of election by lot, which, with this proviso, really only determines the order in which the qualified persons shall hold office. Thus the people were admitted to a greatly increased share of power by Draco, but their condition was still miserable. Political reforms do not redress economic grievances. The comment with which the reforms of Draco are dismissed is significant, 'but their bodies were pledged for their debts, and the land was in the hands of a coterie.'

Hence a revolution, which ended in an appeal to Solon as arbitrator. He had already made himself eminent by his patriotic poems, in which he appealed to the classes to give up their oppression of the masses, and to the latter to refrain from violence. We find in Solon no tendency to encourage or palliate breach of the law by the masses, with a view to justify the invasion of the rights of the classes. Athens had already wrested back Salamis from the Megarians, stung by the trenchant elegiacs in which Solon wished he were a citizen of any state, however humble or insignificant, so that he might not hear the galling taunt that now dogged the name Athenian,—

'One of the Athenians this
Who surrendered Salamis!' †

He adopted the popular vehicle of elegiac, iambic, and trochaic verse to recommend his opinions to his countrymen at large, much as modern politicians publish signed articles in the monthly magazines, but apparently with greater success. The present treatise preserves for us some twenty new verses to be added to those collected in Bergk's '*Poetæ Lyrici Græci*.' Solon at once addressed himself to the relief of the economic distress which prevailed, by legalising the repudiation of all debts, a measure which he (euphemistically, says Plutarch) called the 'Disburthenment.' Some of his friends, catching some inkling of his intention, borrowed largely, and invested the borrowed money in land. 'This,' says the writer, 'gave rise to an attempt to blacken his character by representing that he had profited personally by the Disburthenment; but he was

* According to the ingenious suggestion of Mr. W. R. Paton, we read: τούτους δὲ διατηρεῖν τοὺς πρυτάνεις, καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἱπάρχους τοὺς ἔτους μέχρι εὐθυνῶν, μὴ ἐγγυητὰς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τέλους δεχομένους κ.τ.λ.

† Ἀττικὸς οὗτος ἀνὴρ τῶν Σαλαμιναφετῶν.

in other transactions so fair, that, though by tampering with the laws he could easily have made himself tyrant, he faced the animosity of both parties, and preferred the public good to his private aggrandizement; so it is not likely that for a mere trifle he would soil his fair name.'

We have, however, no mention of Plutarch's allegation that he was a loser by his own measure to the extent of five talents. The 'Disburthenment' was followed by the repeal of all Draco's laws except those relating to murder; but among *θεσμοὶ* our author cannot include political institutions such as the Council and the property qualification, for these certainly existed under Solon, and indeed are commonly supposed to have originated with him. Probably Solon altered the relation of these institutions to the rest of the constitution. Perhaps now for the first time the division into classes resting on a property qualification was brought into direct connexion with the franchise and eligibility to office. On this matter not only Plutarch but Harpocration appears to have used a redaction of the 'Constitution of Athens' different from that before us, for they both distinctly ascribe the origin of these institutions to Solon. Aristotle in the 'Politics' (ii. 12) tells us that Solon 'gave the people the irreducible minimum of political power, namely, the election of the magistrates and the right to call them to account on the expiry of their office.' It is proposed to elicit the same sentiment from the words of our treatise, 'he gave the lowest class, the Thetes, a share in the Dicasteries only,'* but to us it seems impossible to ascribe such a sense to the words used. Again, the appointment of Archons under Solon is here described as a combined process of election and sortition, the four tribes electing ten persons each, and nine being chosen by lot from the forty thus elected; now Aristotle says that Solon made no change in the election of magistrates. In primitive times, this tract tells us, the Archons were elected by the Areopagus. We have just referred to the passage in which Aristotle speaks of the right of electing the magistrates and of calling them to account as the minimum of political influence, and says that these powers were conferred on the people by Solon: here the writer summarizes the democratic features in the Solonian constitution as (1) the prohibition of lending money on the security of the person; (2) the right of access to the law courts; (3) the right of appeal to the Dicastery against the decisions of magistrates; and Mr. Kenyon endeavours to reconcile the doctrine of Aristotle and the writer of the treatise. But, though it be granted

* τοῖς δὲ τὸ θητικὸν τελούσιν ἐκκλησίας καὶ δικαστηρίων μετέδωκε μόνον (c. 7).
that

that the right of election is here omitted, because as a matter of fact under Draco the election of magistrates was in the hands of all who could furnish a military equipment, yet it is impossible to believe with the editor that the calling of magistrates to account (τὸ εὐθύνειν) is expressed or even implied in the words ἡ εἰς τὸ δικάσθηριον ἔφεσις. In our opinion the two summaries are in no point coincident, and the Dicasteries are here distinctly regarded as a Court of Appeal in the time of Solon. Our treatise confirms the opinion of Boeckh against that of Grote, that Solon reformed the system of weights and measures; the reform of the currency standard had the purely commercial aim of facilitating business transactions with the cities of Eubœa and Ionia, which used the Euboic standard.

Solon having so far succeeded in the furtherance of his political views, thought it prudent to retire from public life, and left Athens for ten years' foreign travel. Meantime the feud between the factions of the Plain, the Shore, and the Mountain, burned or smouldered at Athens. These local distinctions corresponded to a difference of classes, and hence became a basis for political divisions. The rich landlords of the plain were the old aristocracy, the shore was occupied by the well-to-do commercial classes, and the rough uplands were the home of the poor farmers. An attempt made by Damasias to grasp the tyranny in the year 581 failed, and led to the appointment of a Directory of Ten,—five Eupatridæ, three Geomori, and two Demiurgi,—which does not seem to have outlasted the year in which it was created. In Damasias (hitherto a mere name) we have a new notable added to Athenian history; the same may be said of Cedo and Rhino, of whom we afterwards read, and the tract somewhat brightens our picture of the Athenian Archinus and the Spartan Callibius.

The next twenty years were marked by incessant part warfare. The immediate results of the Solonian legislation are justly estimated by Mr. Kenyon in a note on c. 13:—

‘The reforms of Solon were very far from producing a peaceful settlement of affairs. Except for the four years immediately after his term of office, there was almost perpetual dissension until the establishment of the tyranny of Pisistratus; and that in time led immediately to the reforms of Cleisthenes. In fact, the Solonian Constitution, though rightly regarded as the foundation of the democracy of Athens, was not itself in satisfactory operation for more than a very few years. In this respect it may be compared with the constitutional crisis of the Great Rebellion in England. The principles for which the Parliament fought the King were not brought into actual practice until after a return to Stuart rule and a fresh revolution; and yet the struggle of the earlier years of the Long Parliament; and yet the struggle of the earlier years of the Long Parli-

ment, and the principles of Eliot and Pym, are rightly held to be the foundation of the modern British Constitution.'

The account of the establishment of Pisistratus in the Tyrannis is beset by serious difficulties. He is said to have owed his prominence to a campaign against Megara in which he took Nisæa. But if this was the war against Megara undertaken under the auspices of Solon, then the eminence of Pisistratus among Athenians was based on a victory achieved nearly forty years before, when he was a youth of eighteen, and he must have been fifty-eight years of age when he founded his dynasty. We must, therefore, assume that there must have been another campaign against Megara some thirty-five years later than the Solonian, though no account of it has survived elsewhere. But this is not the only difficulty. We read here (c. 14) that the periods, during which Pisistratus lived in exile, added together, make twenty-one years, which would leave only twelve for the actual enjoyment of power, for the two extreme dates 560 and 527 are certain, so that we know that thirty-three years intervened between his first accession to power and his death. Now we read in c. 17 that he ruled for nineteen years, and was in exile during the rest of the thirty-three, and in the 'Politics' (v. 12) that he was in actual possession of the Tyrannis for seventeen years. The account of his first restoration from exile adds nothing to that of Herodotus, except that Phya, whom he dressed up to represent Athena, was a flower-girl; but we have fuller details of his second exile and of his sojourn in the neighbourhood of Mount Pangæus, where he acquired wealth sufficient to raise an army, and to bring about his restoration. The story of the stratagem by which he deprived the people of their arms is amusing.* Pisistratus summoned a meeting of the people under arms in the Temple of the Dioscuri, and began to address them. He spoke low on purpose; and when the people complained that they could not hear, he invited them to follow him to the porch of the Acropolis, where they could hear better. They did so, and, while he harangued them, his emissaries carried off their arms, which they had left

* Polyænus tells the same tale: but his narrative does not dispose us to think that he had read our tract. A somewhat similar tale is told of Hippias by Thucydides, vi. 58. Our author (c. 18) expressly denies the truth of the Thucydidean account of the assassination of Hipparchus, and especially of the stratagem by which Hippias is said to have disarmed the people and discovered the conspirators. The whole narrative of Thucydides falls to the ground, if it is true that the practice of carrying arms at the Panathenæa belongs to a later age, as the treatise avers. It further states that the conspirators were numerous, Thucydides having expressly referred to the smallness of their number.

behind them, stacked according to custom. When he had intelligence that his orders had been carried out, he told the people what he had done, adding that they ought not to feel any surprise or annoyance: 'their business was to attend to their private affairs, and he would look after matters of state.' His policy was to keep the people busy, and not too well off. He imposed a tax of 10 per cent. on the produce of the land, about which an entertaining anecdote is related. One day, when Pisistratus was on one of those tours of inspection which he used to make through the country, he saw an old man digging hard in a very rocky soil. He stopped, and asked the old man what did his farm produce. 'Nothing,' he replied, 'except every variety of worry and ache, and of these I owe a tenth to Pisistratus.' The tyrant was so pleased at the industry and the independence of the old farmer, that he conferred on him a complete exemption from all taxes. It was this geniality of disposition, reminding us of Abraham Lincoln, which, in spite of the Athenian detestation of the very name of Tyrant, made Pisistratus popular, and gave to the period of his rule the name of the Golden Age, or the Good Old Time.* We learn that, besides his sons by his first wife, Hippias and Hipparchus, he had two sons, Iophon and Hegisistratus, surnamed Thessalus, by a second wife, Timonassa of Argos. Hegisistratus is mentioned by Herodotus, and Thessalus by Thucydides, but our author is the first authority for the fact that the two are one and the same individual. Further, he corrects the statement of Herodotus that Timonassa was the concubine of Pisistratus; his alliance with her is said to have brought about the treaty with Argos, and cannot therefore have been an illicit connexion.

The history of the Pisistratidæ presents some new features. Hippias is described as serious, while Hipparchus was devoted to pleasure and art, and filled his court with poets, Anacreon and Simonides among the rest. It was Thessalus, however, not Hipparchus, who by his folly and licentiousness brought about the exploit of Harmodius and Aristogiton. He it was (not Hipparchus, as Thucydides tells us) who insulted the sister of Harmodius, and drew on the Pisistratidæ the furious hatred of the people; such is the plain meaning of our text, unless we assume that there is a most unusual and unaccountable parenthesis. The conspirators succeeded only in killing Hipparchus, not Thessalus, which accounts for the phrase, 'they muddled the whole matter.'† Harmodius was at once cut down by the body-

* δ ἐπὶ Κρόνου βίος (c. 16).

† τὴν δὲ λην ἐλυμήναντο πρᾶξιν (c. 18).

guards,

guards, but Aristogiton was subjected to prolonged torture, under which he implicated in the plot, truly or falsely, many of the intimate friends of the tyrants. The description of his death is graphic:—

‘He could not get them to put him out of his agony, so, promising to disclose many new names, he called on Hippias to give him his hand as a token of good faith. When he got hold of the tyrant’s hand, he began to taunt him for his unnatural conduct in shaking hands with his brother’s murderer, and finally lashed Hippias into such a fury that he could no longer contain himself, but drew his sword and slew him.’

The hatred in which the rule of Hippias was held found expression in a fine *scolion*, beginning—

αἰᾶν Διψύδριον προδωσέταυρον,

in which an unsuccessful attempt on the part of the Alcmaeonidæ to establish a garrison against Hippias at Lipsydrium is glorified as an act of the highest heroism:—

‘Woe worth Lipsydrium, the faithless hold

That saved not from defeat those champions true:

Bold sons of Athens, sprung from sires as bold,*

They proved the aspiring blood from which their life they drew!’

Before this there had been another brilliant failure to dislodge Hippias. It is associated with the name of the otherwise unknown Cedo, who must have won a high place in the estimation of Athens, as his fame too is embalmed in a *scolion* or drinking song—

‘Here’s Cedo’s memory : may it never fade,

As long as to the brave our festal dues are paid.’

When Hippias was finally expelled by the help of Sparta in 510, the democracy was re-established. The Alcmaeonidæ had always held an intermediate policy, that of the Shore or the moderate oligarchs, between the extreme aristocracy of the Plain under Lycurgus, and the democracy of the Mountain with which Pisistratus had thrown in his lot. The Alcmaeonid Clisthenes now resolved to make a bid for the support of the democracy, and succeeded in securing a position from which the abortive *émeute* of Cleomenes and Isagoras was able to dislodge him only for a very brief space. The legislation of Clisthenes is referred to the year 508, and is made subsequent

* In the third line were read, ἀγαθούς τε καὶ εὐπατριδᾶν. Some slight change is requisite for the metre.

to the attempt of Isagoras and Cleomenes. Clisthenes broke up the old tribal divisions, and raised the number of the tribes to ten (and consequently that of the Council to five hundred), purposely choosing a number which was not a multiple of four, so that the new tribes might not be based on subdivisions of the old. By his deme-system he abolished the local factions, but we learn nothing new about his constitution except that he did not create the office of Strategus, which was as old as the period of Draco, and that under him the Archons were directly elected by the people in the Ecclesia. He is not in any way connected with any modification of the dicasteries.

We find the name of Xanthippus among the Athenian statesmen who suffered ostracism; and while this subject is under treatment, the name of Themistocles is suddenly introduced in connexion with his proposal to apply to the building of a fleet the money available from the newly-discovered mines at Laurium, or Maroneia, as they are here called from the name of a town in the neighbourhood. We read here of a law that an ostracised person must not live between the promontories of Scyllæum in Argolis and Geræstus in Eubœa. The text gives ἐντὸς Γεραίστου καὶ Σκυλλαίου κατοικεῖν, but we must read ἐκτὸς or μὴ ἐντὸς, for Themistocles when under ostracism lived in Argos, which is west of Scyllæum, and Hyperbolus in Samos, which is east of Geræstus. This would have been contrary to the law as described by Mr. Kenyon's reading, which indeed would have permitted an ostracised person to live at Athens.

We read that at a critical moment just before Salamis the Areopagus had come forward with a donation of money, which procured crews to man the fleet which saved Greece. Thus Athens was raised to a commanding position in Greece, and the Areopagus in Athens. The leading statesmen there were Aristides and Themistocles, to the former of whom our author attributes the greater importance. Alcibiades is not mentioned at all, and Pericles receives merely a passing notice. But we read much of Themistocles, of whose tortuous character and policy instances are given which are, perhaps, more striking than any of those already familiar to us in Thucydides, Herodotus, and Plutarch. He is closely associated with Ephialtes in the movements which led to the downfall of the Areopagus, which, according to the writer of the 'Constitution of Athens,' must be referred to some time in the year 462, and in which he assigns no part whatever to Pericles, though afterwards (c. 27) he speaks of him as having deprived that Court of some of its privileges. But the chronology of this
part

part of the treatise, which would make the date of the Periclean pre-eminence later than has been hitherto supposed, cannot be reconciled with that of Thucydides. Themistocles' flight took place during the investment of Naxos, which was reduced before the victory of Cimon at the Eurymedon, and accordingly the attack on the Areopagus must have been at least three years earlier, unless we are to remodel the chronology of Thucydides completely. The story, however, which is quite new (though it was evidently known to the writer of the argument to the 'Areopagitica' of Isocrates,* who quotes 'Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens'), runs thus:—Themistocles laboured under a charge of Medism which the Areopagus was investigating. He saw that his only chance lay in the destruction of that Court, and he determined to force the hand of Ephialtes, whom he knew to be eager for a revolution. Accordingly he denounced Ephialtes before the Areopagus, of which he was himself a member, and then warned Ephialtes that he was about to be arrested. Failing to convince him of the truth of his warning, and knowing well that the Areopagus were not prepared for so decided a step as his arrest, Themistocles resorted to a *ruse*. He managed to engage some members of the Court in conversation in the vicinity of the house of Ephialtes, and assumed an earnestness of demeanour which quite convinced the latter that he was indeed in imminent peril. Ephialtes fled for refuge to the altar, but, finding himself unmolested, he seems to have thought that his enemies were drawing back for a spring. Accordingly he concentrated all his efforts on the arraignment of the Areopagus before the Council of Five Hundred and the Ecclesia, and, aided by Themistocles, he finally succeeded. The characteristic craftiness, whereby Themistocles managed to keep up appearances with both sides until the moment came when he saw he could strike a decisive blow, is quite in accordance with his character as drawn by Plutarch, and we cannot believe that that most anecdotal of biographers would have omitted so apt a narrative if he had known it. Yet, as we have seen, there is good evidence that there was an edition of 'Aristotle on the Athenian Constitution' which related that anecdote, probably an edition different both from Plutarch's and from that which has recently come into our own hands.

Cimon and Pericles are dealt with very hastily. The latter is said to have instituted paid dicasteries. His fortune did not

* Yet some of his words appear to imply a slightly different version of the story; for instance, he refers Themistocles' action to his pecuniary embarrassment, not to the charge of Medism.

permit him to rival the private munificence of Cimon, so he determined to be lavish at the public expense, and to expend the public money on the dicasteries—a most unsympathetic review of the policy of the statesman whom Thucydides has made so commanding a figure in Athenian history. From the death of Pericles dates the rise of low demagogy, and the description of Cleon bawling abuse from the rostrum is quite in accordance with the pictures drawn by Thucydides and Aristophanes. The only statesmen amongst the successors of Pericles whom our author commends are Nicias, Thucydides, and Theramenes. Of the two former he says, 'Nearly every one acknowledges them to have been not only high-minded gentlemen but statesmen and patriots'; the latter he takes a second occasion to praise highly, though his own account of his career shows him to have been no more than an opportunist with aristocratic leanings.

We have a very full account of a constitution proposed under the rule of the Four Hundred after the crisis of 411. Indeed the disproportionate amplex of this portion of the narrative would lead us to conjecture that the writer had strong oligarchical sympathies, and wished to exaggerate the importance of the Four Hundred, or else that he had some special source of information on this very dull subject, and was anxious to make as much use of it as possible. As the proposed constitution never became an actuality, it is hard to see any other reason for the care with which he dwells on it. We do not find this false perspective in the genuine works of Aristotle.

The government of the Five Thousand, which rose under Theramenes and Aristocrates on the ruins of the oligarchy, elicits from the writer as from Thucydides terms of the warmest commendation. He tells us there was a subsequent restoration of the democracy, which may have taken place after the victory of Cyzicus in 410; but he is certainly mistaken when he refers to the trial of ten generals after Arginusæ: two were never put on their trial, two did not appear, and only six were tried. The statement made by a scholiast on Aristophanes ('Ran.' 1532), and disbelieved by Grote, that the Spartans made proposals of peace after Arginusæ, is confirmed by the present treatise; and the refusal of the Athenians to entertain these proposals is ascribed to the evil influence of Cleophon, who came drunk into the Ecclesia, and persuaded the people to insist on the surrender of her whole empire by Sparta, as the only condition of peace.

The history of the government of the Thirty set up by Lysander after Ægospotami throws some new light on its character. They repealed

repealed the law of Solon which annulled the will of a testator who could be shown to be of unsound mind or under undue influence. In this there is nothing which calls for reprobation. These provisions against incapacity and undue influence were reasonable in themselves, but they led to vexatious litigation, and did more harm than good, as may be gathered from some of the speeches of Isæus. The way in which they compassed the destruction of Theramenes shows the Thirty Tyrants rather as adroit evaders of the laws, who sought to give a constitutional appearance to their most unconstitutional acts, than as open violators of all law and custom, such as Xenophon describes. They induced the Council to sanction two laws, one giving the Thirty power of life and death over all persons not on the roll of the three thousand citizens which they were about to issue, a second declaring that no one could be placed on that roll who had helped in the demolition of the fort at Eëtionea (of which we now hear for the first time in the treatise) or had taken any part against the Four Hundred; 'in both which Theramenes had a hand, so the result was that he was outside the constitution, and they had full warrant for putting him to death,' which they immediately did. It was then, not at an earlier stage in the career of the Thirty (as Xenophon says), that they admitted into the Acropolis a Spartan garrison under Callibius.

The overthrow of the Thirty by Thrasybulus was followed first by the appointment of a Board of Ten who failed to realize the seriousness of the situation, and sought only to establish their own power. A second Board of Ten subsequently constituted were more successful. The moderation of Rhyno, another addition to the roll of Athenian worthies, and the tact of Archinus, worked wonders. All citizens who felt themselves unsafe at Athens were allowed to retire to Eleusis, and articles were drawn up between the secessionists and those who remained. The former were obliged, in order to secure their rights, to enter their names on a roll before a certain day. Archinus succeeded in curtailing without any notice the period within which the enrolment might be made, and thus kept in Athens perforce several citizens who intended to secede to Eleusis, but had put off their enrolment with that tendency to procrastination 'which is such a common trait in human nature.' This is a remark somewhat in the manner of Aristotle; two other such reflections may be noticed, one when the writer speaks of 'the characteristic clemency of a democracy' (p. 59), and the other when he observes (p. 79) that 'though a mob can be cajoled easily enough, yet it is apt to vent its hatred afterwards on those who have led it into wrong doing.'

So children rarely love and never trust those who spoil them by undue indulgence.

Two years afterwards the secessionists at Eleusis were received back into the community of Athenians, and this was the last change in the constitution of Athens. Of these changes eleven are enumerated in the treatise, so that there existed on the whole twelve constitutions in Athens, namely:—(1) The original mythical establishment under Ion, (2) Theseus, (3) Draco, (4) Solon, (5) Pisistratus, (6) Clisthenes, (7) Areopagus, (8) Aristides and Ephialtes, (9) the Four Hundred, (10) the restoration of the Democracy after Cyzicus, (11) the Thirty and the two Boards of Ten, (12) the final restoration of the Democracy. The name of Pericles has no place in the list of the successive statesmen who left their mark on the constitution.

The remainder of the 'Constitution of Athens' deals solely with the machinery of the State, and completely avoids all appeals to principles, never even approaching that tendency to generalization which is so marked a feature in the 'Politics' of Aristotle. Yet it is by no means without interest for the modern reader. Individualists will be surprised to find how little favour their views found in the eyes of ancient Athens, and how the private life of every Athenian was fenced about with statutes restricting his liberty of action on every side. One cannot fail to be struck by the minuteness and completeness of the legislation which provided for the relief of helpless and disabled paupers and the rejection of disqualified applicants for charity, for the inspection of weights and measures and the prevention of adulteration, and for the supervision of horses by the establishment of a regular corps of veterinary surgeons, whose duty it was to affix certain marks to disqualified animals, the mark apparently being the figure of a circle stamped on the animal's jaw. Furthermore, the city traffic was under strict supervision, and there were statutes compelling the removal of nuisances from public thoroughfares, and forbidding structures which would impede the free use of the streets. Such structures as Temple Bar, stretching across the street, are expressly prohibited, and it is clear that sky-signs would not have been tolerated. In connexion with this subject we learn that the Board which had charge of the street traffic were bound to see that no householder had a hall-door opening on the street, a provision which throws light on a question which presents itself to the readers of Menander, Plautus, and Terence. The Grammarians, as well as Plutarch, tell us that in Greek cities
the

the doors opened outwards, and that persons about to leave the house were in the habit of rapping on the inside of the door, to warn passers-by that some one was coming out. Of late, this statement has been treated by Becker, Guhl and Koner, and others as a mere figment of the Grammarians, and we are taught that such phrases as ἡ θύρᾳ ψοφεῖ and *crepuerunt fores* refer only to the noise made by the door in opening. We do indeed read of water being poured on the hinge (or rather wooden pivot) on which the door moved, when the inmate of the house wished to conceal his egress, which would be in favour of the modern view. But on the other hand we have in this passage distinct evidence that the doors of private houses did at all events, at one time, open outwards. If, however, such a method of constructing doors was forbidden by law, it can hardly have been common in the time of Menander. We may perhaps infer that Menander introduced into his plays an archaic and disused practice, and was followed by his imitators. The passage in our tract, so far as it goes, discredits the modern interpretation,* which indeed somewhat rashly set aside the distinct evidence of Plutarch and the Grammarians.

The same Board had the strange duty of seeing that female dancers and flute-players should not receive more than two drachmas as pay for their services at entertainments; and if two or more entertainers were anxious to secure the same girl, it was the duty of the Board to see that the question should be decided by lot. The forms, whereby the youthful Athenian on coming of age, when he was called Ephebus, was admitted to his place in the State, are given at great length, and show how completely the community dominated the individual, and how the interference with private liberty was carried to the verge of socialism. The functions of the Ecclesia, the Council, and the various magistrates, are dwelt on with wearisome detail. It appears that in early times the Council had a summary jurisdiction over the property, liberty, and life of the citizens, but that it lost this power on the occasion of the arrest of one Lysimachus, whose cause was taken up by one Eumelides. But as we know nothing more about either of these persons, the whole statement must await confirmation. It also had the selection of plans for public buildings, but was afterwards deprived of this privilege for a corrupt use of the power. So also they were accused of jobbery in the appointment of the

* It is to be observed that *θύρᾳ* generally means 'windows,' not 'doors,' but the latter meaning is quite natural, and is found in Plato and Plutarch; moreover it is incredible that it should have been against the law to open windows looking on the street.

girls chosen to weave the peplos to be carried in the great Panathenaic festival, under the supervision of two maidens of high family called ἀρρηφόροι. Both these privileges were in consequence transferred from the Council to a jury chosen by lot.

It is interesting to learn that, while the lot was used for the appointment of the other magistrates, Athens resorted to election in the case of the superintendents of the commissariat for the army, of the theoric fund, and of the water supply. A piece of evidence bearing on a very curious statement about the Areopagus has been elicited from a corrupt passage in c. 57, where we have the half-obliterated reading δικάζο[υσι] . . . αἰ[σ]ο. We can testify ourselves that in the facsimile at least nothing more than this can be read; indeed we cannot ourselves make out the *α*. Dr. Sandys, the public Orator of Cambridge, has made the certain emendation δικάζουσι σκοταῖοι, quoting the passage in Lucian's 'Hermotimus' (c. 64), which says that the Areopagus in some cases held their court at night, that they might not be able to see the speakers on either side, but only to hear their arguments. Thus the learning and ingenuity of a scholar of our own day have elicited from the newly-discovered document a strong proof of the literal truth of a statement which has hitherto been regarded as being merely one of Lucian's jokes.

An interesting passage (c. 52) saves the reputation of Athenian legislators. A fragment from an ancient lexicographer, apparently founded on a curious mistranslation of Pollux, tells us that it was the duty of 'the Eleven' to keep watch and ward over persons apprehended on charges of murder, robbery, and the like, and that, further, they were empowered to execute at once such prisoners as confessed their guilt, but were bound to reserve for trial those who pleaded 'not guilty.' Such a law, the effect of which would be that no one would ever suffer death at the hands of the Eleven except perhaps some harmless lunatic, might prevail perhaps in the realm of a Queen of Wonderland or Mr. Gilbert's Mikado, but did not seem characteristic of the Attic mind at any period of its history. We now find that the condition under which death could be summarily inflicted, was not that the prisoners should *confess* their guilt, but that the Eleven should *agree* in thinking the summary process requisite. The word used (ὁμολογεῖν), meaning both 'to confess' and 'to agree,' imported an ambiguity into a passage of Pollux, on which apparently the lexicographer based his note. It is easy to believe that there may have been occasions on which it was quite requisite to execute at once a murderer or robber whose guilt seemed clear to all the Eleven without

without exception, and whose rescue might perhaps have been successfully attempted by powerful partisans. The editor strangely seems to take the passage in our tract in the whimsical sense of the fragment from the lexicon. The meaning is quite clear: the Eleven are to put to death robbers, murderers, and such like, 'if they are unanimous, but if there is any difference of opinion they are to bring them to trial.'* We cannot help reflecting on the many dangers which beset the transmission of historical knowledge from the ancient world. The mere chance, that an ambiguous word was used in recording an actual fact, has given rise to an almost ludicrous error, which has had to wait about sixteen centuries for correction, if we reckon from the time of Pollux. And yet the blunder did not imply at all abnormal stupidity on the part of the lexicographer, merely the choice of the wrong one of two equally common meanings of a Greek verb.

The last chapter of the tract (c. 63) takes up the subject of the procedure in the law courts, and when he had written it the fourth scribe had evidently reached the end of his task, which is resumed by the third hand who had already written part of the foregoing MS. He took an earlier portion of the farm-bailiff's accounts as the vehicle of his MS., but the condition in which this portion of the papyrus has survived makes continuous decipherment hopeless.

Mr. Kenyon, in the end of his Introduction, points out that we had no right to look for a discussion of the spirit and principles of the Athenian Constitution in a work which professes only to be a collection of facts; and moreover that the Greeks had not that genius for organization nor that tenderness for old formulas which have marked the Romans and the English. Consequently the influence of their example on the modern world has been very slight. Yet he thinks that for the English, especially, the concrete lessons which may be gathered from the study of the fortunes of a democracy ought to have an interest:—

'The Athenian Ecclesia was responsible to no other power or person, and it had no other interests to consider except its own; and though no modern nation can have a sovereign assembly which includes every adult man in the community, yet a Parliament whose members are delegates or mouthpieces of their constituencies, and not representatives with independent judgments, embodies a form of

* ἂν μὲν ὁμολογῶσι... ἂν δ' ἀμφισβητῶσι. Pollux, viii. 102, has εἰ μὲν ὁμολογοῖεν θανατώσοντες, εἰ δὲ μὴ εἰσάγοντες εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. The words of the lexicographer are ὁμολογοῦντας μὲν ἀποκτινύνουσιν, ἀντιλέγοντας δὲ (if they object!) εἰσάγουσιν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον.—'Lexica Segueriana,' p. 310, 14.

democracy which is sufficiently parallel with that of Athens to make it worth while to study the history of that State, and the observations thereupon of so acute a critic as Aristotle. This is not the place to discuss the conclusions which may be derived from it. Grote has drawn one series of judgments from it; other critics have drawn others of a different character. The only point which concerns us here is that the evidence of Aristotle on such a matter is no unimportant addition to our knowledge of the subject.'

This is very true: and it brings us face to face with an enquiry which, as we have said, is, for scholars at least, the most important and interesting of those which the treatise suggests, —the enquiry whether this is really likely to be the work of Aristotle, or even of his age.

The hypothesis of a modern forgery having been shown to be quite groundless, the next question concerning authorship is, whether the treatise before us is by Aristotle, or by a pupil or immediate successor, or by a later historian writing some time in the last two centuries before Christ, or even in the first century of the Christian era. The internal evidence, as will afterwards be seen, does not negative even the last hypothesis. Mr. Kenyon would naturally wish to believe the work to be the celebrated tract of Aristotle. It is a singular distinction to be the editor of an *editio princeps* of a work of Aristotle. We are quite sure, however, that his expressed opinion in favour of Aristotelian authorship is the result of a careful estimate of the evidence as it presented itself to him, and we are ready to accord much weight to his opinion. Those portions of his task as editor, which called for insight into complicated questions in history and lucid review of evidence, have been adequately executed. Such faults as may be found in his editing are not connected with matters of history. However, we cannot share his opinion that the treatise before us is the work of Aristotle.

The question as to the Aristotelian canon—as to what may be the undoubted works of Aristotle—is a very complicated one, and we should not think of forcing a discussion of it on readers of this Review. Those who wish to see how thorny it is may consult the great work of Grote on Aristotle. Even the far simpler enquiry, how far the authenticity of a work ascribed to Aristotle may be decided by considerations of style, is far more difficult than the same question concerning Plato or Cicero. For we know broadly the salient features of the style of Plato and Cicero, while as regards Aristotle we are puzzled by a curious discrepancy on the part of the best judges in referring to
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the way in which his writings have impressed them. Cicero, an undoubted authority, uses expressions about it which make us rub our eyes and ask ourselves, are we dreaming? The words 'flumen orationis aureum' * seem about the most inappropriate which could be chosen to represent to us the unadorned phrases in which the great Stagirite was wont to throw a flood of drierst keenest light on the most profound questions in ethics, logics, and politics. Again we read of his 'orationis ornamenta,' † of his 'dicendi incredibilis quædam cum copia tum etiam suavitas,' ‡ and of 'Aristotelia pigmenta.' § Now these are by no means the qualities which we look for in his style. We expect the shrewd and concisely expressed suggestion of genius, unilluminated by a ray of fancy, unspoiled by an attempt at brilliancy, but often disclosing a mind two thousand years ahead of its contemporaries, and striking us by unmistakable anticipations of views which began to be propounded some twenty centuries after the philosopher was dead. Hence it has been suggested that in some of his works lost to us, especially his dialogues, he set free a fancy which was curbed in his more formal essays. But is this view tenable? Then, 'le style ce n'est pas l'homme.' Could Cousin write sometimes like Kant, and Butler occasionally like Bossuet? We think not, and we are disposed to believe that we have in Aristotle a fountain of light which has come to us through many a distorting medium, sometimes making our eyes ache with its dry frosty clearness, and sometimes (in the lost works which Cicero read) displaying the rainbow hues of imagination. These last have certainly not shone on us, and it may be doubted (in view of what we do know about the successors of Aristotle) whether Cicero did not mistake tinsel for gold when he spoke of the 'flumen orationis aureum;' but this is certain, that Cicero read as the works of Aristotle pieces which he described in terms which we should not think of applying to our Aristotle.

These considerations fall in very aptly with a theory, which does not depend on them alone, that many of the great treatises of Aristotle have been preserved by means of notes taken at his lectures by his pupils, and have been rescued from the fate which would naturally attend such a vehicle of transmission, only by the amazing originality of the master's genius, and the generally high intellectual level of the pupils. If this theory could be accepted as tenable—and it has found many able and authoritative supporters—we should not be surprised to find that

* 'Acad.' ii. 38, § 119.

‡ 'Topica,' i. 3.

† 'Fin.' i. 5, § 14.

§ 'Epp. ad Att.' ii. 1, § 1.

the celebrated treatise on the Athenian Constitution had assumed even half-a-dozen different forms within a hundred years after the death of the master. This would account for a great many things which puzzle us in the tract now under consideration. The first and most remarkable is that it seems certain that Plutarch had not read this particular edition of the 'Constitution of Athens.' In his 'Life of Solon,' Plutarch only once mentions Aristotle by name, and then it is to make him an authority for an incident in the career of Solon which he, Plutarch, does not believe, but for which he quotes the evidence of 'Aristotle the philosopher'—the statement that Solon desired that after his death his ashes should be scattered round Salamis. There is no such statement in the 'Constitution of Athens' which has just been published. This, however, is not at all decisive, for 'Aristotle the philosopher' might have recorded the anecdote elsewhere; but what shall we say of the new and remarkable instances of the versatility (to use a euphemism) of Themistocles which the *editio princeps* affords us? Is it credible that Plutarch would have omitted all mention of a narrative so striking in itself, and so eminently suited to his vivid way of portraying character, if he had for it the authority of Aristotle the philosopher, whom he is glad to quote even when he differs from him? The conclusion is irresistible that Plutarch had never read the work before us. But he had certainly read some treatise ascribed to Aristotle on the 'Athenian Constitution'; therefore there must have been other editions of the 'Athenian Constitution' circulating under the name of Aristotle beside the one which has so recently come into our hands. If so, there may have been many recensions, one issued perhaps in each succeeding generation, each introducing fresh knowledge acquired on the subjects treated in the tract, but each carefully avoiding the pursuit of the subject beyond the time of Aristotle, under whose name it was issued; and some of these might have been even two hundred years posterior to Aristotle.

Such, we are strongly disposed to believe, is the present treatise. The style is neither that of Aristotle as we know him, nor that of Aristotle as he seems to have been known to Cicero, whose Aristotle no doubt included many works really written by his pupils and successors. It is between both, and far removed from each. We have already pointed out a few reflections in the treatise which have caught something of the manner of the master, but they have not his originality nor his profundity. The style is easy and simple, far from striking, and sometimes (as for instance in the description of the
attack

attack of Themistocles and Ephialtes on the Areopagus) very bald and feeble; and the vocabulary of this short tract makes many additions, and quite needless additions, to the already enormous vocabulary of Aristotle. The language is redolent of the epoch of Diodorus Siculus. Mr. Kenyon has endeavoured to prove that the year 307 must be regarded as the latest limit of its composition, because the writer speaks of the Athens of his own time as having only ten tribes, whereas the number was raised to twelve in that year. Another ingenious critic would make the tract prior to 325, because in that year the Athenians began to build quinqueremes, while the tract only mentions triremes and quadriremes. But minute considerations of this kind are of little moment when weighed against the counter-evidence supplied by the whole character of the style and diction. Each successive *rédacteur* would be careful to preserve in his edition the appearance of Aristotelian authorship, and would be on his guard, so far as his erudition served him, not to introduce anachronisms which would betray a post-Aristotelian origin. The editors of these successive recensions of a supposed tract of Aristotle did not trouble themselves to try to achieve any imitation of his style, or even to secure congruity with his opinions as expressed in his other works, but were satisfied if they could avoid the mention of institutions which would distinctly disprove the Aristotelian authorship. In the same way a literary man of our own time, in trying to pass off an essay of his own as the work of Hallam, might not have the ability to produce a good imitation of his style, or the learning to avoid some conflict with his opinions, but certainly he would be intelligent enough not to mention political phenomena which have appeared since Hallam's time, such as the Caucus, the 'one man one vote' agitation, or the cry for the taxation of ground-rents.

An imposing array of positive proofs can be drawn from the language of the treatise that it was not written before the century preceding the Christian era. These can be disregarded only on the theory that the MS. is vitiated throughout by the errors of scribes who introduced into it the literary mannerisms of their own time. Such a hypothesis has never been applied to the criticism of the remains of antiquity. If applied, it would render all literary criticism based on style irrelevant, and, if pushed far enough, it might prove the genuineness of the letters of Phalaris. We have only to alter the dialect throughout, and to regard as adscripts [those passages which Bentley showed to refer to institutions ages posterior to Phalaris, and we have a set of letters which might have been written by the Sicilian tyrant.

tyrant. Nay, by a consistent remodelling of the spelling and phraseology we might show that Her Majesty's 'Tour in the Highlands' was by James I. The changes required for these feats would certainly be far more sweeping than those demanded to bring the present treatise into conformity with Aristotelian usage; but the alterations requisite for the latter purpose would be so great to justify fully the statement, that it would require to be virtually rewritten.

Of the proofs drawn from diction we will only give the most striking. A list of post-Aristotelian words and phrases, including many beside those which we had already noticed, and which must have been observed by every student of Aristotle, is given by the Editor of the 'Classical Review' in the March number; in it are most of the following:—

P. 14, l. 2, *ἐλεγεία*, 'a poem in elegiac verse'; the form *ἐλεγεία* is found in Plutarch and Strabo, but not in early writers, who use only *ἐλεγεῖον*. In the same page *φύσει* (which Mr. Kenyon now recognizes as the right reading) is employed in the non-Aristotelian sense of 'birth' (noble by birth), and is so used again in p. 48, l. 10.

P. 16, l. 4, *παραστρατηγεῖν*, 'to out-general'; Plutarch and Dionysius Halicarnasseus use it in the sense of 'to interfere with the General.'

P. 17, l. 4, *καταφατίζειν*, 'to declare publicly' (Plutarch).

P. 20, l. 8, *ζευγίσιον*, 'rating of Zeugitæ' (Pollux).

P. 32, l. 6, *μεμψιμοιρία*, 'fault-finding' (Lucian).

P. 36, l. 7, *προσκοσμεῖσθαι*, 'to be ranged on the same side with.' Plutarch and Josephus have *προσκοσμεῖν*, but in the sense of 'to adorn further.'

P. 36, l. 10, *διαφημισμός*, 'a proclamation,' formed from *διαφημίζω*, which is used by Dionysius Hal.

P. 65, l. 7, *ἐξαπορεῖν*, 'to be in great want' (Polybius, Diodorus, Dionysius Hal.).

P. 90, l. 11, *συναρέσκεσθαι*, 'to be pleased with' (Sextus Empiricus).

P. 95, l. 1, *μανιᾶν*, 'to be mad' (Josephus).

P. 111, l. 7, *ἡμέρα ἀφέσιμος*, 'a holiday' (Aristides).

P. 117, l. 1, *εὐσημία*, 'a favourable state of the auspices,' used by Hippocrates in the sense of 'a good prognostic.'

P. 121, l. 3, *ἐπιστόλιον*, used in Plutarch and other late writers for 'architrave;' here either 'a column' (of accounts), or a mistake for *ἐπιστόλιον*, a late diminutive of *ἐπιστολή*.

P. 135, l. ult., *ἐκθυμα*, 'a sin-offering,' used by Hippocrates in the sense of 'a pustule.'

Here

Here are half-a-dozen phrases and constructions which seem to point to a period long post-Aristotelian:—

P. 33, l. 5, ἀρχαίαν ἐποίησαν, possibly a translation of the Latin *antiquare*.

P. 65, l. 4, οὐδενὶ δόγματι λαβοῦσα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, 'having obtained the supremacy without any decree.'

P. 76, l. 9, ἡττάτο δίδοναι, 'he was not equal to giving.'

P. 100, l. 4, ἐπὶ πέρας ἤγαγε τὴν εἰρήνην, 'he concluded the peace.'

P. 103, l. ult., οὐχ οἶον . . . ἀλλὰ καί, not found before Polybius, and condemned by Phrynichus.

P. 109, l. penult., πράγμασι συμμίγνυσθαι, 'to be mixed up in affairs.'

To these may be added the use of εἰάν for the conditional particle ἂν in pp. 84, 87, 140, and the utterly post-classical apostrophising of the reader in διαγνῶθι, 'observe,' p. 29, l. 12. Both these usages are certainly in the facsimile; εἰάν is quite clear, and διαγνῶθι certainly seems to be the reading; δι- is certain, and -ῶθι nearly so; at all events, δὴ ἄλλοθι, δὴ ἑτέρῳθι, the ingenious emendations proposed, are not in the facsimile. The reading seems to be διαγνῶθι ὅπου λέγει περὶ, 'observe where he speaks about,*' and the usage is quite that of διασκόπει in Plutarch ('Solon,' xix.), where he addresses the reader and says, 'However, turn over the question in your own mind.' The word ὅρα, 'observe,' is constantly so used by late writers.

We have already given reasons for believing that Plutarch had not read the particular edition of the 'Constitution of Athens' which is now in our hands. This conviction will be strengthened by a comparison of the places in which the same anecdote is told by the two writers. The shrewd comment of Solon on the request of Pisistratus for a body-guard, that he (Solon) was wiser than those who did not see the design of the tyrant and braver than those who seeing it held their peace, is given by both, but there is not a word in the narrative of Plutarch to suggest that he derived the anecdote from our treatise. On the other hand, Ælian (viii. 16) gives the same tale in very similar language, which would quite justify the theory that he had before him the very same text which has just now been published. In telling the story how Pisistratus inflicted wounds on himself, and persuaded the people that he

* It may be observed that even διαγνῶθι ποῦ, for 'observe where,' may be paralleled in post-classical Greek; cp. the title of a work of Lucian, πῶς δεῖ συγγράφειν, quomodo historia conscribenda sit.

had received them from his political opponents, our treatise has the same participle, *κατατραυματίσας*, which Diodorus Siculus uses in telling the same tale; there is no coincidence of expression in Plutarch, whose account seems to be derived from another source.

To these evidences for the existence of various recensions of a work used by many subsequent writers on politics, the following considerations should be added. There is no early authority for the existence of a work called *Πολιτεῖαι* by Aristotle. The passage of Polybius referred to by Mr. Kenyon (Intro. p. xviii.), as containing an allusion by Timæus to Aristotle's *Πολιτεῖαι*, does not really mention such a work; it only tells us that Aristotle wrote a work about the Locrian constitution, and was criticised by Timæus, but does not tell us what work of Aristotle was so criticised. Hence it is possible that there never was an Aristotelian archetype, but that the different editions of the tract were different efforts to produce something which Aristotle might have written. We are, however, disposed to believe that there was an original work by Aristotle himself. Some of the fragments which quote the 'Constitution of Athens by Aristotle' give a statement distinctly different from the teaching of our text. Zenobius tells us that 'Aristotle in the Constitution of Athens' related how Callicrates had increased inordinately the pay of the dicasts, and that hence arose a proverb *ὑπὲρ τὰ Καλλικράτους*, 'to out-Callicrates Callicrates,' which denoted unreasonable excess. The account of Callicrates in our treatise contains no such statement nor anything like it. The scholiast on Aristophanes ('Vesp.' 502) says that Aristotle ascribed to the dynasty of the Pisistratidæ a duration of forty-one years; here 'Aristotle' distinctly states that it lasted forty-nine. Heraclides Ponticus, a pupil of Aristotle, wrote a work called *περὶ Πολιτειῶν*, which is admitted to have been a compilation from the works of his master, and which in some cases preserves statements found elsewhere only in the tract before us, yet he did not profess to give us Aristotle's 'Constitution of Athens,' but only a work based on Aristotle. Probably it differed from many other similar essays only in the fact that it did not claim Aristotelian authorship.

While we have nothing but congratulations and praise for the skill and diligence with which an extremely difficult MS. has been deciphered, and while we recognize as really valuable the judgment which has been brought to bear on the historical materials presented, we cannot but express regret at the lack of scholarship which the edition betrays. Some of the grosser
errors

errors of the first edition have been corrected in a list of errata prefixed to the second edition; others have been silently corrected in the text. For instance, δίδως, which was supplied in the first edition as the present participle of δίδωμι on p. 44, is now silently printed δίδους: in the same way the Editor has treated ὀλιγαρχίαν ἐπεθύμουν, p. 93; οἵτινες δοκῶσι, p. 122; ὀχέτους μετεώρας, p. 125; εἰ θέλωσιν, p. 142. But others nearly as bad still survive: we still have [τῶν ἀρεσκο]μένων on p. 44, as if ἀρέσκεσθαι could mean 'to be pleasing' in Attic prose; we have ὁ ἐν ἀγορᾷ σῖτος ἀργὸς for ἀργὸς σῖτος, p. 127; ἐπιμελείσθαι ὅπως πωλῆται... χρήσονται, p. 126; and ἐχομένους for ἔχοντας on p. 125, in the very next line to that in which μετεώρας is silently corrected to μετεώρους: in correcting the wrong gender, why did not the Editor remove a shocking solecism in the next line? On p. 97 κατασκεύασσι is of course a misprint; it is as yet uncorrected. The second edition still contains very bad mistakes, for which the Editor now owns that he, not the codex, is responsible. On p. 16 we have μέμνηκε, on p. 66 Τιμοσθένου, on p. 100 Εὐκλείδους, on p. 101 πρὶν ἀπογράφηται, and on p. 110 ἐπὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν, though in each case, as Mr. Kenyon now ingenuously confesses, the codex had the grammatical form, μέμνηται, Τιμοσθένους, Εὐκλείδου, πρὶν ἂν ἀπογράφηται, and ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν. In filling up undecipherable *lacunæ* words are supplied which are grammatically incompatible with the words which can be read. Thus we find θέλωσιν supplied after εἰ, and ἂν omitted after πρὶν. It is hard to conceive how any one on reading καὶ κοινῇ (p. 103) should have failed to decipher words so naturally suggested to the mind as καὶ ἰδίᾳ, and should have printed instead καρδίᾳ, which is absolutely nonsense. Again, ὅτι χρήσεται, on p. 63, and τῷ πολέμῳ, on p. 146, are quite unmeaning; while by printing ὅ τι and τῷ, which are no changes at all as far as the MS. is concerned, we gain a perfect sense.

We are, however, under such deep obligations to the authorities of the British Museum, that we are unwilling to judge too harshly these defects. They have been the occasion of bringing out some fine scholarship, and showing that England can still hold the great position she has won in the art of brilliant and certain emendation. We have already mentioned δικάζουσι σκοταῖοι (p. 145), the admirable conjecture of Dr. Sandys. It would be a pleasure to record here, if space permitted, the many excellent suggestions which have been made by various scholars, by Wyse, Richards, the two Mayors, Bywater, Jackson, Rutherford, and many others, since the publication of the

the tract. We have, however, already given reasons for the belief that the treatise is, in parts at least, of an age considerably later than the Aristotelian epoch, that post-classical usages are interwoven into the very warp and woof of it, and that to emend it into strict accordance with the Greek of Aristotle's age would be almost equivalent to rewriting the work. Further, we are disposed to think that even after all the violations of classical usage had been pruned away, not even then would the essay produce on a judicious reader with an ear for style the impression of being the work of Aristotle, or even of one of his immediate successors; and that wholesale emendation might do more harm than good by disguising from us the real character of an essay which, though ancient and full of interest and instruction, does not seem to have emanated from Aristotle, nor from any of the pupils whom he taught in person.

ART. IV.—*Fortification: its past Achievements, present Development, and future Progress.* By Major G. Sydenham Clarke, C.M.G., Royal Engineers. London, 1890.

MAJOR CLARKE has the courage of his opinions. His views on the theory and practice of fortification differ in many important respects from those taught in the schools and maintained by a large proportion of his brother officers; and he has said so in language which some have denounced as dogmatic, and more have thought to be irritating. Controversial, he assuredly is; and in supporting his thesis, he has not always confined himself to the gravity of argument and dignity of demeanour which are commonly assumed to be the concomitants of scientific discussion. Sarcasm, irony, and ridicule, are pressed into his service as opportunity offers, and are wielded with an aptitude and dexterity which seem to belong to the profession of attack rather than to that of defence. Among military engineers, of all ages and all countries, there has been a certain tendency to follow in the gradually deepening ruts of established usage, to substitute authority for common sense, and the lessons of the schools for practical requirements. Major Clarke is an engineer; but no one is more keenly sensible of the existence of this tendency; he feels it as a personal injury, and he lays himself out to demolish it. Of course he will not succeed; he may very probably bring about a complete revolution in the art, and we believe he has gone far towards rendering 'monumental' structures impossible for some time to come, at least in this country; but we fear that at the best he will only introduce a new pedantry, with new fetishes. This is in the nature of things; but it is far indeed from being what Major Clarke proposes. His contention, throughout, is that the school theory of fortification is erroneous, not because it is taught in the schools, but because it aims at applying fixed methods rather than principles; and that thus permanent fortifications, on the most elaborate system, of the most approved geometrical trace, and with an intricacy of design greater than that of Rosamond's bower, have frequently given less favourable results than the roughest earthworks hastily thrown up to meet the requirements of the moment, and with primary reference to tactical principles. By implication, indeed, though not in exact words, he seems to say that, outside very narrow limits, permanent fortification is a mistake; for permanent fortification has almost necessarily some theoretical object in view, some fancy to illustrate, some idea to exemplify, which may, but
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more frequently may not, be in accordance with the true scientific principles, the principles of tactics, by which alone the defence should be ordered. 'Tactical principles and human nature are,' he urges, 'practically the same in all ages, and in them alone can a solid basis be found for systems of fortification.'

On this text Major Clarke enlarges through the greater part of his volume, with a wealth of historical illustration which would be still more convincing than it actually is, if we did not sometimes feel a doubt as to whether the facts are not treated in the manner suggested by Mr. Froude's celebrated comparison of history to a child's letter box, out of which, by a proper selection, any wished-for word may be formed. Among other such instances, we may mention the siege of Belfort by the Germans in 1870-1, which Major Clarke adduces as a proof of 'the utter futility of an *enceinte* as a practical retrenchment.' This 'stupendous *enceinte*,' he says, 'a veritable triumph of the draughtsman's art,' was 'defended by two rough and ready redoubts, Les Perches.' The capture of these involved the surrender of Belfort; they were 'turned into a formidable artillery position, and the *enceinte* and citadel did not await the opening of fire.' From which, he argues, it follows that 'no *enceinte* can now hope to offer any further resistance on its own account.' Abstract propositions of this nature are always open to a suspicion of exaggeration, and this one is not yet generally accepted; but, true or false, it is not a legitimate deduction from the circumstances of the fall of Belfort as narrated, which prove only that the design of this particular *enceinte*, dominated by these particular heights, was faulty. It is quite possible to conceive an *enceinte* not so dominated. But in fact, the fall of Belfort is no illustration of the point, one way or another. The *enceinte* and citadel did, indeed, surrender eight days after the fall of the Perches, not because they were indefensible—for that was never proved—but in consequence of orders from the central government, on the signing of the preliminaries of peace.

Other instances of similar want of precision might easily be pointed out. In themselves, they are not of much importance, but they must be considered as weakening the conclusions which are based on them, and which it was quite unnecessary to bolster up by doubtful evidence. It will not be questioned that elaborate defences, prepared at leisure, have often disappointed expectations, and that improvised works have obtained most marked successes; but in discussing their relative inferiority or superiority, it ought not to be ignored that exact comparison

parison is commonly impossible, by reason of some essential difference of conditions. An entrenched position held by an army numerically strong, and with open communications, cannot be properly compared with an isolated fortress held by a garrison of a few thousand men; nor can it be urged that the earthworks of Torres Vedras, Sebastopol, or Richmond, were superior to permanent fortifications, until it is shown that permanent fortifications have failed under fairly equal conditions; but it is not to be denied that these earthworks answered the required purpose as well as any permanent fortifications could have done; though, at Sebastopol, their construction in presence of the enemy was attended with great difficulty and very serious loss of men. So also at Plevna, which probably stands out as the strongest instance in all time of the defence of a position by improvised works, works of the simplest kind, but which, under the modern conditions of breech-loading small-arms, could be reduced only by blockade, after the assailants had been repeatedly beaten back, with most terrible slaughter. But the defenders of these works, though very inferior in number to the allies, were, on the other hand, far superior to the strongest garrison for which a fortress was ever constructed; and with many and excessive differences, the position of the Turks at Plevna seems analogous to that of the French at Malplaquet, rather than at Tournay or Lisle.

Of sieges, rightly so called, those of Silistria in 1854 and of Kars in 1855 are the best known, and the most often referred to as examples of the intrinsic superiority of 'rough and ready' fortifications; and Major Clarke is inclined to accept them as such, even whilst admitting the importance of the presence of the English officers. He says:

'The successful defence of Silistria, and of Arab Tabia in particular, was mainly due to Captains Nasmyth and Butler; but the whole operation well illustrates the difference between the teaching of theory and that of war. A town subject to bombardment throughout the siege; six detached forts of simple design unconnected by trenches; one advanced work (Arab Tabia) open at the gorge and having a ditch 6 feet 9 inches deep, not palisaded; a motley garrison of about 12,000 men, subsequently reinforced by some Bashi-Bazouks—these were the conditions under which an army of 60,000 men was completely repulsed, and the wave of Russian invasion hopelessly broken.'

Similarly at Kars:

'The Turkish force of about 15,000 men, forming the garrison, had been signally defeated at Kuruk-Deri, in the previous year. When the British officers arrived, the greater part of the infantry

was "guileless of all knowledge of drill and discipline," and many of the officers were "ignorant even of the words of command." The men were in rags, and had not received pay for two years. The artillery alone was fairly efficient. With this garrison, General Williams completely repulsed the determined assault of Mouravieff's fine force of 35,000 men on the 29th of September, 1855. The attack began just before daybreak, and the fighting lasted for seven hours. . . . The Russians were completely defeated, with a loss of more than 10,000 men, although the whole Turkish force engaged was under 7000, and its loss only 1200.'

We may perhaps think that Major Clarke has scarcely given full weight to what Americans have called 'the personal magnetism' of the English officers, or to the deduction that Turkish soldiers will fight splendidly when they have confidence in their leaders; but the force of his conclusion will readily be admitted.

'Plevna, like Sebastopol, supplies no argument against permanent works built in peace time; but, in common with all experience of war, it distinctly proves that the fortification which has been arrived at in defiance of the law of the survival of the fittest—which appears to have been evolved under an arbitrary and artificial selection akin to that which has given to us the pug dog and the lop-eared rabbit—may be safely relegated to the domain of abstract speculation.'

The point established, according to Major Clarke, is that, under modern conditions, the power of the magazine rifle is so tremendous, that, with reasonable precautions on the part of the defence, troops cannot live to cross the unprotected zone.

'An assaulting force when in movement cannot deliver an effective fire, and cannot move without exposing a full-length target to an antagonist who shows head and shoulders at most. This condition has obtained ever since the introduction of firearms. It is a constant factor in dealing with questions of attack and defence. . . . Plan your assault as you will, there comes a stage at which the advance has to be made without any support from artillery fire. When the small-arm was capable of being fired only about once a minute, this zone could be crossed with comparatively little difficulty. The artillery of the attack would endeavour to keep the defenders from their parapets until the last moment, and during that last moment the fire of the defence was necessarily weak. Hence arose the vast ditches, the elaborate arrangements of flank defence, the *caponiers*, counter-scarp galleries, &c., of the various systems of fortification. The modern rifle has rendered all these expedients absolutely unnecessary in the future. The intensity of fire which a single line of men can now deliver upon a given area exceeds enormously the maximum formerly attainable by the combination of every conceivable system of cross-flanking. The infantry garrisons can be kept under cover

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till the last moment, and, during the final rush which must be made without support, the deadly effect of the magazine rifle will have full scope. . . . A line of steady troops covered by a parapet, protected by an effective obstacle under its fire, and amply supplied with ammunition, is now unattackable by direct assault.

The change of conditions due to recent developments of artillery, although great, is by no means commensurate with that brought about by the transformation of the musket into the magazine rifle. Such as it is, it also is mainly in favour of the defence, if only the theorist can be 'left in his office.' It is wholly so in high-angle fire; for the defence has more accurate knowledge of the ground, has greater facilities for observation, is better able to conceal the batteries, and to provide overhead protection. In the case of direct fire, the advantage is more doubtful. The defence, it is urged, can employ heavier ordnance, can mount it more efficiently, and can protect it with iron. The attack, on the other hand, offers low earthworks scarcely visible, and has far greater latitude of action; its artillery can be moved at will, and its fire concentrated on a given portion of the defence.

This latitude, however, and this power of concentration are not new; they always have belonged to the attack, they always must belong to it, and do not in any way spring out of recent improvements in artillery, though doubtless they are increased by them. But when Major Clarke goes on to say that 'the besieged, fettered at every turn by arrangements pre-ordained by the Professor sitting at his drawing-board, loses all initiative from the first and succumbs to superior tactical elasticity,' he is referring rather to the conventional fortress-trace, which prevents the rectification of gun position. But this disadvantage is clearly independent of the guns themselves, and is neither magnified nor diminished by modern changes. Still, the fact remains, that the guns of the defence are lacking in mobility; or, as Major Clarke states it strongly, but not too strongly:—

'Fortress artillery mounted in permanent defences has never yet been permitted to fight on equal terms, and has usually been overpowered with comparatively little difficulty for that reason. . . . The fortification of the future, must secure for fortress-artillery the power which it has a right to claim, and the artilleryman must insist on obtaining adequate recognition of the tactical requirements of his arm.'

His contention, then, is that by modern developments of the gun, and still more, by the development of the small arm, the whole method of fortification is revolutionized. The old

method, never good, is now utterly bad ; it is inadequate, it is dangerous ; it offers ideal targets and shell-traps, hampers the artillery defence, cramps the fire of the rifle ; added to all, it is exceedingly costly, and involves an expenditure which is, itself, an embarrassment to the Government.

It is admitted that permanent fortification is in a state of transition. Major Clarke would improve it pretty well out of existence ; and he might claim to be countenanced in this opinion by the actual practice of the German authorities, who, with the probability of war with France ever before their eyes, are mainly trusting for the defence of their frontier to a strategic system of railways, to a rapid concentration of troops on any threatened point, and to the rolling back the tide of war into the enemy's country. The best and truest defence, they seem to argue, is in a bold initiative. It is only on the fortifications of their second line that they have incurred any considerable expenditure.

The French, on the other hand, with the disasters of 1870-1 burnt into their memory, are putting their trust in fortification on a scale which eclipses the semi-mythical stories of the great wall of China. Huge entrenched camps and *forts d'arrêt* out-line their eastern frontier ; and these are supported by other fortresses and other entrenched camps, all as strong as concrete and iron, and the most advanced theories, and an expenditure already exceeding 135,000,000*l.*, can make them. To garrison these works fully would require more than a million men ; and those on the front line alone, which must be garrisoned on the first imminence of war, will shut up 250,000. It may pertinently be asked whether the greater part of this enormous sum might not have been more advantageously devoted to other uses, and whether, in time of war, four-fifths of the men would not be better employed in active operations in the field. The fortresses themselves are, no doubt, 'a formidable fact which cannot be ignored in any future Franco-German war.' Major Clarke thinks that 'Provided that they are properly found, that proper garrisons are available, and that officers qualified to command exist, great and costly efforts, implying a gain of invaluable time to the Republic, would be necessary for their capture.' He does not, however, show that their capture would be necessary ; that the line might not be turned, or broken at some weak point, which the Germans claim to know of ; that the fortresses might not be masked, and their huge garrisons rendered innocuous. But, in any case, the deliberate resolve of the French Government to trust thus largely to a purely passive defence does not seem to contemplate absolute success as even possible ;
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and, joined to the consideration of the enormous sums which have been expended on the fortifications of Paris, speaks of a mental attitude on the part of their responsible statesmen, which is curiously different from that assumed by their third-rate journalists—men ignorant alike of the arts of war and the courtesies of peace, but with a baneful influence over the minds of the vulgar.

The construction of these fortresses has, however, led to a renewed activity, and awakened a spirit of invention among engineers, both military and civil. The various designs which have been suggested, or tried, or provisionally accepted, are very numerous and very expensive; and though some of them are possibly capable of answering the end for which they are devised, although at an exaggerated cost, others, proposed in sober earnest, set at defiance all experience, and common sense, and the laws of human nature. In one of these—a disappearing cupola—which is favourably regarded by General Brialmont, 'two or three men buried in a subterranean chamber lighted by a lantern, are, at the right moment, to raise their cupola and deliver an overwhelming fire in the right direction. The mechanical principles are apparently sound; . . . the price is satisfactory—to the makers; and purely military considerations are of small account.'

But this is only one of many absurdities. About others, and the whole question, there is, of course, much room for controversy. The Professors, the *théoriciens*, on whom Major Clarke heaps scorn and contumely, are, in this at least, sufficiently soldiers to fight when they are attacked, and will certainly defend themselves, if only with the art of the cuttle-fish. But to us Englishmen the contention or quarrel is happily one of the schools; the questions at issue are of purely technical interest; for fortification, such as it exists and will continue to exist for the great Powers of the Continent, is unknown to us in England; and even abroad, our acquaintance with the art has been, in the main, from the point of view of the besieger rather than of the besieged.

The case is different when we pass on to the consideration of coast defence; for this is a matter which nearly affects every one of us, whether in our own country or in the colonies. It would perhaps be more strictly correct to say, which ought to affect us; for the feeling of many towards it is one of languid indifference and unreasoning content, till, from time to time, without any special motive, it changes into acute alarm and equally unreasoning panic. What, in this present work, and still more distinctly elsewhere, Major Clarke has endeavoured to do, is to show his readers how far their content is justified,

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how far alarm may be reasonable; in a word, to point out the principles on which coast defence must be based, and to explain our own peculiar relation to them. These, however, are questions on which very different opinions have been held; and indeed, it cannot but be considered an extraordinary thing that, after centuries of national greatness, they should be still undefined and unsettled; that naval and military experts, and men ranking high as statesmen, should still be in doubt and conflict as to the true solution of the problem on which our existence as an Empire depends.

But the fact is, that while the general public have held aloof from the question, as though it were the one business of their Government with which they have no concern, and professional experts have, almost necessarily, their view narrowed to the field of their own studies, the politicians who, on one side or the other, pose as statesmen, find more personal and exciting subjects in the struggles of party, and pervert or degrade these matters of mere national or imperial importance into tools of faction, and weapons wherewith to 'dish' an opponent. And yet, though there are many points on which experts must decide, and though statesmen—as distinct from party politicians—must weigh the probabilities of the age, the key to the problem seems to us to lie in the experience of the past, and in the study of our history; not history, carefully selected and manipulated, but history, as recorded in full, minute, and exact detail. Very few indeed have ever attempted to consider the question as a whole; and the most ordinary method of approaching the subject is on the hypothesis of wildly improbable conditions of attack, or of even more improbable conditions of defence, and, not unfrequently, of both together; of an aggressive alliance of all the Powers of Europe against an England, insular, isolated, and destitute of a navy. It is to this that Major Clarke refers, when he says: 'The primary datum can be fixed only by responsible statesmen; it is a political rather than a naval or military matter.'

But, instead of so considering it, it commonly appears as if we unconsciously allow the spirit of Henry VIII. to permeate our temporal, as it does our spiritual atmosphere; and to hold that we must have forts now to defend our coasts from insult and our harbours from outrage, because it was found necessary to have them, when an autocratic king, intent on pageantry, matrimony, or sacrilege, had neglected the navy to such a degree that the pettiest pirate, privateer, or man-of-war out of Brest or Flushing could ravage and plunder at will, and could command the harbours of Falmouth, Dartmouth, or Portsmouth.

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But though the forts were then built, it was not by them that the peace of our harbours and the security of our trade were attained: these were won by a small squadron of ships hastily fitted out, which at once accomplished the desired end; the marauders were suppressed and the belligerents departed. The forts were, even then, a harmless menace; and so it has been ever since, except in the one instance which, by its clearly-marked character, serves but to establish the rule. This was in 1667, when our Government had neglected to fit out a fleet, and the Dutch, seizing the opportunity, silenced the batteries at Sheerness and burnt the shipping in the Medway. No doubt we should have escaped that particular loss and disgrace, if Sheerness and the river behind it had been adequately fortified; but we should equally have escaped there, and at every other port, without any fortifications at all, if the usual fleet had been fitted out. And comparing this disgraceful year with all the other years of war, through the hundred years before or the two hundred years after it, we are permitted to form the conclusion that the attack of our coasts, in force, is impossible, not only so long as we have the command of the sea, but so long as we are able even to dispute it. 'The whole teaching of war,' as Major Clarke aptly says, 'clearly proves that serious naval operations against an enemy's coast—blockades, the movement of expeditionary forces across wide tracts of sea, the deliberate attack of fortified ports—are practicable only to the Power which holds and can retain the command of the sea.' The illustration of this, in its broadest features, is in the story of Bonaparte's project for the invasion of this country in 1805, when our command of the Channel was absolute; but the rule has a far more extended meaning; and no such absolute command is necessary to give effect to it.

On two different occasions, in 1690 and 1779, we lost the command of the Channel; on both, the enemy's fleet, vastly superior in number to any that we could muster, seemed to be master of the situation; on both, a powerful army was waiting on the coast of Normandy to be ferried over and landed in England; on both, the fortifications of Plymouth were insignificant, and could not have held out half-an-hour against a serious attack. But no attack was made; no attack was even attempted; for on either occasion, the enemy's commander, an admiral of the highest repute—Tourville or D'Orvilliers—considered the risk too great, so long as the operation was liable to be interrupted by an English fleet,—even by a defeated one, as in 1690. At that time, the alarm in London and the southern counties was very great: there was probably only one man in England

England who did not believe the danger of invasion imminent. The Earl of Torrington, misunderstood and vilified, compelled by a base intrigue at Court and by the ignorance or malevolence of the Queen's ministers, to give battle against his better judgment, was even then confident that the French would not invade, 'that whilst we had a fleet in being, they would not dare to make an attempt.'

We cannot say that, in 1779, Sir Charles Hardy felt equally confident. Probably he did not: he was oppressed with the infirmities of a premature old age; and at his best, though a good second, had never shown any distinguished ability. It is, however, well known that the Admiralty were wild with alarm, and sanctioned the issue of a number of proclamations savouring of panic; the First Lord of the Admiralty was a man more at home in the conduct of political jobbery than of naval war, and in such a crisis was helpless. But there were men in the fleet and in the country who understood the situation; and though it recurred in a less acute manner in 1781 and 1782, and though the Government, under the influence of the terror then felt, proposed, in 1785, a large outlay for the fortification of the southern ports, especially Plymouth and Portsmouth, the project met with scant favour from those naval officers who were in a position to form an independent opinion. There were several who had a clear appreciation of the dangers of the previous years; amongst them Macbride, and Jervis, the future victor off Cape St. Vincent, who had both served in the Channel throughout the war, and Barrington, whose flag had been flying in the Channel during a considerable part of it; and guided by their special knowledge of the events and circumstances of the past, they protested against the proposal of the Government and the recommendation of the Commission, composed of a large majority of military officers, with the Duke of Richmond, Master-General of the Ordnance, as chairman. The data, or reference, given to the Commission, assumed that the fleet was away from England for three months, and that preparation was to be made to resist an army of 30,000 men landing from France. With such a reference, to which the chairman strictly adhered, it was impossible for the Commission to report otherwise than that it was advisable to fortify the dockyards; but in explanation of their vote, the naval members appended an important memorandum:

'That our proceedings have been founded on the supposition of the whole fleet being absent for three months, as mentioned in the second datum, and, therefore, that the enemy may bring over an army of 30,000 men with artillery proportionate to an attack on Portsmouth

or

or Plymouth, having three months to act in uninterrupted by the fleet. The bare possibility of such an event we do not pretend to deny, but how far it is probable that the whole British fleet may be sent on any service requiring so long an absence, at a time when the enemy is prepared to invade this country, we must humbly leave to Your Majesty's superior wisdom, and therefore, whether it is necessary, in consequence of such a supposition, to erect works of so expensive a nature as those proposed, and which require such large garrisons to defend them.'

In the invasion panics of 1801 and 1803 there was again an outcry for forts, and a number of martello towers were built along the south-east coast. Major Clarke thinks the design of these towers radically faulty, that the adoption of them was based on a very imperfect experience, and that redoubts would have answered the purpose better and more economically. His account of our experience in the Gulf of San Fiorenzo is not quite accurate in its details; and though we are not concerned to dispute his preference for the redoubt, it was at least certain that the tower, with a small garrison of trained gunners, mostly seamen, did beat off a line-of-battle ship and a frigate, with heavy loss. There is no reason to suppose that such a tower on the coast of England would not have been equally effective against French ships. This, however, is not the point which most nearly concerns us. The question really is, not whether martello towers were the best form of coast defence, but whether they were, to us, a coast defence at all. Our belief is that they were not; that they were never called on to fire a shot during the whole course of the war; that the enemy they threatened, the danger they warded off, was purely imaginary; and that, for all effective purposes, the money which they cost was as utterly wasted as any of the enormous sums that were paid to ignorance or dishonesty.

The fact is that the advisability of fortifying our coasts having been impressed on the national mind some three or four centuries ago, when our navy was but a small thing and its functions yet undetermined, it is difficult now to uproot the notion, and to persuade the public, or those to whom the public turns for guidance, that coast and harbour fortification is the part of the belligerent who is, and who contemplates being, the weaker at sea. For Russia, for Germany, for France, for Spain, for Italy, to defend their ports by batteries of the most scientific and, if necessary, the most costly construction, is imperatively demanded; for each of them may be engaged in a war with an enemy having a distinct naval superiority. When that superiority does not exist, no advantage is gained by the precautionary expenditure.

expenditure. 'In 1870-1, for example, the coast defences of France were absolutely useless.' In the great war, on the contrary, but for their fortifications, the roadsteads of Brest or Toulon would have been even as the Bay of Aboukir. The fortifications, and nothing but the fortifications, saved the shipping in Cadiz from being taken or burnt any time between 1797 and 1807. It was the fortifications alone which prevented the arsenal of Cronstadt from being destroyed and St. Petersburg from lying at the mercy of the foe in 1854 or 1855. Here were unmistakable instances of the value of fortifications.

But during the twenty years of our last war with France, as previously during the whole century, Spithead seemed to be uncared for, and Portsmouth Harbour was nominally defended by a blockhouse, which a 50-gun ship would have silenced, or by a chain, which a frigate with a fair wind would have snapped. It will scarcely be maintained that it was these defences which prevented the port being insulted, or the dockyard being laid in ashes by the powerful fleets which, from time to time, sailed out of Brest. But some such notion appears to underlie a very great deal of what military experts have written on the subject. Wind and weather—they seem to say—counted for a great deal in those days; and, supported by happy accidents, these paltry travesties of battery and boom were sufficient. But now, when hostile fleets are no longer controlled by such accidents, a perfect system of fortification is urgently needed; anything short of it is but inviting an attack. Our arsenals are as valuable as those of Cronstadt, or Wilhelmshaven, or Brest, and must be rendered as secure; otherwise, they are at the mercy of the first enemy that ill-fortune may send us; and as a nation, we exist only on the sufferance of our neighbours.

Such ideas were especially dominant in 1859, when the Commission was appointed 'to consider the Defences of the United Kingdom.' The country had been profoundly alarmed by the completion of Cherbourg as an arsenal of the first class, with its secure roadstead and stupendous forts. Steam, it was asserted, had bridged the Channel, and our old historical enemy now commanded the bridge. The question was considered to be an almost purely military one, and was treated as such by the Commissioners, who, in framing their questions to the witnesses, assumed the necessity of securing 'the anchorage at Spithead against occupation by an enemy in considerable force, in the absence of our fleet.' This last condition—'in the absence of our fleet'—was, in fact, the datum of the problem, which admitted no argument or cavil; and those answers which refused to accept it as such were quietly ignored. Sir Thomas Maitland,

Maitland, afterwards Earl of Lauderdale, for instance, urged that

‘it requires serious consideration whether the large sum of money which would be required to build these fortifications, floating batteries, &c., might not be more profitably laid out in building ships; because, if you can secure being masters of the Channel, I do not see any absolute necessity, as far as security goes, for fortifying Spithead. . . . With regard to my own opinion, I would first put the Navy in such a position as to secure the command of the Channel, at least against any one nation.’

But nothing of all this was even alluded to in the Report. Several members of the Commission were unquestionably impressed by their own experience, still recent, of the frowning forts of Cronstadt or Sebastopol, and were unable to realize the totally different conditions affecting a great naval power, and a power whose navy was, for the time, obliterated. In so many words, as illustrating the expediency and necessity of the proposed scheme, they

‘refer to the sea defences of Cronstadt, where the allied fleets of England and France were, for two years, deterred from making any attempt either to capture or bombard the place, or to destroy the fleet of Russia, chiefly owing to the foresight that nation had shown, in constructing, during a long peace, a formidable and extensive system of fortifications, consisting of powerful casemated batteries of somewhat similar construction to those which we now propose.’

Then began the construction, round Portsmouth and Plymouth, on the Medway, at Milford and at Dover, of those huge, unsightly but very visible forts, costly, useless, and now quasi-obsolete. They would, it was said, protect the fleet—that fleet which, for centuries, had protected the whole coast: they would spare the navy for other work; no one asked what or how? they would be the safeguard of the country if the navy should be absent or destroyed; and again no one asked how or why?

Of late years a much more moderate tone has been adopted, owing mainly to the ability and persistence of Sir Andrew Clarke while Inspector-General of Fortifications. In his footsteps his younger namesake is now judiciously following; but there are still many military officers, more especially among the engineers and artillery, who would maintain that a port without fortifications is necessarily undefended, and that the scale of its fortifications is the only true measure of its defences. And this will probably continue to be the case so long as the Government appears to believe that the defence of our harbours, arsenals, coaling stations, and our sea-board in
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general, is mainly a military business, and assigns it to the military authorities, whose action may be, and occasionally is, at variance with naval opinion and oblivious of naval requirements. The whole question of submarine mines, naval in its very essence, and 'requiring as the prime qualification for discussion a thorough grasp of the probabilities of attack, against which British ports all over the world should be prepared,'* is but one extreme instance of the confusion made by men necessarily unacquainted with the governing conditions. At present, however, there are indications of a real desire to remedy this monstrous anomaly; but the departmental differences are great, the departmental jealousies are greater; and it may be long before any progress can be made with the scheme recently outlined by the First Lord of the Admiralty, on introducing the Naval Estimates.

And meantime, uninstructed opinion will continue to assume, as it has long been in the habit of assuming, as a working hypothesis, on which all argument is to be based, that in time of national danger and threatened invasion, our fleet, and not only our fleet, but our whole 'navy' is absent. The how or the why is never distinctly stated. It has been defeated; destroyed in battle, or by treachery; it has been lured away by a feint—by false intelligence—by a decoy. Something more explicit is surely wanted before the hypothesis can be accepted, even as the basis of a discussion.

We have seen that the naval members of the Commission of 1785 protested against it as impossible, and that Maitland, and others with him, refused to admit it in 1859. But still, without motive named or reason given, we are ever and anon called on to assume that our 'navy' is absent. Destroyed? by whom or what? There is nothing in history to countenance the assumption that a fleet, which has inflicted a crushing defeat on the whole strength of our navy, will itself be in a condition at once to undertake the most arduous and dangerous of naval operations; or that, however terrible the blow, there will not be left a remnant, which, with gunboats and torpedo boats, may be sufficient to complicate the passage of the enemy's transports. Similarly, without some precise statement, we cannot understand how the 'navy' is to be lured to a distance, while the enemy's fleet remains in dangerous proximity to our shores: a feint, or false intelligence, is much too abstract an idea; we must have the concrete form of it. And again, if the decoying is to be effected by the enemy's fleet leading the way, by its

* 'Submarine Mines in Relation to War,' by Major G. S. Clarke, p. 17.

own action it becomes as incapable of attack as our own of defence, and the end in view is unattained.

But that something like this is the ideal method would seem probable from the frequent references that are made to Nelson's pursuit of Villeneuve in 1805. It seems to be forgotten or ignored, that Nelson's fleet was a very small portion of the English navy; that, in going to the West Indies, Villeneuve had two objects in view; that drawing Nelson after him was not one of them, and that Nelson, by following him, frustrated his plans. He was to ravage the English settlements, and he was to wait six weeks for Ganteaume's arrival. He could do neither, but hurried back to Europe, while Nelson

‘Fast on his flying traces came,
And all but won that desperate game;’

and while the Admiralty, warned of his return, stationed Calder to meet him and frustrate his third alternative. So far as this, the stock illustration, goes, it tends to prove that such decoying is infinitely more dangerous to the enemy, who, for reasons of policy or weakness, prefers to avoid a meeting at sea. The whole question then, of the necessity for or the advisability of fortifying our ports, and the extent of the fortification, if any, turns on the naval strength which we are prepared to maintain, and we cordially endorse Major Clarke's remark under this head:—

‘It rests with the Cabinet alone, and in a special sense with the Prime Minister, to lay down the Power or combination of Powers against which the defences of the Empire must be prepared. Until this has been done there is no basis on which to rest the general standard of our preparations for war. A further *datum* is, however, needed, which also can only be laid down on the authority of the Cabinet, acting after full consultation with real experts of both services. In a certain sense, the functions of the Navy may be said to overlap or include those claimed for coast defence. It is evident that, in the extreme case, such a naval strength may be conceived as to render all coast defences superfluous. It is also evident that, although beyond the little *rayon* of their guns, coast defences are useless, their existence gives time for naval combinations, and, in this sense, reduces the number of ships which it would be necessary, in their absence, to maintain in given waters.’

That is, however, strictly ‘in this sense,’ and in this sense alone. Coast defences are, as is correctly said, ‘useless’ to control the approaches to the port or to protect the communications; and unless these communications can be temporarily relinquished without loss, the existence of coast defences does

not

not affect the number of ships required to maintain them. Major Clarke's sentence, if read by itself, might seem to convey a meaning which is not warranted by the context.

'To an Empire scattered in fragments over the world, linked by ocean roads alone, and dependent for existence upon trade, a certain *minimum* naval strength is absolutely necessary. Failing the minimum necessary to protect commerce and keep open sea communications, coast defences are of little or no use. The following questions thus arise. At what point, under the above conditions, does it become economical to employ coast defences? If the minimum naval force—necessary on other grounds—is maintained, what is the precise nature of the functions which then remain to coast defences? . . . No country which has not fully made up its mind on these points is in a position to lay down the standard of its coast defences. Waste of national resources must be the inevitable result of failure to lay down an authoritative standard; and such waste is not incompatible with inefficiency and unfitness for the needs of war.'

There is, however, another consideration which seems to have escaped Major Clarke, as it has escaped other writers of less sagacity. Coast defences are, of course, intended to resist a naval attack and to prevent the bombardment of storehouses or arsenals, from the sea; and it is assumed that, conversely, the attack of forts is the legitimate function of ships of war. In point of fact, it is nothing of the sort. Bombardment has always been, under certain conditions, a recognized operation of naval war; as at Algiers in 1683 and 1816, or at Sveaborg in 1855; though, bearing in mind the modern development of high angle fire, and the very superior accuracy now attainable from fixed positions on shore, it may be doubted whether this will be frequently attempted in the future; but the deliberate engagement of forts by ships alone—not in co-operation with land forces—has always been exceptional. In former days, according to Major Clarke, 'the vessel enormously outmatched the shore batteries. A line-of-battle ship, with sixty-six guns to her broadside, was superior to almost any single battery. A fleet was immensely superior to a fortress.' The Spanish fleet did not find this the case at Gibraltar in September 1782, when it retired in confusion after a few rounds of red-hot shot; but something of the sort has very probably been said in a loose and irresponsible sort of way.

'The sailor,' says Major Clarke, 'with characteristic pride in his fighting machines, and the elation which naturally attaches to the exponent of attack, occasionally lays claim to capabilities opposed to every inference from history and wholly beyond the regions of practical possibility.'

But

But notwithstanding this, he accepts and repeats a statement which we used to hear put forward theoretically, but which naval commanders have been extremely chary of attempting to reduce to practice.

'The old wooden ships,' he says 'were, in one sense, admirably adapted for dealing with the contemporary works on shore. Their volume of fire was so great, that the coast battery, at least on a low site, might be overwhelmed; and as, in the designs of these batteries, most of the drawbacks inherent to the ship were reproduced with great fidelity, they were placed at a disadvantage which favourable circumstances, or a great inadequacy of attacking force, could alone neutralize.'

In practice, however, naval officers quite understood that, independent of the danger of red-hot shot, stone, or concrete, or earth, was much less susceptible of damage than wood, and seldom cared to run the risk; never, perhaps, on the mere grounds here alleged. At Acre, which is referred to as a precedent, forts, guns, and gunners, were all absurdly inadequate; yet even so the reduction of the place was considered extremely creditable: and readers of Marryat's novels know that even isolated, feeble, and ill-manned batteries on the coasts of France or Spain used to be overpowered, not by the broadsides of a frigate, but by a boat's crew of small-arm or cutlass men. The mere passing of batteries has, indeed, often been risked, when the advantage to be won seemed commensurate; but the attack of substantial forts commanding a harbour or roadstead has seldom been ventured on, without troops in support: still more seldom, if we leave out of account the engagements with a semi-barbarous enemy, as at Severndroog or Geriah. It may, perhaps, even be doubted whether the remaining instances might not, from a military point of view, be classed in the same category. We can adduce but two, both of which became historically celebrated.

Vernon's capture of Porto Bello 'with six ships' is one of these. Practically it was with four ships; but the Spaniards were driven from their guns by musketry, and fled out by the rear as our small-arm men and marines clambered in at the embrasures. The ships' gun-fire, though heavy and well sustained, did them but little injury; and as many of their guns were without carriages, their reply was necessarily feeble. The other instance to which we have referred, and to which Clarendon's absurd eulogy has given a very false emphasis, is Blake's achievement at Santa Cruz. In the absence of exact details, it is impossible to say with certainty what this really amounted to; but the official 'Narrative,' drawn up by Blake himself, seems to imply
that

that the fire of the Spanish batteries was, to a great extent, masked by the galleons; that in fact the success was due to skill and prudence as much as to courage and determination. 'They—the galleons'—it says, 'were moored close along the shore, which lies in a semicircle, commanded, as far as the ships lay, by the castle, and surrounded besides with six or seven forts, with almost a continual line for musketeers and great shot.' By evening, every Spanish ship was burnt, blown up or sunk, but we are not told of any destruction of the forts. If they were seriously engaged, if their fire was not masked, it was singularly ineffective; for 'we had not above 50 slain outright and 120 wounded, and the damage to our ships was such as in two days' time we indifferently well repaired for present security.'

But when against these two instances, which, however brilliant, were not so wildly venturesome as they have been described, we place the very great many in which our ships lay for months outside forts without any thought of engaging them; when we remember that Hawke and Bridport and St. Vincent and Cornwallis, one after the other, watched 'those fellows' in Brest 'as closely as a cat watches a mouse,' without any attempt to force their way into the mouse-hole; that Boscawen and Nelson, in their respective ages, watched Toulon in the same manner, never dreaming of the possibility of forcing the passage into the harbour, it is difficult to understand the genesis of the idea that a fort was the natural objective of a ship of war, and that a fleet of ships of the line was superior to a fortress. And yet this idea was dominant in England in 1854; and much most undeserved obloquy was lavished on Sir Charles Napier, because, on arriving in the Gulf of Finland, he did not forthwith 'go in and win' at Cronstadt or other places with prohibitive fortifications, and because he insisted on troops being sent to reduce even Bomarsund. Cronstadt was not so strong in 1801 as it was in 1854; but Nelson, who had fiercely urged the importance of destroying the Russian fleet at Reval, no longer suggested the possibility of doing so when it had escaped up the Gulf.

But though Major Clarke appears to sanction the extraordinary idea that the attack of forts and fortresses was the *raison d'être*, the practice and the joy of the old ships of the line, he is quite clear that the amusement must be denied to our existing battle-ships, which are entirely unfitted for it, and neither by armament nor by armour are capable of engaging modern coast defences: a strange irony of the constructors' art; for armour-plating was first practically adopted to enable ships to contend with forts. Now, however,

* the

'the principal feature of most battle-ships is that they have extremely little armour, and in a large number of cases can scarcely be said to protect their crews at all, except on condition of being able to engage end on, without liability to beam attack. . . . The grave exposure of *personnel* in modern ships of war will be severely felt in the first action between a fleet and properly designed and well-fought coast defences. The modern coast battery provides nearly complete protection even for men serving the guns, and absolute protection for all others. The ship, unless the auxiliary armament is abandoned, must expose the greater part of the crew not engaged in serving the few protected guns. In a fleet action the exposure may be of less consequence, since the enemy must be equally circumstanced; so that the ship best handled, and manned by the crew possessing the highest training and *morale*, will have the chances in her favour. At least the combat is on fair and equal terms. In engaging coast defences, the relative conditions differ absolutely. . . . It is fully admitted that these ships effectively protect their so-called "vitals," and that it would be extremely difficult to sink a well-belted vessel. To sink a vessel or disable her engines is not essential, however. To cause a heavy loss in *personnel* will amply suffice for the purpose of coast defences; and the position of a modern ship at a long distance from her base, with her unarmoured portions riddled, and half her crew *hors de combat*, will be evidently precarious. From this point of view the armoured belt will be of little service to the ship in an action with coast defences, but by keeping her afloat may lead to her capture by an inferior vessel.'

It is, however, not only in the power of sustaining, but in that of inflicting damage, that the modern ship is at a disadvantage in action with coast defences. The ability to sustain injury is, indeed, not absolutely less than it formerly was, though it is so relatively, the offensive power of the batteries being so much greater; but the ability to inflict injury is both absolutely and relatively much less than it used to be: absolutely, because the batteries no longer offer themselves as ideal targets, and give better protection to both guns and men; relatively, because the new ships carry fewer guns and fire them more slowly, while the increase of damage done by the largest modern shot is not proportionate to the increase of size. Major Clarke thinks that

'it may be fairly doubted whether the possible destructive effect of a single projectile on well-designed works has been materially augmented. It is conceivable that a single lucky 8-inch spherical shell might have dismounted a single shore gun and killed or wounded all its detachment. A modern 16-inch shell can do no more in a properly traversed battery, . . . while it is open to question whether a line-of-battle ship, with sixty-six guns to her broadside, engaged at

500 or 600 yards, had not a decidedly better chance of obtaining such a hit than a first-class ironclad of to-day at 2000 yards.'

Roughly comparing the two 'Victorias,' the one—the last of the three-deckers—which was flagship in the Mediterranean only twenty-five years ago, and the other, the latest and largest of ironclads, flagship there now, it appears that the former could fire at least ten shot for each one of the latter; and that, as against shore defences, the great difference of size and penetration count for very little. But this is by no means the whole measure of the relative inferiority of modern ships. Their complements of men are very much smaller, and of these a larger proportion are not available for purposes of landing. This proportion, however, may perhaps be again increased; as masts and sails more completely disappear, and the stoker is recognized as having taken the place of the sailor, some radical change must be made in the constitution of the ships' companies, and men may possibly be entered in the double capacity of marines and stokers; and when, by the adoption of liquid fuel, the stoker yields in turn to the pump, the corresponding change may be still more significant. Similarly, the effective power of a ship's broadside will be enormously greater than it is, when the present craze for big guns has died out, and the primary armament again consists of 6-inch or 8-inch guns, with a rapidity of fire far beyond what our forefathers could have dreamt of. It is far from improbable that, in no distant future, the fire of a ship or fleet may be hotter, better sustained, and, in an absolute sense, more powerful than ever it was; but still be as unable as now or formerly, to engage coast defences on equal terms. For, in fact, recent developments of artillery and artillery accessories have been enormously in favour of the land service; and against disappearing guns with smokeless powder, and concealed batteries of mortars or howitzers laid by means of the position-finder, the fire of a fleet would be hopelessly ineffective. The disappearing mounting has been largely adopted by our own Government, for the defences of the coaling stations, and for the Australasian colonies. For this purpose, Major Clarke considers it 'ideal in conception.'

'Provided that the hydro-pneumatic arrangement is in good working order, there is practically no hope of silencing guns thus mounted by the fire of ships. Their positions can be rendered absolutely indistinguishable from the surroundings, if a little care has been bestowed upon the works. They need be exposed only for a brief period before the moment of firing.'

A similar system of disappearing mountings has also been adopted by the Italians and the French, though both they and the

the Russians seem to place more dependence on high-angle fire, the approval of which, in this country, has not yet led to any practical effect, although

‘the original experiments made with a 9-inch polygrooved gun—an old muzzle-loader—were remarkably successful, and proved that, thanks to the position-finder, it would be impossible for a ship to anchor at 8,000 yards from such guns without receiving frequent deck hits of a dangerous nature. Even against a ship in motion, the chances of obtaining such hits are considerable; and it may be taken as established that no vessel afloat would dare to remain under the fire of small groups of these guns. Subsequent experiments entirely confirmed the original results.’

With this quite recent development of high-angle fire has come also Major Watkin’s ‘Position-Finding System,’ which

‘enables an observer many hundred yards distant to communicate automatically to a gun emplacement both the range of a ship and the training necessary in order to strike it. He can further direct the laying of a gun, or small group of guns, upon a point on the course of a vessel in motion, and himself fire the guns when the vessel reaches that point.’

The increase of accuracy thus obtained is very great, and the guns, being completely hidden from view, are in perfect safety. Above all,

‘the whole of the fire can be inspired by a definite purpose. The guns of any group, or aggregate of groups, can all be directed upon an individual ship, and this without any chance of mistake or confusion. In the battery there is nothing to be done but to load and lay the guns in accordance with the figures shown on a dial. The rest is all in the hands of the observing officer in a concealed cell, away from noise, smoke and danger. . . . The position-finding system has opened out vast possibilities to high-angle fire—possibilities early foreseen in this country, but at present unrealized in a practical form. Small groups of old-type guns, converted for high-angle fire (at a very moderate cost), mounted in the open behind any ground which effectually screens them from view, will prove extremely formidable to any ship afloat at ranges up to 10,000 yards.’

This wonderful invention is, however, only applicable to guns on shore; it cannot be used on board ship, and is thus, Major Clarke says, ‘a distinct and unbalanced gain to the defence’:

‘If its potentiality were more fully realized, the wild ideas as to the power possessed by ships in relation to modern coastworks which frequently find expression would be effectually repressed, while more moderate estimates of real requirements would be formed.’

In effect, we entirely agree with Major Clarke. We know that wild ideas, such as he refers to, have frequently found expression. He has himself spoken of proposals, which have been made in perfect seriousness, for the defence of our distant colonies with costly fortifications and a tremendous armament of heavy, armour-piercing guns; and by the United States' Board of Fortifications, for an expenditure of five-and-a-half millions sterling, for the fortification of San Francisco. Still more recently a scheme has been put forward—apparently by an ingenious contractor—for fortifying the approaches to New York with masses of concrete and iron, oscillating turrets and 100-ton guns, at an estimated cost of 5,000,000 dollars; and no doubt many similar proposals have been made.

It is not for us to criticize the policy of the United States or the measures which their Government may think necessary for their defence, knowing better than we can possibly do, how far they propose to depend on their navy. We may be unable to recognize the utility of such works, or to see what enemy they are intended to guard against; but the American public are commonly said to value a thing for its size; and if they like to spend their troublesome surplus in this way, it will probably hurt no one, not even the contractors. But when similar proposals are made for the fortification of Port Phillip or the Falkland Islands, we must protest, in the strongest manner, against the misuse of public money, and the scandalous ignorance of our national policy.

But Major Clarke seems to imply that such measures are consonant with naval opinion: that the power of ships is so great that the most stupendous works may be necessary to resist it. Perhaps we misinterpret or exaggerate his meaning, which appears antagonistic to his other writings. It is well, however, to say distinctly that this is not the opinion of the great bulk of naval officers; it is not the opinion of any whose voice carries weight with the profession. They, at least, know perfectly well that, between ships and forts, the terms of battle have never been equal; and that at the present day, even without the position-finder, they are more unequal than ever. They do, indeed, approach the subject from a different direction and consider it from a different point of view: Major Clarke naturally looks on it as a question of defence: the leaders of naval opinion do not admit forts to have anything to do with the serious defence of this country or her possessions, and look on the question as one of attack. The positions are diametrically opposed to each other, but the conclusion arrived at is virtually the same. Forts are not things for ships to meddle with,

with, unless called on to assist in the operations of an army of invasion. But obviously a landing on a hostile shore will not be attempted under the guns of a fortress, while miles of undefended coast may be found: and the reduction of fortresses, guarding arsenals, will be—as at Sebastopol—the work of the army; the part of the fleet being—as at Sebastopol—the maintenance of the communications. It is of course impossible to say in advance, whether any such campaign is likely to be attempted; but it may be said with certainty that the naval attack—as at Sebastopol—is not likely to be repeated, except under very peculiar circumstances.

All these, however, are very important considerations, which cannot be lost sight of, when suggestions of danger to our distant colonies are mooted. But, in any such discussion, it is primarily necessary to have a clear understanding of what the expected danger is; without which it is impossible to form any definite opinion as to the way in which it is to be guarded against. In military or naval science, abstract propositions are unintelligible: they must take form before they can be examined. It is, for instance, not sufficient to speak of an enemy's ships suddenly appearing off an unnamed port, bombarding it or levying a contribution, and disappearing. We must have some precise information about the enemy's force: we must know where it came from, and where it came to; how it got there; where and how it coaled and provisioned; and many other details on which the whole operation depends. When these are defined or explained, then, but not before, we are in a position to discuss the exact possibilities of danger. It may, however, be laid down as axiomatic that ships alone—that is, unsupported by troops—cannot attack forts, or remain within reach of even very modest coast defences; that the number of men they can possibly land is very small; and that they cannot land any in face of organized opposition, as of a few companies of militia or volunteers, properly armed; that they cannot bombard a town without expending so much of their small supply of ammunition, as would leave them at the mercy of any hostile ships they might afterwards meet with, and that, even if they should be content to run this risk, the injury they can inflict is relatively small; that, if payment of ransom or a contribution is refused, they have no means of enforcing it, in face of any small body of troops, and that, if the roadstead is commanded by a few disappearing guns, or guns mounted for high-angle fire, they ought to pay dearly for their presumption in demanding it.

So much from the military point of view: from the naval,
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the statement is more concise: it is practically impossible for an enemy to send an expedition of any threatening magnitude into Australasian waters, so long as we retain the command of the sea. That a flying cruiser or even a small squadron of cruisers, eluding our vigilance, might succeed in arriving there, may be admitted as possible, with varying degrees of improbability. So far as the shore is concerned, it would come under the conditions just stated: it would be unsupported and could effect no mischief. Afloat, it might effect a good deal, till captured, destroyed, or driven off the coast by the English and Imperial squadron on the station, or compelled to leave by want of coal and provisions. It is quite conceivable that a corsair, of the genius of Surcouf, without any pedantic reverence for the Declaration of Paris, might in such a way do incalculable mischief and cause most serious trouble, and yet have no more idea of attacking, threatening, or requisitioning Port Phillip, or Sydney or Brisbane, than Surcouf had of visiting Calcutta or Madras. This is one of the possible and even probable ways in which our trade may suffer, more especially at the first outbreak of war; but which no amount of fortification of every harbour and town in Australia or New Zealand could prevent or restrain, though a timely increase to our navy might do so. It is a risk which the colonies, in common with the whole Empire, have to run,—a danger, affecting all, which has to be guarded against. But as to the more purely colonial question of defence against serious attack, it has no practical existence. That it should have been seriously raised, however, speaks of such great and general ignorance of the powers and functions of a navy, or of the meaning of the term ‘command of the sea,’ that it is necessary to examine it:

‘Seeing ignorance is the curse of God;
Knowledge, the wing wherewith we fly to Heaven.’

‘Command of the sea’ has been defined as the power of conducting operations of naval war, such as territorial attack, the passage of troops, or the maintenance of communications, without the probability of being interfered with by the enemy; conversely, also, the power of interfering with or preventing such operations on the part of the enemy. A few instances will perhaps make this clearer. The most absolute command of the sea ever held was probably that maintained by the allies in the Russian War of 1854–6. To all intents and purposes the Black Sea and the Baltic were Anglo-French lakes; and the landing in the Crimea or at Bomarsund was effected without the probability or practical possibility of any interference

interference on the part of the Russians. Similarly the Peninsular War was possible, because, after Trafalgar, we held the command of the sea so firmly that no serious interference with our transport and communications was to be dreaded. We held it, indeed, before Trafalgar, but not so absolutely, and the possibility, if not the probability, of interference would have had to be guarded against.

In the summer of 1798 the French had not the absolute command of the Mediterranean, though they thought they had: even so, they provided, according to their lights, against any possible but, as they believed, improbable interference with their passage to Egypt; they had a squadron of ships of war, enormously superior in nominal force to that which the English ultimately sent to dispute it. Owing to the inadequacy of his squadron, Nelson, as is well known, did not fall in with the expedition on its passage, and missed the longed-for opportunity of 'trying Bonaparte on a wind': but with a tremendous crash, he presently resumed the command of the sea, and the French army was virtually imprisoned in Egypt.

We have already stated it as a canon of naval war, that where such interference is probable, where the command of the sea is not reasonably assured, aggressive operations cannot be attempted; the few instances in which they have been attempted have ended in disaster and ruin. This is not a thing of modern days. It has held in all time. Having the command of the sea, and with a fleet prepared to maintain it, we could threaten Rochefort in 1757, and destroy Cherbourg in 1758; but when the French, not having it, ventured to transgress the canon in 1759, they were irretrievably smashed in Quiberon Bay. A similar transgression brought ruin to the Spaniards in 1588, and annihilation to the French in 1217. But William the Norman, with an instinct or prescience worthy of the founder of a long line of English sovereigns, realized the importance of the canon in 1066, and waited calmly till his adversary, dismissing his fleet from the Isle of Wight, permitted free access to the coast of Sussex. We might go back to the wars of antiquity, and still illustrate the same point. It is a rule based on an eternal principle, to violate which is ruin. And thus we say that so long as England holds the command of the sea, an attack in force on her colonies, as on her own shores, is outside the possibilities of naval war.

The question, however, is one of such vital importance that it is worth while examining it in a more concrete sense. It may be assumed that a hostile expedition to Australasia has an object, as well as an objective. There is some definite and
adequate

adequate proposal before it. It is not sent out merely to destroy a fort, or to levy a contribution. It comprises, therefore, a body of troops sufficiently large to maintain itself in an enemy's country; to capture Sydney; to conquer New South Wales; to annex Tasmania; to seize and fortify King George's Sound. Each and all of these have been freely spoken of as possible and even reasonable aspirations of France or Russia. But the least ambitious of such schemes involves the transport of an army. Bonaparte, in 1798, judged 25,000 men not too many for the conquest of an outlying province of Turkey; how many would be thought necessary now, for the conquest of a corner of the English Empire? The expedition that sailed for Egypt, 1500 miles across a summer sea, numbered some 500 vessels: how many would be gathered together for the passage to Australasia, 13,000 miles, round the Cape of Storms? It is absolutely inconceivable that, with a due exercise of our postulated command of the sea, such an enormous concourse of ships can get well away out of the Mediterranean, or the Baltic, or the North Sea, through the Straits of Gibraltar or of Dover, down the Channel or out of Brest or the Bay of Biscay, without meeting an English fleet bent on destroying it. Its fighting efficiency is at a minimum; it is hampered by a crowd of troopers, storeships, and colliers; it has neither speed nor coherence; any enemy, however feeble, will prey on it; and a meeting with a fleet organized for battle will be fatal to it. Battle-ships will cripple, if they do not sink or capture, the battle-ships; cruisers, gun-vessels, even torpedo boats, will make hay among the transports and storeships; some may get back to their own country; more will find their way to an English port; the one place at which none of them will arrive is their Australasian rendezvous. Such an engagement would be as decisive of the war as Quiberon Bay or Trafalgar, and we might wish it to become an established fact. But the hope would be vain: we may be quite sure that no enemy will give himself away in such a manner.

In a recent address to the Royal Colonial Institute, Lord Carrington rightly said, 'The Mother Country would look upon a descent upon Australian shores in the same way as upon an invasion of Hampshire or Kent.' He might have added, 'and would take exactly the same measures to prevent it.' But having omitted this as unnecessary, or outside his purpose at the moment, a writer, from whose intelligence a more perfect grasp of the problem might have been expected, has remarked: 'Surely Lord Carrington himself does not believe that, if Kent were threatened, England would send the Channel Fleet to Sydney?'

Sydney?'* Principal Hervey speaks with authority on the state of Colonial opinion, and we have reason to fear that the idea embedded in this remark is one commonly held. It may therefore be necessary to point out that by the most elementary rules of naval war, the place of an English fleet is in the immediate neighbourhood of the enemy. If Kent is threatened, the fleet that threatens it must be in some place, and hard by there is an English fleet. If Sydney is threatened, the threatening fleet has an actual existence, and in presence of it also is an English fleet. The modern name of 'The Channel Fleet' is, no doubt, misleading; our ancestors used to speak of 'The Grand Fleet,' or 'The Western Squadron;' but under whatever name it has happened to bear, its place has always been held to be in face of the enemy. Anson led it, not ingloriously, to Cape Finisterre; under Hawke, it looked—fatally for our enemies—into Quiberon Bay; under Howe, it relieved Gibraltar; under Gambier, it blocked the French in Basque Roads. In time of war with France, its primary duties have been to watch the ships in Brest or other Western ports against other enemies, it has been, practically, non-existent. In the old wars with Holland, its equivalent was generally to be found in the North Sea; in the modern war with Russia, it became the Baltic Fleet, and rode off Cronstadt. But wherever an enemy's fleet lies, there it, or some other fleet, under whatever name caprice or geography may dictate, keeps watch. If the enemy puts to sea, it fights him; if he escapes, it follows him, whether he sails towards the shores of Kent or of New South Wales; the one object of the English commander being to find him and bring him to action. In this we have Nelson's example as a sure guide to future conduct; and as the enemy's fleet cannot possibly threaten two places at the same time, so also the English admiral has no opportunity of defending one in preference to the other. What is true for one enemy's fleet and one English admiral, is true for two or three, or any other number. Each enemy's fleet is so watched that it cannot get to sea without its movements being known, and without certain measures being taken to ensure its being dealt with; and to assume the possibility of its arriving in Australian waters is to suppose not merely that we have lost a battle, but that we have lost the command of the sea.

There is, however, one possibility which ought to be noticed; the possibility of a hostile squadron coming, not from Europe, but from the North, or even the South Pacific. We do not,

* Principal Hervey, in the 'United Service Magazine,' March 1891.

indeed,

indeed, entertain the question of war with the United States, or a hostile squadron out of San Francisco, though it is, of course, an abstract possibility. But war with some other country is more probable, and there are numerous ports, from Kamtchatka to New Caledonia or New Guinea, in which a squadron might be secretly gathered together beforehand, ready to put to sea at very short notice. The effort of such a squadron would certainly be to scour the seas, to occupy the ocean routes, and to inflict a heavy blow on our commerce. Territorial attack—it must be repeated—without some definite aim, is not the objective of even battle-ships, and cannot be attempted without the co-operation of a land force; in no navy, English or foreign, are there any cruisers capable of engaging even the most modest coast defences; and, by their own patriotic but misdirected energy, the harbours of Australia and New Zealand are already fortified far in excess of any possible requirements. The protection here called for is purely naval; and the danger is one of those which it is, in the first instance, the special duty of the Cabinet and the Prime Minister to guard against. The art of war mainly consists in having the requisite force in the place where it is wanted; and a timely strengthening and a judicious stationing of the Australian squadron, but still more of the Chinese and East Indian, will be the best and most efficient security against any such attempt.

In this country, secrecy, in time of peace, is practically impossible; it is almost as much so in time of war; and any proposed increase of our foreign squadrons would be known at Paris or St. Petersburg, Berlin or Constantinople, as soon as at Portsmouth or Plymouth; perhaps sooner. From the belligerent point of view, it might be better if this were otherwise; but, at any rate, the intelligence would be an intimation to our foe that his project was divined; and, with all its shortcomings, our navy, on a war footing, has never been an encouraging thing for an enemy to contemplate. We wish it to continue so. We wish it to be recognized that, as our Empire has grown by our sea power, so by our sea power alone can it be maintained; and that the true problem of coast defence for us is, not to find the minimum of naval strength needed to support the works on shore, but to ascertain the minimum of such works necessary to support the power of the navy.

We are painfully aware that, for many years past, successive financiers have aimed at providing the minimum of naval strength; and with such success, that at the present time, that minimum is not commensurate with the necessities of our position; that, if need should suddenly arise, it might be found unequal

unequal to the calls which would be made on it. This inadequacy has often been urged, and by military officers of the highest rank, as a reason for increasing our shore defences. To us, it seems rather a reason for increasing our navy. But, we are told, the expense is prohibitive; the country would not endure it. This is not quite accurate: the country provides liberally enough for its defence; that the defence is not perfect is the fault of the administration. The navy is weak, because money which should have been devoted to strengthening it has been systematically misapplied in other directions; because within the last thirty years upwards of fourteen millions sterling have been lavished on the fortifications of the home forts; because, year after year, the expenditure on the army has exceeded that on the navy by several millions; because the army has been taken as the standard of armed strength, and the resources of the country have been strained in a fancied, but utterly impossible, rivalry with the great military Powers of the Continent. Sooner or later the absurdity of all this will be recognized: it will be understood that neither fortifications nor army can, for us, act as a substitute for the navy. No possible amount of coast defences can in any way serve to guard our sea communications, the highways of the Empire. These can only be maintained by an adequate and efficient navy; and reliance on forts, harbour defences, submarine mines, is a first step towards relinquishing the command of the sea, on which our commerce, our Empire, and our national existence depend.

ART. V.—*An Act to amend Title 60, Chapter 3, of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to Copyrights.*

THE Legislature of the United States has at length passed an International Copyright Act which has thrown the whole literary world of England into a ferment. Authors, Publishers, Printers,—all sorts and conditions of men, from the virtuous member of the Cobden Club to the old-fashioned, unscientific Protectionist—all combine to differ as to its probable practical effect, and as to the exact view to be taken of its abstract principles.

The general tenor of the new law is no doubt already familiar to many a reader, but it may facilitate examination of the subject if we commence with a brief explanation of its precise terms, as amending the pre-existing American law on Copyright.

Previously to the passing of the recent Act, the Revised Statutes of the United States had granted copyright to any kind of intellectual work which is susceptible of protection according to American law, and which might have been produced by 'any citizen of the United States, or resident therein.' The duration of copyright is twenty-eight years, with a further extension of fourteen years; the protection so accorded being subject to certain formalities of registration and deposit. But Section 4971 of the Revised Statutes provided—

'Nothing in this chapter (that relating to Copyright) shall be construed to prohibit the printing, publishing, importation, or sale of any book, map, chart, dramatic or musical composition, print, cut, engraving, or photograph, written, composed, or made by any person not a citizen of the United States nor resident therein.'

Thus it was that the work of an alien author could under no circumstances, until the passing of the new Act, acquire protection in the United States, save under the condition of permanent residence; the words 'resident therein' in the above-quoted section of the statutes being construed to mean a fixed residence or domicile, acquired with the intention of permanency and not with the 'animus revertendi.' On this cardinal point the law of the United States differed from that of almost every civilized state. The new Act, however, repeals Section 4971 of the Revised Statutes, and permits the alien author of any object of literary or artistic property to acquire copyright in the United States, under the following conditions:—

'He must on or before the day of publication in the United States, or in any foreign country, deposit with the librarian of Congress

Congress a printed copy of the title of the book, map, chart, dramatic or musical composition, engraving, cut, print, photograph or chromo; or a description of the 'painting, drawing, statue, statuary, or model or design for a work of the fine arts.' He must also deposit two copies of the book, map, &c., or a photograph of the painting, drawing, &c.; provided that in the case of a book, photograph, chromo, or lithograph, 'the two copies of the same' must be 'printed from type set within the limits of the United States, or from plates made therefrom, or from negatives, or drawings on stone, made within the limits of the United States; or from transfers made therefrom.'

During the existence of the copyright, the importation of any book, chromo, lithograph, or photograph so copyrighted, or plates of the same produced abroad, is prohibited, except two copies at a time, with the written consent of the proprietor of the copyright. In the case of books in foreign languages of which English translations only are copyrighted, the prohibition of importation applies only to the translations, and not to the original works.

Similar provisions to the above are made in regard to new editions which contain substantial changes. The right of dramatization of novels is secured, and manuscripts are protected from piracy. The Act is to come into force on the 1st of July, 1891.

The final section of the Act is, however, as follows:—

'Sect. 13. That this Act shall only apply to a citizen or subject of a foreign State or nation, when such foreign State or nation permits the citizens of the United States of America the benefit of copyright on substantially the same basis as its own citizens; or when such foreign State or nation is a party to an International Agreement which provides for reciprocity in the granting of copyright, by the terms of which Agreement the United States of America may at its pleasure become a party to such an Agreement. The existence of either of the conditions aforesaid shall be determined by the President of the United States by Proclamation made from time to time as the purposes of this Act may require.'

It will thus be seen that the Act is not at once operative as regards Great Britain, or British subjects, and will not be so until the President's Proclamation has been issued to that effect, which can only be done under the conditions specified in Section 13.

A moment's consideration will show that an Act conceived in such a spirit must give rise to complex and doubtful issues. The magnitude of the interests at stake, the language common to both nations, and the struggle for commercial supremacy in
which

which they both are engaged, invest the subject with a real attraction for the student of political economy, but make any attempt to forecast its practical outcome a very hazardous proceeding. No such attempt will be made in the present paper, the object of which is merely to throw, if possible, some light on the general facts surrounding the question. We may perhaps incidentally unlock the door of an armoury long disused, in case we haply there may see some weapons of defence—rusted, it is true, from long disuse—and possibly, when examined by Sir Thomas Farrer with his customary acid re-agents, or with his Free Trade microscope of double-million magnifying power, showing traces of corrosion by the canker of Protection. Such old-world weapons may not beseeem the hand of modern man; but there attaches to them at least an antiquarian interest.

It must at the outset be made clear that the copyright question between Great Britain and the United States presents few, if any, features in common with our copyright relations with any other foreign State.

In copyright the United States are to us a little more than kin, and less than kind: our relationship in the matter being somewhat like that expressed by the attaché in a continental capital, who, being asked what people he had met at a certain reception, replied, 'Oh! I met a few English people, a few Americans, and a whole lot of foreigners.'

In the matter of copyright a common language and kindred institutions form bonds of relationship closer than those of the rest of the world. Almost every civilized State, save the United States of America, has now for many years past recognized the abstract right of the alien author, whether of literary or artistic works, to some sort of protection; and the difficulty in international dealings has arisen in most cases, not from any disinclination to concede the right in principle, but from divergence of opinion as to the measure, method, or circumstances in which it ought properly to be granted. Inexhaustible variety may be discovered in the domestic laws of various States as to the duration of copyright, the actual objects of intellectual property which are susceptible of protection, and the proper formalities to establish a valid title to such protection as may be granted in each State.

We do not wish on the present occasion to enter upon any detailed examination of these difficulties as affecting any foreign country except the United States, but it may be observed in passing that the International Copyright Convention, which was signed at Berne on the 6th of September, 1886, does now in practice

practice give a very effectual protection to the authors of literary or artistic works throughout the Union, which comprises amongst its members Great Britain with all her colonies, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Switzerland, and other minor States.

The principles of this Union are of the simplest kind, being based on the theory of 'national treatment:' that is to say, in each State of the Union, works first produced in any of the contracting States enjoy the same protection as is granted to native authors, on the condition that such works have acquired a legal title to copyright in the country of origin, *i.e.* where the work was first published. Certain fixed conditions are laid down, defining the minimum of protection to authors which must be granted by the law of any State before it can join the Union.

The International Convention, it is true, is but a first step in the right direction, and many points in its phraseology and stipulations may hereafter be found susceptible of amelioration. The main point has, however, been gained in an international consensus of opinion that literary and artistic works are *property*, and as such entitled to protection from theft or misappropriation.

As regards the continent of Europe this is probably as far as it is possible to go at present. Thus has commenced the codification of international law in the matter of copyright; but further years of experience in the practical working of the convention are needful before the time arrives to select the best portions of the domestic law of each State, in order to frame a copyright code which shall be operative in all the States of the Union.

Now, between various countries speaking different languages, the question of translation naturally occupies a very prominent position in copyright negotiations. A book in a foreign tongue can never acquire more than a limited circulation in any State, and thus translation becomes the principal form of reproduction; standing in the same relation to the original work as an engraving does to a picture, and being of more international importance even than the right of protection extended to the original work. It would be obviously idle to acquire for the original work an extended term of protection, whilst translation, the principal form of reproduction, should be neglected.

In such a case it is obvious that the question of where the type is to be set for a book, is comparatively immaterial: the work set up in one State, in the language of that State, having small chances of circulation in the other State.

Another

Another principal factor in copyright as regards books is, the condition of the market in each State. Density of population, the extent to which the education of the masses may have been advanced, the financial capacity of the lower and middle classes to buy books: all these considerations have to be taken into account in negotiations affecting international copyright.

Now let us see how all this works in the case of Great Britain and the United States. The same language in both countries—though spelled and expressed somewhat differently. ‘Speaking the same language,’ Mr. James Russell Lowell was once heard to say, ‘naturally we cannot understand each other.’ In England a dense population; books supplied by circulating libraries; prices of editions high; and individual book-buyers few and far between. In the United States, a scattered population; no circulating libraries; but individual purchasers of books on a very large scale at the lowest possible prices. The question of translation does not come in at all.

The motives which have induced the United States to change their former cynical policy of international spoliation are not far to seek. In the first place, the sympathies of the whole of the literary class. The budding author in the United States has never hitherto had a chance of coming into blossom. ‘How can I possibly afford to give you anything for your manuscript, or even to take the trouble of reading it, far less risk the expense of production?’ the American publisher has hitherto said to the unknown author. ‘Why, sir, I can select from the best English authors, and publish their works for nothing, or at most, at the expense of a few pounds for advance sheets. You must not come to me to give you a start.’ This it is which has stunted in its growth the literary youth of a country which might, under more favourable circumstances, have but few rivals in the arena of letters. In the second place, many of the American publishers find the game of piracy does not always pay, and that honesty may after all sometimes be the best policy. Some years ago a ‘custom of the trade’ prevailed in the United States which forbade the publishing trade at large to reprint a British work already pirated by any one American firm, which firm consequently kept the sale of this particular work entirely in its own hands. The fact that this trade usage has entirely disappeared for some years past, explains how it is that an American publisher may find it more profitable to pay for his literary wares, and so become a legal monopolist. In the third place, the reading public of the United States will not probably in the long run have to pay higher prices for their books in consequence of the operation of the new law. Under hitherto existing conditions there

there might be several pirated editions of the same English work ; one at one dollar being quickly undersold by another at fifty cents, leaving the unsold stock of the former edition as a drag in the market, and so much capital wasted. Thus many times over might be incurred the cost of setting the type, and advertising the same book—the latter always a heavy item of expenditure ; and the cost of these repeated and perhaps fruitless operations must in the end have been always borne by the American book-buying public.

Under the existing law the production will be kept in the hands of one firm, which, though able to control the price as monopolist, can at least meet a popular demand with the fewest elements of expense in actual production ; and must in the end conform its sales to the customary and most remunerative scale, which in America will always be one of small prices.

What has just been stated further explains one source of the so-called 'manufacturing clauses' in the new Act. Principles of high national morality, however, even when backed by the interested support of certain publishers who found themselves losers in the game of underselling, would have been powerless to pass this Act if the aid of the manufacturers on the ground of protection had not been secured. The Typographic Unions were appealed to, and informed that a moderate measure of copyright to English authors, contingent on their works being set in type and printed in America, would bring much employment to the American printers and paper-makers. The copyright may have been a 'regrettable incident' in the view of these manufacturers, but it was indispensable to the protection, and so the Bill was forced through by a combination of these heterogeneous forces.

When, added to all these solid considerations, Brother Jonathan further discerned a chance of putting on the commercial screw, and of twisting the British publisher's tail, can we be surprised that the cause of honesty has at last prevailed ? Under these circumstances Mr. James Russell Lowell's historic couplet has become popular, and has been taken to heart :

' In vain we call old notions fudge,
And suit our conscience to our dealing :
The ten commandments will not budge,
And stealing will continue stealing.'

We must not, however, omit to acknowledge with sincere gratitude the honourable efforts of certain American citizens in the cause of International honesty ; notably the members of the New York Copyright League, who have worked manfully to

secure the passing of a really satisfactory measure. Many earnest workers and thinkers in the United States have been ceaseless in their endeavours in behalf of copyright, from the practical New York publisher to the almost whimsical intervention of the popular divine in the pulpit. A sermon preached in 1888 to a fashionable audience at Washington cites the following texts :—

‘Let him that stole steal no more.’—Eph. iv. 28.

‘Render therefore to all their dues.’—Rom. xiii. 7.

‘Provide things honest in the sight of all men.’—2 Cor. viii. 21.

‘Walk honestly toward them that are without.’—1 Thess. iv. 12.

and contains the following spirited passage, which we cannot refrain from quoting :—

‘The sin, my brethren, lies in the stupefying fact that ours is the only civilized Christian country on the globe which deliberately and persistently denies to foreigners the same justice which it secures to its own citizens, and declares that the intellectual property of an alien shall be forfeited and confiscated the moment it touches our border. The nation says to the German, the Frenchman, the Englishman, “You have written a book. We want it, and we propose to take it. You have no rights that we are bound to respect. We shall reprint your work, and mutilate it, and sell it, and do as we like with it, and you shall never receive a penny for it.” Observe what this means. It means that a foreigner is *hostis*—an enemy. This was the avowed theory of the old heathen world, and under its influence piracy became a lawful and profitable industry. “Man upon the waters, and the shark in them, had a common right to feed upon what they could subdue.”’ *

To return to the practical issue before us, we may here explain, for the benefit of any reader who does not already know it, the process by which a book destined for any considerable circulation is now usually produced. The leaden types are set by hand in the ordinary way; but in a majority of cases the sheets are printed not from the type itself, but from *stereotype* or *electrotype* plates moulded from it. It is not necessary to enter into a description of the manner in which these plates are manufactured; suffice it to say, that ‘electros’ are more costly and more durable than ‘stereos,’ and that either process is, in ordinary circumstances, considerably less expensive than the composition of an equal amount of type.

* ‘The National Sin of Literary Piracy.’ By Henry van Dyke, D.D.

Bearing

Bearing this process in mind, the importance of the words in the American Act are at once manifest: '*Printed from type set within the limits of the United States, or from plates made therefrom.*' Previous attempts at legislation on the other side of the Atlantic have usually aimed only at the insertion of a stipulation that the work of an alien author, in order to acquire protection in the United States, should be reprinted and republished, or possibly only republished, in that country. Under the first of these latter conditions, stereotypes prepared in this country could be used for the purpose of reprinting; and under the second, copies of the entire work stitched, and even bound, could have been imported for the purpose of republication: the only disadvantage to the alien author would have been the Customs' duty imposed in America upon stereotypes, printed matter, or bound books. The new American Act, however, has for its direct aim the printing, making-up, binding, and publishing of books in America instead of in England; possibly not for the supply of the American market only, but also for the supply of the English market. It is idle at present to forecast the result of such an enactment to English trade. The very best authorities in this country hold contrary opinions on the subject. Mr. E. Marston, than whom there can be no one more competent to speak, expresses his opinion in his letter to the '*Times*' of the 1st of January last, that 'this terrible Bill will not have such damaging effects on our home industries as some alarmists have predicted,' and goes on to state his impression that the manufacturing clause will soon be erased from the Statute Book of the United States. On the other hand, many competent authorities have in the public press expressed opinions in a directly contrary sense; and the belief, that serious damage will result to the English printing and publishing trades, is certainly widely spread amongst those engaged in the business. We know that some eminent experts on copyright are entirely of the latter opinion.

The principal difficulties arise in regard to books, but the direct gain to British owners, whether of literary or artistic works, when the Act has been applied to Great Britain, is apparent on the face of it. It must, however, be recollected that it is not the interests of authors alone that have to be taken into account in questions of copyright. The three class interests which it is the duty of the Government to consider, and if possible to reconcile, may be stated in strict order of precedence thus: the public, the author, and the manufacturer, the last category comprising bookbinders, printers, paper-makers, and, to a less extent, publishers. On the whole the public

interest is to be preferred to those of any class, and advanced by any measures consistent with honesty to the producing class.

The interest of the public is to get good books, and cheap books. To get good books it is necessary that the author shall be stimulated by an ample reward, and allowed to thrive under the best possible conditions. To get cheap books does not necessarily mean that they shall be cheap to buy, as the demand may in many cases, and for many kinds of works, be adequately supplied by circulating and public libraries. But to get cheap books it is necessary that the manufacturing class should do a large business, and should not be hampered by vexatious or unfair conditions of trade. The printers, bookbinders, and other handicraft workmen connected with the publishing trade are dependent to a great extent upon the Government of the day as regards the conditions under which they earn their livelihood; and it is the duty of statesmen to examine carefully any complaints which may reach them from such a quarter.

The arguments, by which those who consider that the new American Act will have little effect on the English publishing and printing trades support their opinions, are as follows.

Under hitherto existing conditions in America, when English books could be reprinted for nothing, the number of British authors, whose works commanded any circulation in that country, was by no means large. If the whole supply of works by those authors, which is now required for the English market, were in future to be printed in the United States, it would probably mean only the loss of a small percentage of the printing and allied trades in England. We have not space at our command to go thoroughly into statistics, but it may be observed that, according to the 'Publishers' Circular,' the total number of new books and new editions produced in the United Kingdom in 1889 was—

New books	4,694
New editions	1,373
	<hr/>
Total	6,067

This represents but a very small proportion of the total annual business in printing in the United Kingdom. The actual cost of setting up type is not a considerable item in producing a book which has a good circulation; and, in fact, when books enjoy considerable popularity, the type is often set several times. As regards the generality of authors then, they will in England, now as hitherto, simply make terms with an English publisher, who will print in England for the English market,

market, and secure the American copyright by arranging for a reprint in the United States, with which that market will be supplied.

As regards fiction, and many other classes of books, the form of edition commonly used in America would not be suitable for the custom of the English trade. A novel in a paper wrapper at twenty-five or fifty cents, designed for individual purchasers on a large scale, would not be useful in England under the existing rather abnormal conditions of the book market, where the three-volume novel at a retail price of 31s. 6d. is supplied from the circulating library. The spelling and other mannerisms of the States are unacceptable to the English taste. How, it is asked, would the cultivated reader—still more the author—endure to see words spelt *offense*, *center*, *theater*, *publick*, &c., which would be the case if the editions for the supply of the English market were printed in New York? But we do not imagine that it would interfere with the sale of cheap books and periodicals, judging by the sale in this country of such magazines as 'Harper,' 'Scribner,' and 'The Century,' and of such popular works as 'John Ward, Preacher.'

On the other hand, the English trade opponents of the Bill maintain that the New York publishers will systematically bid for the custom of British authors, and offer better terms for printing in America for both markets, than could be obtained by making separate arrangements for the supply of each. The American copyright *must* be secured by printing in America; why then should the British author print in England at all? In fine, New York will become the publishing centre of the world.

Even those well-known authors, principally of fiction, who may find it remunerative to meet the first demand by editions suitable to each market—printed in both countries—will, for subsequent and cheaper editions, probably be content with production in America alone, for the supply of the markets of both countries: whilst, in regard both to works with illustrations, and to editions which would be costly in setting up, it is clear that the expense of a double production would not repay the risk, and would be money thrown away.

We are not disposed to act as arbitrator in this conflict of opinion. Time alone can show what will be the result of the new state of things; and we must be content to wait and see whether British commercial enterprise and pluck will not be able to cope with the preferential terms accorded by American law to Transatlantic rivals.

One probable result of the Bill must be mentioned here as likely to be of some importance. We mean the disappointment which it will cause to many unsuccessful authors, who fondly imagine that an increased market will render to their books increased circulation. They will in time learn that this Bill will not make unpopular books popular, even though it does afford to celebrated authors a considerable increase in their due remuneration.

It is necessary here to refer briefly to one or two other points which have a considerable bearing on the attitude which Great Britain should assume under the altered condition of things. First of them is the position of Canada. By the passing of the International and Colonial Copyright Act, 1886 (49 & 50 Vict. c. 33), there was realized a great idea—that of Imperial Copyright; a step in the direction of the Federation of the British Empire. Under its provisions, Literary or Artistic Works first published in any part of Her Majesty's Dominions may acquire copyright in every other part of the Empire.

Under the Foreign Reprints Act, 1847, however, Canada, in common with many another British Colony, has the privilege of importing foreign reprints of any British works, produced even without consent of the author, on the condition of collecting a Customs' duty of 12 per cent. for the benefit of the author. The principle of this Act seems hard to defend on any plea save that of expediency, for it is obvious that under it the Canadian reading public has for many years past been principally supplied with the works of British authors pirated in the United States. The collection of the Customs' duties for the author has not been a success, since statistics show that for the ten years ending in 1876 the total sum remitted by Canada on this account was about 1000*l.*, or not more than 100*l.* a year, to satisfy the claims of all British authors.

Desirable though it may be that the Canadian public should have books cheap, it cannot be right in the abstract that the British author should be compelled to supply them at unremunerative prices. It is also to a certain extent a condonation of American piracy, a receiving of stolen goods on paying a small fine to the owner.

This state of things will practically cease in the case of works of which copyright has been secured by the new Act of the United States,* and it remains to be seen, as in the case of the United Kingdom, whether the Canadian printers and pub-

* It must be borne in mind that this Act will not put an end to piracy in the States. No existing works will be protected; and many new books, owing to the stringent 'simultaneous publication' clause, will probably fail to obtain copyright.

lishers will be able to fight their own battle without adventitious aid by legislative means.

The Canadian Government recently, in 1889, passed an Act substituting for the operation of the Foreign Reprints Act a provision that any book for which the author, whether British or foreign, does not acquire a Canadian copyright by means of reprinting and republishing in Canada, may be reprinted at will by any one in Canada, on payment of a royalty to the author of 10 per cent. This Act is not yet in operation, the Royal Assent being at present reserved, but its similarity in spirit to the American Act will at once strike the reader. In theory it is indefensible, and the most that can be said for it is, that, instead of direct robbery, it substitutes seizure upon arbitrary compensation. In its defence, however, the Canadians urge with justice that the English Royal Commission in 1878 reported in favour of copyright by royalty in the Colonies, which would be something similar to the Canadian Act. We do not concur in this recommendation of the Royal Commission, but must content ourselves for the moment with this passing reference to it.

It is clear at all events that this is not an opportune moment for passing a new statute on Copyright in Canada, the effects of the new legislation of the United States being not yet apparent, and the general conditions of the trade being consequently in an undetermined state. The Canadian Act is a violation of the existing Imperial Copyright Statutes, which operate in Canada, and give effective protection therein to works first published in any portion of the British Empire, without any condition of reprinting in Canada. It would imply the destruction of the recently accomplished fabric of Imperial Copyright, and would involve the secession of Canada from the International Copyright Union, the principles of which do not admit of any such condition being required as reprinting or republication. It is, therefore, earnestly to be hoped that in the general interests of the Empire, the Canadian Government will refrain from pressing this Act upon Her Majesty's Government for completion at the present moment.

The provisions of the Bernese International Copyright Convention may also be found to have a considerable bearing on the new American Act. It was the desire of all real American supporters of International Copyright that the United States should join the International Convention, but the manufacturing difficulty presented an immediate obstacle to the realization of this wish. It is, however, possible that the wording of the final section of the American Act, previously quoted in this article,

may

may have been designed to facilitate the entry of the United States into the Union.

It was, no doubt, the intention of the framers of the International Convention of Berne that the protection to be granted in each State of the Union to works first produced in any other State thereof, should be subject to *one sole condition*, i.e. the acquisition of a legal title to copyright in the country of origin; but it is not certain that this intention has been expressed with sufficient precision. For example, it is nowhere expressly stated in so many words that reprinting, republishing, re-registration, or deposit, may not be required in the foreign country where the protection is claimed, as well as the acquisition of a legal title to copyright in the country of origin. Nor are prohibitory duties on books anywhere expressly forbidden. The spirit of the Convention is plain; but to any country so disposed, there remain plenty of gaps through which the proverbial coach and four might be driven.

An illustration of the construction which may be placed upon the words of the International Convention is afforded by the recent judgment in the Chancery Division in the case of *Fishburn v. Hollingshead*. This practically amounts to a decision that a work of art first published in Germany (which is one of the parties to the Copyright Union), and having there acquired a legal title to protection, must, in order to obtain protection in the United Kingdom, be registered here. The ground for this decision is, that the International Convention, by Article II., only grants to foreigners the same treatment as native subjects enjoy. Native subjects must register here, and, therefore, so must foreigners.

We have some doubt as to the soundness of this judgment, especially in view of the terms of another Article in the Convention; and still more do we doubt whether this argument could be extended to books, for reasons which we have not space to develop here. Any one who is practically interested in the subject must read the International Copyright Convention for himself, and as regards this point we refer him especially to Articles II. and XI. In the meantime, however, it is possible that there is a loophole in the wording of the International Convention which might be remedied at the next meeting of the Union, which will probably take place at Paris next year. But, as before stated, the intention of the existing Convention is clear, and it is to be hoped that all the States who are parties to the Union will decidedly refuse to admit to it any country which requires, as a condition of protection, that works shall be reprinted and republished within its own territory.

territory." If such a State were to be admitted, it would probably bring about the destruction of this Union, which has already achieved such excellent results.

In view of all the circumstances of the case, as shown in the preceding pages, Her Majesty's Government have now before them the difficult and delicate task of deciding whether any legislative action is required on the part of Great Britain. In considering this question the first thing is to ascertain what are the provisions and principles of the existing English law; not, by the way, a task of the greatest ease, the said law being comprised in eighteen more or less complicated and unintelligible statutes.

The Royal Commission of 1878 reported that 'the form of the existing British Copyright Law is bad, that it is wholly destitute of any sort of arrangement, incomplete, often obscure, and, even where it is intelligible upon long study, it is in many parts so ill-expressed that no one who does not give such study can expect to understand it.'

The effect of the English law in regard to books may, however, be stated as follows:—

Any person, be his nationality British or foreign, who first publishes a book in the United Kingdom, can acquire protection for it by complying with the prescribed formalities as to registration, deposit, &c. The copyright is not forfeited if these formalities are not complied with, but they must of necessity be complied with as a condition precedent to bringing an action for infringement of copyright. The condition of residence in the United Kingdom at the time of publication, which has been laid down by some jurists as a principle flowing from the English statutes, has been found in practice to be unnecessary, even if it has not been rendered entirely obsolete by the International and Colonial Copyright Act of 1886. Residence may therefore be considered to be unnecessary for the purpose of acquiring an English copyright. The foreigner is thus under no disability which does not attach to the British subject, and the measure of advantages granted to the former has been greatly enhanced by the above-mentioned Act of 1886, which extends equal protection to works first published by native or foreigner in any British possession which has made due provision for registration of such works.

'First publication,' according to English law, has been interpreted to mean not only publication in Her Majesty's Dominions before a work has been published elsewhere, but also simultaneous publication in Her Majesty's Dominions and in a foreign State. This is a point of great importance in regard
to

to the Anglo-American question, since a book published simultaneously in London and New York, for example, can obtain an English as well as an American copyright. But if the work were first published in New York, whether by American or Englishman, without simultaneous publication in Her Majesty's Dominions, the English copyright would be irretrievably lost, and the book could be reprinted throughout the British Empire without the consent of, or any remuneration to, the author. Publication in either country does not necessarily mean printing there, but merely the exposition of copies for sale.

To get at the root of the matter we must appreciate the fundamental principle which underlies the English law, and which is the motive for granting copyright facilities in Her Majesty's Dominions to all foreigners, even to those who are subjects of States which grant no reciprocal protection to British authors. There can be no question that the leading principle of the English statutes, so far as foreigners are concerned, is one of a Protectionist tendency; devised in the interests of British publishers and manufacturers, of whom the former must be entrusted with the publication of the work, and the latter may scrape up certain pickings in the way of printing, stitching, and binding. It has indeed been asserted by some that the existing English statutes do in fact now require printing as well as first publication in Her Majesty's Dominions as a condition to the acquirement of a valid copyright. We do not think this doctrine can be sustained, but allude to it in order to show the tendency of the law.

The secondary principle is one of reciprocity—or Fair Trade—namely, that protection in Her Majesty's Dominions shall not be accorded to any work first published abroad (save in cases of simultaneous publication), except under the terms of a Convention, which must contain such promise of reciprocal advantages to works first published in this country as 'it appears expedient to Her Majesty to require' (49 & 50 Vict. c. 33, sect. 4 (2). 1886); the above provision being an extension in a more liberal spirit of the terms of the pre-existing law, which contemplated an exact reciprocity.

Thus in effect English law says to the foreigner: 'Come and publish your book in England or the British Colonies; give to British publishers, printers, bookbinders, &c., the trade which such publication implies, and we will give you protection throughout Her Majesty's Dominions, on the same terms as we give it to British authors; and this irrespective of whether you do or do not accord equivalent advantages to British authors in your own country.' Besides this quasi-Protectionist invitation,
English

English law holds out a further suggestion for reciprocity, saying: 'We will give to your works, even published abroad, the same protection as we give to the works of natives first published in Her Majesty's Dominions, provided that you will grant satisfactory protection in your country to works first published in Her Majesty's Dominions.'

It is evident that before we throw stones at our American cousins for the iniquity and meanness of their recent Copyright Act, we must examine the heart of our law, and take heed that our own house is not partially constructed of glass.

Bearing in mind the above-mentioned tendency of existing British Copyright law, it remains to be seen whether, if any serious displacement of trade in the direction of the United States should in reality follow the passing of the new Act, there are any means of redressing in the Old World the balance of trade disturbed by legislation in the New.

We prefer to mention briefly all that occur to us; not by any means as indicating that they are suitable remedies, but simply as an exhibition of weapons which can be employed at the will of the nation. We are not to be frightened by the mere word 'Protection,' now used by some as a nursery bogey, without consideration of consequences. The reason why a Government is placed in power in any country is, first, to protect the subjects of that country; and if perchance it could be shown that in some cases—exceptional, if you will—Protection does not mean injury to the public at large, we should be inclined to say, 'Protect.' If trade injury to the United Kingdom or its colonies were really to follow the operation of this American Act—designed as it is to effect that object—and if it could be demonstrably shown that compulsorily confining the supply of the English book market to works printed in Her Majesty's Dominions, would not sensibly increase the cost of literature to the public; then the expediency of remedial legislation might be considered.

The true criterion seems to be this—If the loss in pounds, shillings, and pence to the publishing and allied trades in Her Majesty's Dominions is greater than the saving in cost of books to the public brought about by printing in America instead of in England, then a case has been shown for legislation. Or, to put it in another way, if the operation of the new American Act is followed by an immediate and sensible decrease in the price of books throughout the British Empire, well and good, even if it is accompanied by some loss of trade in the way of book manufacture; but if the loss of trade results, and books get no cheaper, then there is ground for alarm.

Now,

Now, the entire effect of the Act as regards the manufacturing clauses could evidently be defeated by the prohibition of entry from any foreign State, to be named in an Order in Council, of stereotypes and of any printed matter entitled in Her Majesty's Dominions to a copyright of origin; that is to say, first published therein. A similar effect would follow the substitution for prohibition of a Customs' duty on such articles—either calculated to act as a prohibitory rate, or to produce a small revenue. These measures may clearly be termed Protectionist, but it may be doubted whether they would really increase the cost of books to the British public. In the United Kingdom, at least, books can probably be printed and put on the market cheaper than anywhere else—certainly cheaper than in America. The actual cost of setting the type is not a very important item in the total cost of a work which has a large circulation. For example, in England the actual expense of composition, or setting the type, for a book of 200 pages, with 300 words to the page, need not exceed 12*l.* or 13*l.*, though it is rarely so little. It would, we imagine, certainly cost much more than this in the United States, owing to the dearth of labour, but we are not able to quote exact figures.

Such measures would also tend to favour the publishing trades in the British Colonies, especially in Canada, for naturally neither prohibition nor duty would extend to importations from any part of the British Empire.

Another mode of neutralizing the effect of the Act would be to enact that simultaneous publication abroad and at home should not be held to be first publication for the purposes of an English copyright. This would mean that under the lately-passed American law an English or an American author must choose whether he would have an English or an American copyright. He could not have both; and thus the English author would remain in pretty much the same position as before the passing of the Act, whilst the American author would lose a privilege he now enjoys. Any value such a measure might possess would be simply as an attempt to drive the United States to a more liberal policy. It would protect the manufacturer at the expense of the author. Legislation on these lines might, however, be confined to aliens, or subjects of States which do not belong to the Copyright Union.

A method of retaliation, pure and simple, with a Protectionist bias, would be to enact that an American author should not be permitted to enjoy an English copyright, except the work were printed from type set within Her Majesty's dominions. This would give an exact reciprocity as between Great Britain and the

the United States, and would complete the now existing Protectionist tendency of our Copyright Law.

The last countervailing measure we shall mention is one which has found a good many advocates in the public press. It is a suggestion that a book by a British or foreign author must, in order to acquire an English copyright, be printed from type set within Her Majesty's Dominions, or in a country which is a party to the International Copyright Union. This would certainly mean increased business to English publishers and printers. It is doubtful whether it would increase the cost of production, but it might possibly lead to unforeseen effects in regard to the printing on the Continent of books designed for the English market. It would also present special features of danger in connexion with the British Colonies, who might wish to insist that a reprint within their own colony of a work first published in the United Kingdom, or in some other part of Her Majesty's Dominions, should be necessary to preserve the copyright in that particular colony. Anything leading to such a result would be most unfortunate, as tending to weaken the principle of Imperial Copyright.

Clearly, on general principles, all the methods above indicated are in themselves of an illiberal and retrograde character, only to be adopted in case of most urgent necessity, and leading possibly to the spread of narrow-minded principles of copyright in our colonies and throughout the world. It must, further, be taken into account that the new American Act is not yet operative as regards Great Britain. It cannot benefit English authors, nor damage English publishers and printers, until it has been applied to Great Britain by Proclamation of the President of the United States; and this can only be issued if we grant to United States citizens substantially the same benefits of copyright as we grant to British subjects, or are parties to an International Agreement respecting copyright, to which the United States may at will become a party on terms of reciprocity. The Proclamation might also, we presume, be revoked, even when once issued, if any changes were made in our laws in a direction contrary to the provisions of the American Act.

It is clear, however, that the battle for supremacy in the publishing business must, if fought at all, be fought out single-handed between Great Britain and the United States. If it is found that a commercial blow has been dealt to us by the operation of the Act, and if we are really hurt, we have to consider whether we will take it standing up or lying down. Foreign countries having a different language, have also different

ferent copyright relations with the United States from those which we have. They cannot help us a bit, and we must fight for our own hand.

Supposing, however, that the commercial loss resultant from the operation of the American Act were ever so clearly proven, it is nevertheless obvious that any English Government, before it could even contemplate remedial legislation, must be in a position to count upon the support of such measures by a sufficient majority in Parliament, backed up by a very decided expression of public opinion in that direction.

Evidently, therefore, the time has not yet come for the consideration of any legislative action. Probably it never will come; and any attempt on the part of public bodies or individuals to urge the Government into hasty and premature measures would be ill-advised, and much to be deprecated.

We must wait and see what happens, rather than rush in to cure a disease which at present is scarcely known to exist, and of which no accurate diagnosis has yet been made.

- ART. VI.—1. *Suggestions for the Extension of the University—submitted to the Rev. the Vice-Chancellor.* By Wm. Sewell, B.D., Sub-Rector and Senior Tutor of Exeter Coll. Oxford, 1850.
2. *A Suggestion for supplying the Literary, Scientific, and Mechanics' Institutes of Great Britain and Ireland with Lecturers from the Universities.* By Lord Arthur Hervey, M.A. Cambridge, 1855.
3. *A Letter on University Extension, addressed to the Resident Members of the University of Cambridge.* By James Stuart. Cambridge, 1871.
4. *Reports of the Oxford Committee of Delegates of Local Examinations appointed to carry into effect the Statute for Lectures and Teaching in large Towns: of the Cambridge Syndicate for Local Lectures: of the Committee for Local Lectures of the Victoria University: and of the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching.*
5. *Address on the University Extension Movement.* By R. G. Moulton, A.M., of Cambridge, England. Philadelphia, 1891.
6. *Annual Address to the Students of the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching.* By the Bishop of Durham. March 7th, 1891.

THE historian of the future, when he surveys the social development of England during the present century, will be struck by the recuperative power manifested by more than one of our ancient institutions. He will point to the ever-growing popularity of the National Church as the supreme example of such a beneficent revival. Little more than a hundred years ago, Adam Smith sardonically remarked that 'the clergy of an established and well-endowed religion are apt gradually to lose the qualities, both good and bad, which give them authority and influence with the inferior ranks of people:' that 'the arts of popularity are constantly on the side of the adversaries of the Established Church,' and that 'in England those arts have been long neglected by the well-endowed clergy and are chiefly cultivated by the Dissenters and Methodists.' Singularly blind as was the author of the 'Wealth of Nations' to the significance and moment of the spiritual element in the life of a people, insensible with the polite callousness of his school to the deeper necessities of religious authority, he was guilty of no oversight in forming this estimate of the more popular activities of the Church of England at the time in which he wrote. But to-day all is changed. What slum is there into which the clergy fail to penetrate? what sharp privation of the indigent do they not seek to relieve? Almost the

first act of a new Archbishop is to address a crowded gathering of working-men; hardly has an ambitious scheme for the succour of poverty been published to the world than it is discovered that every practicable detail of it has been anticipated by some active society of the Church; and, when a statesman steps forward to demand a change in the political position of part of the Establishment, he is compelled in candour to preface his vote by a tribute to her spiritual energy and devotion.

Hardly less remarkable has been the revival of the Universities. 'In the University of Oxford,' wrote Adam Smith, 'the greater part of the public professors have given up even the pretence of teaching,' and no one gainsaid the charge. Against his own College Gibbon brought the bitter accusation that the months he spent within its famous walls were 'the most unprofitable of his life.' 'At the present day,' wrote a candid observer in 1839, 'there prevails, without any doubt in public opinion, a more or less unfavourable judgment, and in its extremes an implacably hostile feeling, against Oxford and Cambridge, which is proclaimed in every variety of tone and manner and from the most different quarters.'*

Speaking of Oxford, indeed, Cardinal Newman could say in 1852 that it was 'about fifty years since that University, after a century of inactivity, at length was roused, at a time when it was giving no education at all to the youth committed to its keeping, to a sense of the responsibilities which its profession and its station involved;† but, though much had then been done to reform its constitution and enlarge its usefulness, there remained many causes for public discontent. Since that time, England has passed through a series of, in some respects, revolutionary changes. Hardly any institution of the country has escaped legislative enactment, not one has been unaffected by the temper of the time. Twice has Parliament overhauled the discipline, studies, and revenues of the Universities. Scarcely less potent influences have modified them from within. And, as a result of this laborious reform, the old Universities enjoy to-day the esteem and confidence of the country to a degree which was impossible under the old conditions of exclusiveness and religious separation. Their studies have been amplified, their tests of efficiency improved, the value of their degrees enhanced, the expenditure of their revenues corrected. But these changes are, when compared with others, mechanical and relatively unimportant. It is of greater concern that the national Universities

* Huber: 'English Universities.' F. Newman's translation, vol. ii. p. 348.

† 'Idea of a University.' Discourse 1.

can now welcome the representatives, and influence the youth, of every section of the community. Nor has this revival of vigour been confined to the internal affairs of Oxford and Cambridge. It has borne fruit in their relations to the country at large. While the old bonds of pious affection between non-resident graduates and their *Alma Mater* have been strengthened, new ties have been formed between the Universities and the great classes which are debarred by poverty or occupation from directly availing themselves of the advantages of University life. Almost every English town of importance has become an outpost of University influence. Forty thousand students, drawn from every rank and employment, have availed themselves within the last twelve months of teaching established under the supervision and authority of Oxford or Cambridge, Durham, London, or Victoria; and this movement for the extension of University teaching, which began eighteen years ago with a few tentative experiments, has steadily grown until it has now reached proportions of national importance. 'Hitherto,' said the Bishop of Durham, in his eloquent address at the Mansion House, 'the Universities have fulfilled their teaching office for a few. Now they are endeavouring to extend it to every town and village, and to make it effective even for those who are busily engaged in various industries.'

Although it is only eighteen years since the first attempts were made to establish the present form of University Extension teaching in towns where no University exists, the general movement for University Extension has a much longer history. Even in the medieval history of the Universities there was a comical anticipation of it. A royal document, issued on February 1, 1265, greets the mayor and citizens of Northampton with this solemn warning:—

'Whereas, upon the occasion of a great contention which arose in the town of Cambridge about three years ago, certain clerks, then staying there, with one accord seceded from that town and transferred themselves to Northampton, desirous there to establish a new University; we, then thinking that the town might be bettered by it, and that much advantage might arise to us from it, assented to the wishes of the said clerks and their request upon this matter. But, since we have now heard with truth, from the account of many creditable personages, that our town of Oxford might be injured in no slight degree by a University of this kind, if it were to become permanent, . . . we strictly prohibit your permitting any University hereafter in your town.' *

* Quoted in Huber, 'English Universities,' vol. i. p. 416.

It is interesting to note the King's admission that benefits might be derived by the town of Northampton from the extension of University teaching, for at the present time Northampton is again the centre of such teaching, supervised once more by graduates of the University of Cambridge, the sister University no longer seeking to interfere with their laudable efforts.

There is yet another quaint parallel in medieval history to the modern scheme for University Extension teaching. Oxford was troubled in 1334 by riots between the northern and southern factions of the students. The Castle could hardly contain the prisoners. A studious life became almost impossible by reason of the turmoil and confusion. Accordingly some of the more industrious students went off to Stamford, where they hoped to continue their work in quiet. But the King recalled them to Oxford. In vain the students pleaded that they had left Oxford because of the noise and tumult. The Sheriff of Lincoln was ordered to threaten the recalcitrant offenders with the forfeiture of their goods and books. And, though at length after five months the seceding students were compelled to abandon their new resting-place, candidates for a degree were for centuries required to swear that they 'would not give or attend lectures in Stamford, as in a University seat of learning or general college.' 'This antiquated formula,' says Mr. Maxwell Lyte, 'has been used within the memory of men who are still living. Having been retained in the Laudian code of 1636, it received fresh sanction in 1800, and it was not expunged from the Statute book of the University until 1827.'*

The present movement for University Extension really began in 1845. In November of that year a number of influential persons presented a remarkable memorial to the Hebdomadal Board of the University of Oxford. The document set forth that, although considerable efforts had recently been made in England for the diffusion of civil and spiritual knowledge, University education had not been 'strengthened or extended, whether for clergy or laity, in proportion to the growing population of the country, its increasing empire, or deepening responsibilities.' This memorial, which was signed by thirty-two distinguished persons, including Lords Sandon, Ashley, Westminster, Carnarvon, Canning, and Mahon, Mr. Gladstone, Sir Thomas Acland, Mr. Sidney Herbert, Mr. Samuel Wilberforce (afterwards Bishop of Oxford), and Mr. Tait (the late Archbishop of Canterbury), gave the first impulse to the University Extension

* Maxwell Lyte: 'History of the University of Oxford to the Year 1530,' p. 135.

movement. The phrase 'University Extension' soon became current in Oxford. The pamphlets of the time are full of it. It was the terse expression which summed up all aspirations for the increase of the usefulness of the University.

It does not, however, seem to have crossed the mind of the memorialists to suggest that one of the means, by which the University might most easily bring some of its advantages within the reach of poor students, was to take University teaching to the large towns and establish systematic instruction in the large centres of population. And yet such a plan might well have suggested itself to them, for a similar scheme had been proposed by a young Eton tutor seven years before, when the public mind was exercised about the reform of cathedral institutions. 'Are cathedrals useless?' asked George Augustus Selwyn in 1838. 'I undertake to disprove the assertion that they are in their very nature useless institutions.' And then he proceeded, in a pamphlet of fifty pages,* to sketch the ideal activities of a cathedral church, re-organized in the fashion which he proposed. The essential features of his plan were that the Dean and Canons should be 'men selected for learning and piety, distinguished as eloquent interpreters of the Word of God, as powerful advocates of the cause of charity, and as active promoters of the spiritual welfare of mankind;' that the diocese should be divided into as many districts as there were Canons in the cathedral, and that 'every Canon should be considered responsible for the effectual diffusion of the Word of God in his own district, arranging for this purpose a cycle of visitation, including all the places in which the aid of a powerful and impressive preacher is most needed.' This is the plan of University Extension applied to a cathedral body. Mr. Selwyn had conceived the idea that ancient institutions 'of true religion and useful learning' might serve the community by sending out from themselves, under due supervision and in organized rotation, accredited teachers who would thus second and reinforce the efforts of the parochial clergy and local teachers.

But, though the memorialists of 1845 failed to make a similar proposal for the extension of University teaching, the suggestion came five years afterwards. In 1850 a remarkable paper, entitled 'Suggestions for the Extension of the University,' was submitted to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford by that distinguished man, Mr. William Sewell, at that time sub-Rector and Senior Tutor of Exeter College, and afterwards

* * Are Cathedral Institutions Useless? A Practical Answer to this Question.
By G. A. Selwyn. Eton, 1838.

Warden of Radley. In this pamphlet, Mr. Sewell emphatically put the question: 'Though it may be impossible to bring the masses requiring education to the University, may it not be possible to carry the University to them?' He answers his own question in the affirmative, and propounds a scheme.

'At first,' he writes, 'and by way of experiment, professorships and lectureships might be founded, say at Manchester and Birmingham, the great centres of the manufacturing districts, and in the midst of the densest population. They would require little cost beyond the stipends of the Professors engaged. . . . By degrees the system might be extended through the whole country, and similar institutions might be planted in the principal towns in convenient districts, such as Norwich, Exeter, Leeds, Canterbury, Newcastle, &c., &c. Cambridge would, of course, take its due share of the work. . . . A plan of this kind would extend the benefits of University instruction to the utmost possible limits. It would reduce the expense to the lowest point. . . . Wherever its institutions were planted, the immediate residents would be provided with the opportunity of completing the education of their sons, without parting with them from under their own roof. . . . And lastly, by originating such a comprehensive scheme, the Universities would become, as they ought to be, the great centres and springs of education throughout the country, and would command the sympathy and affection of the nation at large, without sacrificing or compromising any principle which they are bound to maintain.'

The year in which these prescient words were printed was a critical point in the history of the old Universities. For fifty years, as Cardinal Newman said, they had been rousing themselves to the more effective discharge of their duties to the nation. Even Gibbon himself, before he died, had seen and testified to the growth of this new spirit in the University of Oxford. The discipline of the Colleges had been improved, a change honourably associated with the names of Dr. Bagot and Dr. Jackson, Deans of Christ Church, of Dr. Eveleigh of Oriel, and of Dr. Cleaver of Brasenose.

In the early years of the century, moreover, the public examinations for a degree with honours had been re-organized in Cambridge, and for the first time established in Oxford.

There remained, however, restrictive regulations which had been long resented by the more cultivated members of the Non-conformist bodies. At Oxford a student had, at his matriculation, to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles, and to the three articles of the 36th Canon on taking his B.A. degree. At Cambridge, where the wall of exclusion was less unbroken, there was indeed nothing in the oath taken at matriculation which could be
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resented by the most conscientious Dissenter, but a theological test prevented him from taking his degree as Bachelor of Arts. Discontent with these exclusive arrangements had led in 1825 to the formation in London of an influential council, the deliberations of which resulted in 1828 in the opening of what is now University College as the University of London. King's College, London, was founded in 1831, and in 1836 the University of London, separated from the teaching body, was reconstituted in its present form. In the same year there began at Manchester an important movement for the establishment of a new provincial University, the first proposal being made by Mr. Harry Longueville Jones in a paper entitled 'Plan of a University for the Town of Manchester.'* Abandoned in 1837, the scheme was revived in another form nine years later by the munificent legacy of Mr. John Owens of Manchester, who bequeathed the residue of his personal estate, an amount which eventually realized 96,654*l.*, 'for the purpose of affording to youths of the age of fourteen years and upwards instruction in the branches of education taught at the English Universities, free from the religious tests which limit the extension of University education.' Thus step by step advanced the movement for the reform and diffusion of University teaching in England. And at length the old Universities themselves had to succumb to searching enquiry by Parliamentary Commissions, that for Oxford being appointed in the year 1850, and that for Cambridge in 1852.

It is, however, with the new policy of the older Universities towards the large classes of non-matriculated students that we are now concerned. The first advocate of the new policy was Mr. Sewell; the second was the present Bishop of Bath and Wells. But both these writers were before their time. The mind of the Universities was still unprepared to act on their suggestions, the country at large was not ready to give effective support to their proposals, and the means of communication were still too incomplete to enable any scheme of peripatetic teaching to be carried out with economy or despatch. The first extension of University influence under the new conditions was to be through examinations and not through teaching. The establishment of local examinations, first held by Oxford in June 1858, and by Cambridge in the following December, marked the new departure. It was widely felt at that time that 'the education of the middle classes suffered from the want

* Thompson: 'The Owens College: its Foundation and Growth,' p. 19.

of any definite aim to guide the work of the schoolmaster, and from the want of any trustworthy test to distinguish between good and bad schools.* The form which the new test should take was suggested by the successful attempt made in 1854, by the Society of Arts, to establish examinations for the adult members of Mechanics' Institutes. That the establishment of a new examination, designed to meet boys in middle-class schools, would be both practicable and popular was proved by the experience of Lord Ebrington, the Rev. J. L. Brereton, Mr. (now Sir) Thomas Dyke Acland, and the Rev. F. Temple (now Bishop of London), through whose efforts a model examination was held in the West of England in June 1857. But it still remained to decide what authority should undertake the permanent supervision of such examinations. Strong arguments pointed to the Universities as possessing the necessary qualifications. Their religious exclusiveness, as Sir Thomas Acland pointed out,† 'had been taken away by Act of Parliament, and, apart from other advantages, many of their graduates had wide experience in the work of public examination. In the establishment, moreover, of a system which would depend for its acceptance and success on the warm co-operation of voluntary helpers in the different districts of England, it was a matter of no small importance that the Universities would be informally represented and their action supported by the great body of non-resident graduates occupying influential positions in the administration of justice, in the conduct of local affairs, and in the management of secondary and public schools. Happily Oxford and Cambridge seized the great opportunity thus given for the extension of their influence. 'Both Universities,' said Mr. Temple at the time, 'have shown the heartiest interest in what is proposed to be done.'‡ And it was with no narrow intentions that the new scheme of local examinations was commended by its supporters to the Universities or accepted by them. 'We want something,' wrote Mr. Harvey Goodwin (now Bishop of Carlisle) in 1857,§ 'which shall endear the Universities to the middle classes; we want something which shall make Oxford and Cambridge more than mere names in the

* Letter from Rev. F. Temple (now Bishop of London) to the Master of Pembroke College, Oxford, April 1857, quoted in Sir T. D. Acland's 'Account of the Origin and Objects of the New Oxford Examinations for the Title of Associate in Arts,' 1858.

† Ibid. p. 9.

‡ Speech at Exeter, June 18, 1857.

§ Quoted in Sir Thomas Acland's 'Account of the Origin and Objects of the New Oxford Examinations,' &c., p. 87.

minds of those classes, and prevent them also from being regarded as merely clerical seminaries; we want a wider field of action, in order to make even the work that we are doing at present more effective and influential. Nor can I doubt that one of the effects of establishing the *entente cordiale* between the Universities and the country at large would be to enable us to catch up many a boy of talent who is fitted for the higher departments of mental exertion.' 'It is of the greatest consequence,' said the present Bishop of London,* 'that the Universities should be made to feel that they have an interest in the education of all England, and that all England should be made to feel that they have an interest in the prosperity and excellence of the Universities. It is with this hope that we have succeeded in persuading the Universities to undertake the work (of local examination), as well as a considerable body, who are interested in the education of those who do not go to the Universities, to support them.'†

It is plain, then, that the establishment of the system of local examinations in 1858 was the conscious commencement on the part of the Universities of an entirely new policy toward the nation at large. Though wisely limiting their energies for a period to the comparatively simple task of organizing and superintending a novel system of examination, the Universities were avowedly turning themselves in a new direction, and were about to essay educational experiments in the wider field, which was being opened up by the modern means of rapid communication. That the scheme of local examinations was from the first regarded as only an instalment of a great policy of University Extension, is indicated by the remarks of Dr. Temple and Sir Thomas Acland, the chief promoters of the new venture. Speaking at Oxford in 1887, the Bishop of London said that 'the local examinations, started in this University a good many years ago, were started in the interests of the schools. It was as much as at that time we could get the schools to accept, and it was as much therefore as it was wise to attempt. But what is wanted now is for an older class altogether, which wants instructors as well as examiners.'‡ 'A career of almost unbounded usefulness seems open to the Universities,' wrote Sir Thomas Acland in 1858, 'if they will respond to the call of the

* Quoted in Sir Thomas Acland's 'Account of the Origin and Objects of the New Oxford Examinations,' &c., p. 201.

† Ibid. p. 208.

‡ Speech at the Oxford Conference on University Extension Teaching, 1887. Report, p. 26.

nation for aid in supplying a better general education to the great body of their countrymen.'*

Rarely has an act of reform led more immediately and unmistakably to the outburst of new activity on the part of an ancient institution; rarely has an old society more successfully or more expeditiously roused itself to new duties, or more skilfully accommodated its venerable organization to the complex requirements of a novel and difficult position.

But it was not long before further claims were to be made on the energy of the Universities. It had been foreseen from the first by the active supporters of the scheme of local examinations,† that the Universities were called upon to fill up the gap which existed between a splendidly-endowed higher education and a State-aided system of elementary instruction.

As soon, therefore, as the goodwill of the Universities became manifest, and the new means of communication were sufficiently developed, a request for teachers came from a representative section of the very classes which for various reasons could not avail themselves of the educational advantages previously provided by the Universities, or by the teaching established by the State. On the 1st of November, 1867, there was held in Leeds the first meeting of the North of England Council for promoting the Higher Education of Women. It was an historic gathering. When the history of the new movement for higher education comes to be written, it will be found that much of its impetus came from this North-country Council, which had the good fortune to number among its officers Mrs. Josephine Butler and Miss Clough, and among its members Professor Bryce and Dr. Fitch, as well as at a later date Professors T. H. Green, James Stuart, and Henry Sidgwick. At the first meeting of the Council, reports were received of the success of the lectures for ladies, recently organized in certain Lancashire and Yorkshire towns. 'Before the end of Mr. Stuart's course on the History of Physical Science,' says the Report,‡ 'the number of students had risen to nearly 600, whilst more than 300 papers were sent in weekly.' The course of lectures, to which allusion is here made, was the first practical experiment in University Extension Teaching.

Many years later Mr. Stuart had not forgotten the over-

* 'Account of the Origin,' &c., p. 98.

† Mr. J. Bowstead, one of H.M.'s Inspectors of Schools. Speech at Exeter, June 18, 1857.

‡ 'Report of the First Meeting of the North of England Council for promoting the Higher Education of Women.' Manchester: Beresford and Havill, 1868.

whelming

whelming mass of papers which the postman brought to his rooms at Cambridge, from the industrious students attending his lectures in the North.* These weekly exercises were devised as a means of avoiding the necessity of oral questionings at the end of each lecture, the young teacher feeling that he could not subject his audience of ladies to such an ordeal without mutual embarrassment. Another interesting expedient adopted by Mr. Stuart during these courses was the Syllabus—a printed summary of the gist of the lectures, which served not only to guide and retain the attention of the listener, but as a model of compendious but exhaustive analysis. So unbroken has been the tradition in University Extension work from that time to this, that, ever since these first courses of Mr. Stuart, the weekly exercises and the printed syllabus have been essential features of its educational system.†

Nor were Mr. Stuart's lectures confined to audiences of ladies. One of the junior managers at the Crewe Railway works, Mr. Moorsom, a personal friend of Mr. Stuart, invited him to deliver a lecture to the artisans employed in the workshops there. Mr. Stuart accepted the invitation, and a lecture on 'Meteors' was announced. Fortunately, on the night before the address, there fell a remarkable shower of meteors, which drew a large audience to hear Mr. Stuart's explanation of so interesting a spectacle. Once attracted, the audience returned again and again to the successive lectures of the course. At Rochdale, the cradle of the successful movement for co-operative distribution, Mr. Stuart achieved as great a popular success, and the accident of his leaving some diagrams on the walls of the Co-operators' Hall, which was also used as his lecture-room, gave rise to another distinctive feature in University Extension work—the conversational 'class' which invariably follows or precedes each lecture. It so happened that, during a business meeting, Mr. Stuart's diagrams attracted the notice of many members who had not heard his lecture. Their curiosity was aroused, and, in order to satisfy it, Mr. Stuart consented to preface his next address by some brief comments on the diagrams, and to solve any difficulties which their exhibition might have suggested to his hearers.

Mr. Stuart was not the only University graduate who about this time undertook the work of a peripatetic teacher. Professor Henry Morley, of London, and other lecturers did good service

* Cf. his Inaugural Address at the Oxford Summer Meeting of University Extension Students, 1889.

† Cf. 'University Extension; has it a Future?' by H. J. Mackinder and M. E. Sadler, 1890, p. 63 *et seq.*

in this new venture of higher education. But it was Mr. James Stuart, and Mr. James Stuart alone, who was the real founder of the University Extension system. Others had seen visions and dreamed dreams of the diffusion of University teaching, but to Mr. Stuart was first given the opportunity of carrying out these ideas in practice; he had the infectious enthusiasm which attracted and interested the public, and the tact and perseverance which were required to induce his University to give its official *imprimatur* to the scheme. In November 1871, when experiments extending over four years had convinced him of the usefulness of peripatetic teaching, he addressed an important letter on the subject to the resident members of the University of Cambridge. After pointing out that the demand for higher education plainly existed, 'I believe,' he added, 'that it is incumbent on us to supply it, and that some system which will carry the benefits of the University through the country is necessary, in order to retain the University in that position with respect to the education of the country which it has hitherto held, and to continue in its hands that permeating influence which it is desirable that it should possess.' Such a scheme, he continued, would be 'a great step towards making the Universities truly national institutions, and be no less beneficial to them than to the country.' As a result of the publication of his letter, a number of memorials were addressed to the University by influential persons in different centres of population. In 1872 the University authorities appointed a syndicate to consider the subject, and subsequently decided to authorize lecturers to visit those towns which guaranteed the funds required to meet the necessary expenses.* Committees in Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester at once commenced the work, and University Extension teaching thus began on an official basis in October 1873. In the following January, Yorkshire followed suit, and lectures were delivered at Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, and Keighley. In 1874 the movement spread to Sheffield, while in the same year an important advance was made at Nottingham, where a resident offered 10,000*l.* as an endowment, if the Town Council would 'erect buildings for the accommodation of the University lecturers to the satisfaction of the University of Cambridge, and dedicate them to the use of such lecturers, so long as lecturers, authorized by a syndicate of either Oxford or Cambridge, shall be conducting regular courses of instruction in Nottingham.'† The offer was accepted; it was decided to erect buildings at a large additional cost; and the foundation-stone

* 'Calendar of Cambridge Local Lectures, 1879,' p. 6.

† *Ibid.* p. 8.

of University College, Nottingham, was laid in September 1877. This was the first of the University Colleges which have arisen out of University Extension teaching. Aided by local benefactors and by annual grants from the Treasury, the University College at Nottingham and the Firth College at Sheffield (to refer only to those Colleges which have sprung directly from University Extension) have at length been securely established as the centres of higher education in the important towns in which they are situated. There is no good reason why in many other and smaller places the missionary effort of University Extension teachers should not be carried forward and made permanent by the foundation and assistance of similar institutions.

In 1876 the new movement for University Extension spread to London, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer founding in the Metropolis the Society for the Extension of University Teaching. In order to make the work of the Society thoroughly representative of the Universities, Mr. Goschen persuaded Oxford, Cambridge, and London, to nominate representatives to a Joint Universities Board, the duties of which are to advise the Council of the Society on all educational matters. In the same year, also, two Oxford Colleges (Balliol and New College) voted a handsome subsidy for a term of years in aid of the University College which Dr. Percival (then Head Master of Clifton), and other influential residents, were seeking to establish in Bristol.

Easy, however, as it was to adopt the machinery of local examinations to the new purpose of local lectures in examiners, the University of Oxford did not follow the example of Cambridge until 1878. Mr. Jowett, however, in giving evidence before the Oxford University Commission in 1877, took occasion to point out 'the considerable movement for secondary adult education then going on in the large towns,' and to advise the University 'to take a little pains' about it.* He recommended that 'there should be an office for University Extension and a Secretary paid by the University, and that the tenure of non-resident fellowships should be capable of extension in the case of persons lecturing or holding professorships in the large towns.' Both of Mr. Jowett's recommendations have been adopted. There is now an office in Oxford for University Extension, and last summer Mr. Hudson Shaw was elected a Fellow of Balliol College in recognition of his distinguished services as a University Extension lecturer.

* University of Oxford Commission, 1877. Minutes of evidence of the Rev. B. Jowett, p. 155.

In 1878 the University of Oxford adopted a statute which authorized a committee of the Delegacy of Local Examinations to superintend lectures and teaching in the towns of England and Wales, the Oxford statute following the Cambridge system in a wise provision that any town, which might desire the services of a lecturer, must guarantee to the University the expenses which would be incurred by his appointment. The Oxford delegates nominated, as their first secretary for the establishment of lectures and teaching in large towns, Mr. Arthur Acland, whose father had taken a prominent part in the establishment of the parent scheme of Local Examinations. For a time the Oxford work was chiefly confined to short experimental courses, such as those delivered by Mr. Arnold Toynbee, and published in his volume on the 'Industrial Revolution.' Of these earlier and informal efforts, Toynbee Hall, which is now a leading centre of University Extension teaching in London, and the other settlements of University men in the poorest districts of the Metropolis, are an indirect outcome. But in 1885 the Oxford branch of the movement took a new start forward: its short courses, which had proved to be very suitable for the poorer districts, were systematized; and with a vigour which was largely owing to the inspiration of Dr. Percival, now Headmaster of Rugby but at that time President of Trinity College, the Oxford lecturers applied themselves to the task of establishing University Extension teaching in parts of England and among classes of people which had previously been almost untouched by the movement. To this summary of the part taken in University Extension by the English Universities, it should be added that in the north-east of England the University of Durham acts, for purposes of local lectures, in concert with the University of Cambridge, and that three years ago the constituent Colleges of the Victoria University established a scheme of University Extension teaching, which has already met with considerable success.

Thus by a natural development the University Extension system has grown up to meet the ever-strengthening demand for the higher education of adults. One step in University Extension has inevitably led to another; at each stage the new experiments have been made with caution, but rewarded with success. It still remains, however, to summarize the educational methods adopted in University Extension work, to illustrate its chief features, and to map out the present area of its influence.

Mr. R. G. Moulton defines University Extension as meaning 'University education for the whole nation, organized on itinerant

itinerant lines.' 'But,' continues the same writer, 'when we talk of University education for all classes, we do not mean that every individual will get the same thing out of it... University Extension teaching is a sort of stream that runs from the University or similar institutions; the stream flows... over the whole land, and everybody helps himself as he wishes or as he can. Each helps himself and can help himself only according to his capacity. What you have to do is to see that the water is pure.' As therefore the *curriculum* has to vary according to the pecuniary means or intellectual appetite of each particular district, it becomes of essential importance that the *method* of teaching should be uniformly excellent and effective. The method of University Extension teaching in England contains six elements: lectures, classes, syllabus, weekly or fortnightly exercises, examinations, and certificates. Of these elements, the last two are optional but customary; the first four are obligatory and invariable.

A course consists of from six to twelve lectures, the latter number constituting a complete course on which alone, in the Oxford and Cambridge work, a certificate can be won. The lectures are at weekly or fortnightly intervals; the Cambridge centres inclining to the former, the Oxford centres to the latter arrangement. Much may be said in favour of either plan, but the first seems the more suitable for scientific courses, during which the student is largely dependent on the teacher for illustration and experiment; the second for historical and literary courses, during which the student must have leisure to supplement his teacher's lectures by wide reading on his own account. Each lecture lasts about an hour, and is either preceded or followed by a 'class,' during which the students are free to question the teacher on difficult points which have suggested themselves either in the course of their private reading or of his treatment of the subject. This conversational class is perhaps the briskest and most stimulating part of University Extension teaching. No one who has attended one of the 'classes' can ever forget the fire of pertinent questions which proceeds from a keen audience of North-country artisans. It searches the very joints of the teacher's armour. It is indeed no unfrequent circumstance for the local organizers to have to turn down the gas at a late hour, in order to induce a deeply interested 'class' to leave the lecture-room where they are plying their teacher with eager questions. It is during the 'class,' moreover, that the lecturer finds an opportunity of giving out the subject on which he invites the students to write exercises, and of returning the corrected papers sent to him by post since his last lecture. The
preparation

preparation of these weekly essays, in the composition of which the students are encouraged to make free use of standard authorities, produces many excellent, and some remarkable, results.

'I set some original questions,' writes Mr. Moulton, who is one of the most experienced and distinguished lecturers connected with the movement; 'I mean questions involving original investigation and creative work. When I lecture on Goethe's "*Faust*," I never fail to put one question on the last paper, "Sketch an original epilogue to '*Faust*.'" I say, "Sketch an original epilogue in heaven," in order to bring out what the students think about the working of the story. That draws most valuable answers. I read them all out in class, and I have known people converted to belief in University Extension by attending such classes. I recall a very distinguished man in England who was present in one when I read out answers of this kind, and he came afterwards to me and said, "Well, I never conceived that you got such work out of people in University Extension." And he went on to say what practically came to this, that he could never laugh at University Extension again.'

The printed syllabus of the course constitutes the fourth invariable element in the educational apparatus of University Extension teaching. It gives an outline of the lecturer's addresses, supplemented by reference to original authorities, lists of books for private study, and, in some cases, an anthology of illustrative extracts. So valuable an instrument has the syllabus been found that several teachers have introduced it into their lecture-rooms at Oxford. The syllabus is a standing witness to the purpose and aim of the lecturer. It constantly reminds the student that his teacher relies on him to treat the lecture only as a starting-point from which he may advance to systematic and profitable reading on his own account. Lectures alone cannot educate; they are properly designed to stimulate the pupil to educate himself. The lecturer is a guide; he shows the shortest road to learning, but nothing can save the pupil from the labour of travelling along the road by his own exertions. 'Education,' said Cardinal Newman, 'is the preparation for knowledge. But the best telescope does not dispense with eyes; the printing press or the lecture-room will assist us greatly, but we must be true to ourselves, we must be parties to the work.' The syllabus, to use the same metaphor, is a telescope; it helps the student to focus his reading. University Extension lecturers often hear from working-men pathetic cases of wasted application. One excellent student, for example, confessed that, when he made up his mind some years ago to study natural history, he spent a large part of his savings on a copy of Goldsmith's

smith's 'Animated Nature.' From this kind of blunder, into which an isolated student may easily fall, the University Extension lecturer can save him. He tells the pupil what books to read and what authorities to consult, lends him volumes of reference, indicates a course of study, gives him insight into method, and thus protects him from almost inevitable waste of time and money. The library may be, as Carlyle said it was, the true University of modern times. But the raw student, who is strange to libraries, needs a librarian to guide and encourage him; and to discharge for his pupils the functions of an ideal librarian is the aim of the University Extension lecturers.

The optional but customary elements in University Extension teaching are the final examinations and certificates. Here, too, the system is well adapted to the educational purpose which the lecturer has in view. The examination-questions are set, and the students' answers looked over, by an examiner who is specially appointed by the University authorities. The lecturer never himself conducts the final examination on his course. The University and the students thus obtain an entirely impartial verdict on the educational results of each course of lectures, and the examiner is often able to give hints which are of great value to the lecturer himself. In the Oxford branch of the work the examiners, who form a distinguished body, chosen as far as possible from among those who are appointed to examine in the Honour Schools of the University, have recently issued general reports on the average standard reached in the University Extension Examinations. These reports are of a highly encouraging nature; and it appears from them that no ordinary certificate is given to any student who does not reach the standard required in the University Examinations for a pass degree, and that the award of certificates of distinction is confined to those students who attain the standard required in the University Examinations from a candidate for honours. A considerable number of University Extension students, it is added, write answers in the examinations which would be marked as worthy of a first class in the University itself. It should be observed, however, that a University Extension student generally prepares himself only for one paper at a time, while a candidate in the Honour Examinations in the University has to write answers on a number of papers of questions set in succession. But the most novel and satisfactory feature in the examinations of the University Extension system is, that no certificates are awarded for proficiency shown in the examination alone.

A student

A student is not allowed to enter as a candidate for an examination unless he is reported by the lecturer to the University authorities as having attended at least two-thirds of the lectures and classes of the course, and as having written two-thirds of the weekly exercises to the lecturer's satisfaction. Moreover, the honour of a certificate of merit or distinction is confined by the examiner to those students, who not only acquit themselves with special credit in the examination, but who are also reported to him by the lecturer as having done first-rate work all through the course. This arrangement, by which the highest honours are made to depend on and to certify a double qualification, is found in practice to stimulate the student and effectively to discourage 'cram.' The method of examination in University Extension work thus presents several original features, and its thoroughness is still further enhanced by the award, under different titles, of higher certificates of systematic study, to qualify for which the students have to attend a series of eight complete courses, six being drawn from the Arts group and two from the group of Science or *vice versâ*, arranged in a sequence which meets with the approval of the University authorities superintending the scheme.

In addition, however, to these normal features of University Extension work, we must notice a number of supplementary methods, designed to promote thorough and progressive study among those attending the lectures. Such, for example, are the 'Students' Associations,' which in all the best centres meet at regular intervals throughout the session for the discussion of the subject-matter of each course. The members of these Students' Associations prepare themselves for the lectures by systematic reading, and, when the course is over, prolong their study of the subject. In order, again, to meet the needs of these associations and of isolated students, the University authorities have established a system by which any person, on payment of ten shillings, may undertake a prescribed course of reading under the guidance of a tutor, to whom essays are sent periodically for correction. Help may thus be obtained in the study of more than forty subjects, the tutor issuing a printed syllabus which contains a list of books, a series of essay questions, and some brief guide to the reader. Each group of students thus availing themselves of the assistance of a tutor is called a 'Reading Circle,'—a phrase borrowed from the United States, where this organized system of correspondence teaching had its origin. Though a useful appendage to the University Extension system, and specially valuable for advanced

advanced students, the University Extension Reading Circles have not met hitherto with marked success; but a society recently formed for the express purpose of establishing similar circles on perhaps a more popular basis, has enrolled a large number of members.* Much more clearly useful have been the 'Summer Meetings of University Extension students' at Oxford and Cambridge. These meetings, which are an adaptation of the 'assemblies' of teachers, annually held for educational purposes at Chautauqua and other places in the United States, are designed to supply the element of 'residence' previously lacking in University Extension work. This new departure began in 1886 with the offer of four prizes, each of 10*l.*, to enable University Extension students for the Northumberland district to spend a month in Cambridge during the Long Vacation, 'for the purpose of carrying on in the laboratories and museums the work in which they had been engaged during the winter at their local centre.'† In 1887, Mr. J. G. Talbot, M.P., was led, by reading Mr. Morley's address on the subject, to offer a similar scholarship to enable a student to visit Oxford during the summer for the same purpose. Additional scholarships were offered by the Marquis of Ripon and other generous friends of the movement; the idea rapidly grew; and in August 1888, the first 'Summer Meeting' in Oxford was attended by nearly a thousand University Extension students, who came from every part of the country. These meetings are now an established part of University Extension work, Cambridge having set on foot in 1890 a gathering similar in purpose to the annual Oxford 'Summer Meeting,' though organized on a smaller scale. Each year the lectures delivered at these summer gatherings have been more systematized, the University authorities gradually feeling their way to the best arrangement and order of the courses. At Oxford, for example, in August of the present year, there will be three chief sequences of study. The first, devoted to the medieval history, literature, architecture, and economics, will include courses on the Frank Empire, the Norman Conquest, the early history of the English Constitution, the history of medieval Venice, the poems of Dante and Chaucer, the medieval Church, the relations between the Empire and the Papacy in the Middle Ages, the economic aspects of the medieval land-system, and of the merchant and craft guilds.

* The National Home Reading Union: Offices, Surrey House, Victoria Embankment. The founder of this interesting society is Dr. Paton of Nottingham.

† Mr. John Morley: 'Address to University Extension Students on the Study of Literature,' p. 10.

In connexion with this course, which comprises more than sixty lectures, a class of advanced students will attend lectures on the English Constitution and on the original text of the 'Inferno.' A second sequence of lectures will deal with the Homeric poems, the Persian wars, and the early period of Greek Art, special classes being formed for the study of parts of the Odyssey, and of the last five books of Herodotus in the original Greek. The third group of courses will be on scientific subjects, facilities being given to the student of chemistry to undertake a course of practical work in the University laboratories, to the geologist to go through a course of field work under the guidance of the Professor, and to the astronomer to acquire in the University Observatory some practical knowledge of the use of the instruments of his science. Many of the most distinguished of the resident Professors take part in the instruction given during this summer session, or in its general arrangements; Professors Jowett, Max Müller, H. W. Acland, Dicey, Odling, A. H. Green, and others, having thus shown their practical sympathy with the movement. The students are expected to choose one or other of the sequences, and to confine their attendance to the group of courses which it may comprise. Every one makes his own arrangements for board and lodging, a list of lodging-houses being published by authority. At Keble College, and at Somerville and Lady Margaret Halls, small parties of students have been received, and last year an interesting party of working-men from Manchester, who had saved up their earnings during the year for this express purpose, were allowed to occupy rooms in St. Mary Hall, under the genial care of the Principal, Dr. Chase. Those who have been present at these Summer Meetings highly appreciate their usefulness in stimulating students and increasing their interest in educational work, and it seems probable that, while the meetings will be more and more used for the purpose of giving the advanced students opportunities of special study under the direction of expert teachers, one of their chief benefits will consist in the facilities which they afford for the interchange of experience among the rank and file of the students, for the comparing of notes between the representatives of different districts, and for the diffusion of educational zeal. As a ticket admitting to almost all the courses during the whole of August costs no more than a shilling a day, and parties of five persons have found that their total expenses for the month have, by the practice of economy, been brought within six pounds a-piece, it is clear that this opportunity of residing for a brief period of study in a University city has been brought within the reach of persons of very limited incomes. And it is of great importance

importance that University Extension students should share in the almost personal attachment which most graduates feel towards their *Alma Mater*. 'A Cambridge man,' said the Bishop of Durham the other day, 'might find it hard to analyse or to estimate the effect which had been produced on him by the great libraries, by the old buildings wedded to new, by the chapels of Trinity or King's, yet he will know that they have in many undefined ways given him breadth and sympathy and tenderness which will colour his own work.'* The Cambridge 'Summer Meeting' has now offered to the poorest University Extension student a share in these delectable and cherished associations. 'We cannot bring to London,' said Mr. John Morley in 1887, 'the indefinable charm that haunts the grey and venerable quadrangles of Oxford and Cambridge. We cannot take you into the stately halls, the silent and venerable libraries, the solemn chapels, the studious old-world gardens. We cannot surround you with all those elevated memorials and sanctifying associations of scholars and poets, of saints and sages, that march in glorious procession through the ages, and make of Oxford and Cambridge a dream of music for the inward ear and of delight for the contemplative eye.' No. We cannot bring all this wealth of inspiring and touching beauty to London, or to the manufacturing districts of the North, but we can bring to it the poor student from the Metropolis, from the Lancashire cotton mill, and from the northern coalpit; we can aid him by scholarships, welcome him with hospitality, and enable him during a studious holiday to enter into the very spirit of University life, to learn the secret of its charm, and thus almost recall

'that glorious time

When learning, like a stranger come from far,
Sounding through Christian lands her trumpet, roused
Peasant and kin; when boys and youths, the growth
Of ragged villages and crazy huts,
Forsook their homes, and errant in the quest
Of patron, famous school or friendly nook,
Where pensioned they in shelter might sit down,
From town to town and through wide scattered realms
Journeyed.†

In the development of this somewhat elaborate system of higher adult education, the five English Universities are all

* 'Address to University Extension Students,' March 7, 1891.

† 'The Prelude.' Book iii.: Residence at Cambridge.

taking a more or less active part. Cambridge was the pioneer in the work, and, largely through the efforts of Mr. James Stuart, Professor Browne (now Canon of St. Paul's), and Mr. R. D. Roberts in the University itself, and of the leading lecturers, Mr. R. G. Moulton, Mr. Moore Ede, Mr. Grant, Mr. Leonard, and Mr. Watts, in the local centres, it marked out the way which the other Universities have since followed with no less energy and success. It naturally follows that some of the Cambridge centres, among which are the oldest and most firmly established in the movement, are models of efficiency and judicious organization. Several of these towns have already availed themselves of the privileges of affiliation, which are now extended by the University of Cambridge to those centres of University teaching which undertake a systematic course of lectures on science and history or literature spread over a period of three or four years. In the completeness of their educational equipment, in the sustained enthusiasm of their large and well-organized bodies of students, no centres in the movement can compare with those affiliated to the University of Cambridge. Their efficiency is a proof of what can be done by years of patient endeavour on behalf of University Extension teaching.

The London Society has done a very useful work in the Metropolis. Its President, Mr. Goschen, its Council, and energetic secretaries, have largely overcome the special difficulties which stood in the way of the permanent organization of such teaching in different parts of the capital. Where local feeling is comparatively weak, where it is easy for a student to reach by train any one of half-a-dozen different centres of the Society's work, it must have been exceptionally hard to maintain the zeal and energy of the various local Committees through successive seasons. And yet this has been done, and the London Society deserves credit for the achievement. The same Society has also contributed to the present position of the movement in England by arranging for the delivery of important addresses to the London University Extension students by distinguished men such as Mr. John Morley, Sir Jas. Paget, the Duke of Argyll, and the Bishop of Durham. It has done much to develop summer sessions of study in order to fill up the gap which commonly intervenes between the spring and autumn courses of Extension lectures. By the permission of the City authorities, it has attempted to establish at Gresham College a permanent centre of advanced teaching for the best students of the different centres—an interesting experiment which

which owes much to the efforts of the Society's most experienced lecturer, Mr. Churton Collins. Further, as an introduction to longer courses, the Society has organized in the poorer parts of London short series of 'People's Lectures,' which have met with deserved success; and, finally, it seems probable that the educational importance of the Society's work will cause it to be taken over by, and incorporated with, the proposed Teaching University for London.

Turning to the work of the third chief branch of the movement, it appears that much of the vigour and initiative which have characterised University Extension work in recent years has proceeded from Oxford. It is there that the Summer Meetings of students were first organized on a large scale. The Oxford Delegates have succeeded in furnishing the students at each of their centres with 'travelling libraries' of the standard books needed for reference during the courses; and the central library, from which these 'travelling libraries' are sent out, is now becoming useful to isolated students, who are allowed to borrow books from it on payment of a small subscription. It is the Oxford work too which has drawn special attention to the stimulus which may be given by short courses of introductory lectures, and to the importance of spreading the influence of the most gifted lecturers over as wide an area as possible. The Oxford authorities have wisely differentiated the fees for lectures in proportion to the different experience of the lecturers, and have formed the nucleus of a 'pension and emergency fund' out of which the lecturers may be assisted in the event of their suddenly breaking down from accident or overwork. An Oxford College has been the first to reward distinguished services to University Extension by election to a fellowship. The courses of Mr. H. J. Mackinder, the Reader in Geography at Oxford, have given a considerable impulse to geographical teaching in England. But perhaps the most noteworthy feature of the Oxford work has been its success among working-men.

A considerable number of artisans' Co-operative Societies in Lancashire and Yorkshire have arranged courses for their members, meeting the expenses out of their educational funds. At Hebden Bridge, Mr. Hudson Shaw has lectured on English History to audiences of six hundred working-men on alternate Saturday nights during three winters. At Oldham the same lecturer delivers his courses to as large an audience of operatives, of whose ability and intellectual vigour he speaks in terms of the highest respect. But these are only instances
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of a wide-spread interest which betokens a bright future for higher education among the working classes; and it is significant that the prizes offered by the Co-operative Union, to encourage the study of economic principles among working-men, take the form of scholarships to be held at the Oxford Summer Meeting of University Extension students.

A proper division of labour seems thus to have assigned different tasks to the various leaders of the movement, and to have developed special aptitudes among them. It is to the advantage of education that this honourable rivalry should continue. At present, indeed, a local centre is generally attached to one or other University. In the Metropolis, the London Society works alone. Nor, in the smaller provincial towns, does either University consent to superintend a course of lectures unless the field is open or the existing workers formally invite its co-operation. It is thus given to the local organizers to obtain assistance from all the Universities or from any one of them. The loyalty of the centres protects the University authorities from embarrassment; while, as between the Universities, these arrangements preclude disorderly and demoralising competition, though salutary emulation remains. The tendency, indeed, seems to be towards obliterating the sharp distinction between Oxford, Cambridge, and Victoria centres, neutral federations of centres having been formed in the South-East of England, in Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, in Yorkshire, and in Northumberland. Whatever fuses the centres into one movement is to be welcomed, for local jealousy is still strong in parts of England, and obstructs many ingenious plans of economical combination. The federations, the joint associations of University Extension lecturers, the publication in Oxford and London of monthly records of the progress of the scheme, the issue of manuals for University Extension students, will all tend to wipe out lines of division, to remove misconceptions, and to remind each worker that the movement, with all its branches, is one.

In his preface to Dr. Conrad's account of the German Universities, Professor Bryce points out that, though Germany with a population of 45½ millions had, in 1882-3, 24,187 University students, England with a population of 26 millions had less than 5,500. In other words, University education is only half as widely diffused in England as in Germany. Towards remedying this defect, University Extension is making considerable strides. Five years ago, 16,752 students attended University Extension courses in England. In 1890,
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the total had risen to 40,187.* And the statistics of 1891 will probably show a still more encouraging increase.† This work is carried out by a staff of 68 lecturers, and at a cost of about one shilling a lecture for each student whose attendance was recorded.

We are now in a position to summarize the strength and the weakness of University Extension. The movement has stimulated new interest in the higher education of adults: that it has inspired large numbers of persons with a keen desire for systematic study is proved by the reports of the lecturers and examiners, and by the high standard of the essays written in the competition for the University Extension scholarships; it has furnished new opportunities for the higher education of busy men and women, who are prevented by various ties and duties from undertaking a course of study at the University itself; it has demonstrated the possibility of organizing advanced instruction on itinerant lines; it has perfected a scheme which contains all the elements necessary to a vigorous, edifying, and searching system of education—the personal contact between teacher and pupil, guidance in study, composition and criticism of essays, *vivâ voce* discussion with the teacher and among the students, the test of final and impartial examination, the honours of which cannot be won by ‘cram,’ and the beginnings of a system of residence in Oxford and Cambridge. It has done much for the disinterested and liberal study of literature, and, largely through the efforts of Mr. Churton Collins and Mr. Moulton, has proved that the interpretation of the masterpieces of ancient and modern literature may become one of the noblest instruments of popular culture. It has revealed the existence of a wide-spread desire for systematic and advanced instruction in history and science. It has united in the

* The figures do not include the students attending at the University Extension courses arranged by the Scottish Universities, or those recently organised in Belfast.

† The following summary is taken from Messrs. Mackinder and Sadler's book on University Extension.

	Oxford.	Cambridge.	London.	Total.
Courses delivered:—				
1885-1886	27	82	63	172
1889-1890	148	125	107	380
Average attendances:—				
1885-1886	3,000	8,557	5,195	16,752
1889-1890	17,904	11,301	10,982	40,187

common

common work of educational organization the representation of different classes and of different beliefs. It has shown that higher education can be established on a democratic basis: 'In a recent examination,' we read in the Oxford report for 1889-90, 'among those who obtained certificates of distinction were a national school-mistress, a young lawyer, a plumber, and a railway-signalman.' While, of its success in attracting working-men, these instances must suffice, one being from Northumberland, and the other from Cornwall:—

'Two pitmen, brothers, who lived at a village five miles from one of the lecture centres, attended the course. They were able to get in by train, but the return service was inconvenient, and they were compelled to walk home. They did this for three months on dark nights, over wretchedly bad roads, and in all kinds of weather. On one occasion they returned in a severe storm, when the roads were so flooded that they lost their way and got up to their waists in water.'*

'Two miners, who obtained certificates at the Camborne centre, were obliged to work all night after attending the lecture in the evening, and one, owing to there being special work in the tin-yard, was at work all day before the lecture as well as all night after it.'†

The chief weakness in University Extension work, as it is at present organized, is the want of sequence in the subjects chosen for study at the local centres. Courses follow one another in an order which cannot be conducive to systematic application or strenuous discipline of the mind. History may follow science, and literature political economy, with a levity which recalls the fickle affection of the poet:

'The gentle Henrietta then
And a third Mary next did reign,
And Joan and Jane and Audria;
And then a pretty Thomasine,
And then another Katherine,
And then a long etcetera.'

But it is not the fault of the earnest students that this serious defect exists. The students are overborne by the general public, with whose financial support they cannot dispense. The needs and wishes of the advanced pupils are sacrificed, in consequence of the financial exigencies of the local organizers, to the changing fancies of the mere ticket-holder, who cares less for thoroughness than for variety. If the small group of serious students

* Quoted from Mr. Robert's report on 'The University Extension Movement,' by R. G. Moulton, p. 19.

† Miss Vivian's report on the Camborne miner's work in H. Macan's 'Duty of the State towards Higher Education,' 1890.

could afford to arrange courses for themselves, we should hear little more about want of sequence in the arrangement of courses. The second weakness in the scheme is akin to the first. The influence of University Extension is too intermittent. The gaps between the courses are too long. It has been remarked that, 'in the ordinary student's life, University Extension is an episode, not a discipline.' 'It may be only an *episode* in some men's lives,' an artisan student recently replied, 'but it has been an *epoch* in mine.' That may well be, but it is none the less true that the scheme must be made to exercise a more continuous pressure on the student's intellectual life. Nor, until the intervals between the lectures and courses are shortened, will University Extension teaching exercise its full influence on working-men. Artisans need regularity in their recreation as in their work. The local organizers of University Extension would do well to imitate some of the methods which the Society of Friends has adopted in its system of Adult Schools. For at present it is a grave weakness in University Extension that, except in about twenty places, it has not attracted artisans. Some lecturers have the power to retain the interest of working-men, but the gift seems a rare one. It is of urgent importance, therefore, to retain the permanent services of the lecturers who possess that power. Little has been done, however, to raise the funds which would provide even the senior lecturers with an assured competency. A small fund was collected in Oxford a few years ago, Lord Derby, Lord Cranbrook, and other friends of the movement, making contributions for this purpose, but the amount fell short of the desired sum. It is to be hoped that the appeal which is now being made on behalf of the Metropolitan Society may result in the permanent endowment of University Extension in London. But at present the position of the movement in the country is precarious, because the most indispensable lecturers are underpaid, overworked, and deprived of all prospect of an assured income. University Extension needs gifted men, and its organizers will, in the long run, have to pay the market price of their services. Mr. Moulton declares that the purpose of the movement is 'to infuse a missionary spirit into culture.' Missionary ardour will never be wanting to the movement, but the missionaries should be adequately paid.

How then can these defects be removed from the University Extension system? Much will be done by mere lapse of time. For, if a centre survives the first critical years of its existence, it is found that the corps of regular students increases and begins to enjoy a preponderating influence in the choice of subjects. In those centres, for example, which are affiliated to the

the University of Cambridge, the courses are arranged in an orderly sequence which almost approaches to a curriculum. But time alone will not enable University Extension to realize its ideals. In a very large number of towns—in the very places, indeed, which are most destitute of educational advantages—higher education will never become self-supporting. These towns, however, contain a number of students who desire intellectual guidance and would appreciate the best instruction, but these students are too few to be able to meet all the expenses which such teaching entails. They are thus sacrificed to the financial difficulties of the situation, and all that they can hope to do is to wheedle a number of their neighbours, to whom the very conception of serious study may be repugnant, into sharing with them the expense of an occasional course. But this intermittent teaching is not sufficient for those who aspire to be students. It is necessary, therefore, that they should be helped in some more organized and systematic manner than by the fickle patronage of their local public.

This help can be derived from three sources—from private benefactions, from collegiate or University contributions, from a subsidy voted by the State.

Much will doubtless in the future be done for University Extension by private benefactors. The provision of ampler libraries for circulation during the courses, of scholarships for poor students, of lecture-rooms and laboratories at the local centres, will probably be undertaken in due time by wealthy friends of the movement; and the same liberality, which has endowed fellowships in the past, may help to meet the new demand for higher education by founding travelling professorships in connexion with one or other of the Universities. But, while University Extension may hope to benefit by the munificence of private persons, it has a far stronger claim on the sympathy and material resources of the Colleges and Universities from which the movement proceeds. Something is already done by these institutions. Permission is given to University Extension students to use some of the libraries and museums at Oxford and Cambridge during part of the Long Vacation. In London, University and King's Colleges have offered the use of their laboratories for students from the local centres of University teaching. Both Oxford and Cambridge equip a central office and pay organizing secretaries for their branches of the work. Balliol College has elected, as already mentioned, a leading Oxford lecturer to a fellowship. Considering, however, the importance of the movement, it should soon receive far more liberal assistance from University or College funds. Shrewd observers remarked
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that during the Hartlepool election the Gladstonian and Unionist candidates alike gave an unconditional promise to vote for an enquiry into the present expenditure of the revenues of Oxford and Cambridge, and it is not external agitators alone who feel that the present employment of parts of those revenues needs early reconsideration and amendment. The original statutes of the Colleges prove that the intention of their founders was to benefit poor students. 'Hoc in eadem domo specialiter observari volumus,' ran the statutes of Oriel College, 'ut circa eos, qui ad hujusmodi eleemosynæ participium admittendi fuerint, diligenti sollicitudine caveatur ne qui præter humiles, *indigentes*, ad studium habiles, proficere volentes, recipiantur.' The foundress of Balliol admonished the wealthier students to live economically for the sake of their poorer comrades, 'ut melius provideatur sustentationi *pauperum*, ad quorum utilitatem intendimus laborare.' The scholars of Exeter College were to be 'in facultatibus *pauperiores*;' Trinity College, Oxford, was founded 'ad perpetuam *pauperum* Scholarium in academia degentium sustentationem.'* Necessary and expedient as has been the development and elaboration of College life in modern times (for almost the chief value of the system lies in its impartial acceptance of rich men and poor, obscure and highly-born), and healthy as, on the whole, has been the substitution of open competition for private nomination in the award of emoluments, it remains clear that one of the paramount duties of the Colleges, imposed on them by the purpose of their founders but obscured by many modern enactments, is the provision of the highest education for indigent scholars. It is not easy to bring, in large numbers, such persons to the University, but it is now possible to take the University to them. The University Extension movement provides the means by which the Colleges, without neglecting their new duties or impairing their present advantages, may carry out the 'avowed intention of those founders and benefactors to whose piety and munificence they are indebted for their existence.'† A College could help the movement in two ways. It could elect to a fellowship one of the senior lecturers whose services have proved valuable to University Extension. Or, choosing perhaps for the purpose some town where it holds property, it might offer to provide, for an experimental period, half the annual cost of a University Extension College, provided that the remaining moiety were subscribed by the inhabitants. As by the help of

* See Appendix G, Burgon's 'Lives of Twelve Good Men,' vol. i. p. 502.

† 'Lives of Twelve Good Men,' vol. i. p. 359.

travelling teachers a sufficiently varied curriculum could be provided for thirty-nine weeks in the year for an outlay of 500*l.* per annum, a grant of 250*l.* a year would enable a College to establish a well-equipped outpost of University teaching in one of the great centres of population. Nothing would more conduce to the popularity of the old Universities, no more suitable employment of part of their resources could well be found. Such a new foundation would bring University teaching within the easy reach of the very class for whom the collegiate endowments were originally intended: it would in no way pauperize local effort, for the terms of the offer would require the inhabitants of the town to provide half the annual cost, and, in order to do this, they would have at least to double their present exertion on behalf of higher education. Many Colleges have already set on foot religious missions: why should not a College have an educational mission too?

There remains the third source of assistance—the State. Many County Councils seem likely to employ the University Extension system in their expenditure of the great windfall which the Local Taxation Act of 1890 placed at their disposal for educational purposes. In Devonshire the County Council has found it convenient to avail itself of the service of peripatetic University teachers in its attempt to furnish the smaller towns with stimulating instruction in agricultural science. The application of part of these County funds to University Extension teaching will doubtless lead to beneficial results. It will interest a new class of people in educational work; it will provide the rural districts with teaching of a kind hitherto confined to the larger towns; and it will widely extend instruction in natural science. But there are two great drawbacks to the kind of aid which is afforded by the new County grants. They provide a lopsided endowment, practically bribing the local organizers to choose scientific lectures in preference to all others. And, in the second place, owing to the peculiar circumstances under which the proceeds of the new spirit duty were assigned to the County Councils, the grants may be offered hurriedly and spent in a way which may relax local energies instead of invigorating them. State aid should only be so given as to educe local effort, not to dispense with the need of it. It should be granted too in such a way as to encourage a well-balanced, not a lopsided, scheme of education. A natural method of offering State aid on these terms to the local organizers of University Extension would be to increase the Treasury grant which is already voted by Parliament in aid of the University Colleges. This grant of 15,000*l.* a year was first given in 1888,
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for a term of five years, as a subsidy to the new and poorer foundations which aim at providing University instruction. It is admitted on all hands that the grant has already borne excellent fruit, and there seems sufficient reason that its amount should be increased in order to assist the best centre of University Extension teaching. Such a grant, however, should be given on terms which would encourage sequence of study, and require any local organizing committee in receipt of the grant to become thoroughly representative of its neighbourhood; nor would it be expedient to involve the Distributing Authority in the examination of an embarrassing number of claims. But these difficulties would be overcome by confining offers of aid to those centres which might undertake to establish the equivalent of a University Extension College; such places might receive from the Treasury half the annual cost—or, in other words, a yearly grant of about 250*l*. A grant of 5000*l*. a year would suffice to meet the present needs of the case. Each assisted centre would properly be required to submit to Parliament an officially audited balance-sheet showing its expenditure of the grant; but, so far as the educational value of the teaching was concerned, the State would doubtless accept as sufficient testimony a report from the University Extension authorities which had superintended the courses.

To conclude: much as University Extension has done already, its chief interest lies in its promise rather than in its performance. It has covered England with centres of teaching, but its educational work is more remarkable at present for extension than for depth. It has stimulated intellectual appetites; it must now essay to satisfy them. It has proved that a scheme of higher adult education is possible, if economically organized on the peripatetic method. It has established in nearly three hundred towns little garrisons of cultivated people who are anxious to organize a more thorough system of advanced instruction. But such a system cannot be self-supporting. A brilliant lecturer can command almost anywhere an overflowing audience, but brilliant lecturers are rare. They must be used as stimulators, not as the rank and file of the teaching staff. What is needed is that little groups of ten or twenty students should each be able to command the services of a competent teacher, and under his guidance to pass through a course of three or five years' systematic instruction. With endowment and a judicious measure of State aid, England within twenty years could be covered with University Extension Colleges, manned by itinerant teachers, and governed by local authorities acting in co-operation with the national Universities. For it

is to the Universities that the poor students instinctively turn. And their instinct is right. For they realize that 'a University is not a bureau. That it is a living body, a complex result of life, and not an official provision for carrying into effect a formal scheme,'* and that 'a University is an *alma mater*, knowing her children one by one, not a foundry or a mint or a treadmill.'†

Rarely in their history has so great an opportunity presented itself to the Universities. It is in their power to give England an educated Democracy. The opportunity comes at a critical period in the national life. Elementary education has sharpened intellectual curiosity; it is for higher education to elevate and ennoble it. The poor students of England call upon culture to show its sympathy with their needs. Nor is it of small political importance that we should bring within the reach of all who desire it instruction in history and literature, in economics, and the broad generalizations of physical science. The diffusion of intellectual interests, which gives to rich and poor the same reserve of mental associations, is one of the only means by which we can hope to bring about that solidarity of different classes which agitators vainly hope to find in political equality. For, as Bacon said, 'Surely as Nature createth brotherhood in families, and arts mechanical contract brotherhoods in commonalities, and the anointment of God superinduceth a brotherhood in Kings and Bishops, so in like manner there cannot but be fraternity in learning and illuminations, relating to that fraternity which is attributed to God, who is called the Father of illuminations or lights.'

* Bishop of Durham, 'Address to University Extension Students,' 1891.

† Cardinal Newman, 'Idea of a University,' Discourse 6.

- ART. VII.—1. *The Buke of John Maundeuill, being the Travels of Sir John Mandeville, Knight, 1322–1356.* A hitherto unpublished English Version from the unique copy in the British Museum. Edited, together with the French text, notes, and an introduction, by George F. Warner. Printed for the Roxburghe Club. Westminster, 1889.
2. *A Thousand Miles on an Elephant in the Shan States.* By Holt S. Hallett. Edinburgh and London, 1890.

THE thirteenth century revealed to astonished Europe the power and splendour of the kingdoms of the extreme East. The unexampled march of the Tartar hosts, under Batu, from their ancient seats on the frontiers of China into the Empires of Eastern Europe, first brought home to the dwellers in Christendom the fact that outside the pale of the Church, and beyond the deserts and mountains of Central Asia, there existed kingdoms greater and more powerful than any of those which rested under the protection of the Cross. Neither the armies of Europe nor the injunctions of the Pope served to check for a moment the fierce onslaught of these Tartar hordes. With irresistible force they continued their conquering march until their horses' hoofs had trampled over the fields and homesteads of Eastern Europe, and the terror of their name had spread to the shores of the Atlantic.

The continuance of an aggressive campaign is commonly dependent, in the East, on the life of the sovereign directing the invasion; and just when Europe appeared to be lying at the feet of the Mongol leader, the news of the death of the Great Khan put a limit to the Tartar conquests, and compelled the retreat of the army to the capital of the Mongol power. The respite thus given to Europe was taken advantage of by Pope Innocent IV. to attempt to gain some spiritual sway over men who had proved themselves so powerful for destruction. With that self-sacrificing zeal which marks the conduct of the missionaries of the Church of Rome, men were readily found who were willing to risk their lives in the attempt to soften the wild subjects of Oghotai's successor by imparting to them a knowledge of the peaceful doctrines of Christianity. In the wake of these pioneers of civilization, travellers and adventurers marched eastward across the wilds of Asia in pursuit of pleasure or of gain.

Foremost among the travellers of this period stands out conspicuously the great Venetian, Ser Marco Polo. From his fascinating pages the people of the West first gained an idea of the vastness and splendour of the kingdoms of Asia. He

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was able to describe from personal knowledge the deserts of Persia; the Mongolian steppes, with the magnificence of the court established at Cambaluc; the splendours of the Chinese Empire, with its rich and populous cities, its broad rivers, its crowded canals, and the varied industries of its teeming population; the highlands of Tibet; the wonders of Burma and India; and the strange beauties of the Indian Archipelago. Next to that great traveller in time as well as in great and varied experiences comes Friar Odoric, who visited Bagdad, Ceylon, Sumatra, the cities of Eastern China, Tibet and Cabul. Several others, less known to fame, followed in the footsteps of these pioneers, while the name is legion of those who journeyed to Palestine and Egypt. From the records of these men the names of the lands and cities of the East became as familiar to the small learned public of Europe as those of the lakes, mountains, and rivers of Central Africa have lately become among ourselves. Religion also added its stimulus to the adventurous spirit of the explorers, and the Papal benediction threw over the lives of missionaries the mantle of saintship.

It was when the interest of the learned had been thus thoroughly aroused by the laboriously copied manuscript writings of these earliest travellers, that a book appeared which threw into the shade all those which had previously been made public on Eastern travel. Early in the latter half of the fourteenth century appeared the so-called 'Travels of Sir John Mandeville,' in which, to use the words of the author in one of the two complete English versions, 'I John Mawndevyle, Knyght, thof all I be unworthy, that was borne in Ingeland in the toune of Saynt Albanes,' described his wanderings 'thurgh many kingdomes, landes, and provincez, and iles . . . thurgh Turkye, Ermony the lesse and the mare, Tartarye, Perse, Sirie, Araby, Egipte the hie and the lawe, Liby, Caldee, and a grete party of Ethiope, Amazon, Inde the lesse and the mare a grete party, and thurgh many other iles that er aboute Inde, whare dwelles many diuerse maners of folke of diuerse lawes and schappes.' Four-and-thirty years (1322-1356) he professed to have spent in these laborious explorations, and returning home at the end of that time he devoted himself to the task of giving to the world an account of all he had seen and heard. With so much favour was this book received, that almost immediately we hear of copies in French, Latin, and English; and it was not long before it passed current in Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Walloon, German, Bohemian, Danish, and Irish, the number of copies in various languages then extant amounting to upwards of three hundred. Nor as time went on did the book lose any
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of its popularity. As early as 1480 an Italian edition was printed at Milan, and nineteen years later Wynkyn de Worde issued from his press the first version printed in English. Since then numerous editions have been published in almost every language in Europe; and until the appearance of Colonel Yule's article on Mandeville in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' (9th Edition), in which the story told by the pseudo-traveller was exposed, the statements it contains were regarded as the truthful records of an eye-witness.

Even so late as 1880, that keen observer and critic, Stopford Brooke, wrote in his 'English Literature,' 'Mandeville wrote his Travels first in Latin, then in French, and finally put them into our tongue;' and he adds, 'His quaint delight in telling his traveller's tales, and sometimes the grace with which he tells them, rank him among the story-tellers of England. What he himself saw he describes accurately, and he saw a great part of the world. Thirty-four years he wandered, even to the Tartars of Cathay, and then, unwearied, wrote his book at home.' Six years later Mr. Minto speaks of him as the 'Father of English prose,' and Mr. H. Morley considers that he was 'our first prose writer in formed English.'

Such was the estimation in which Mandeville's book was held after it had been before the public for more than five hundred years. Having stood the test of time and experience so long, it seems to be almost an act of cruelty to throw it down from the pedestal it has so persistently occupied. But this is an age of historical iconoclasm. One by one the characters of ancient history round which have clung the misty haze of legend have been shown either to have belonged to the substance which dreams are made of, or, if they are allowed to have existed at all, have been stripped of the halo of romance with which they have been encircled, and the quondam hero has not unfrequently been obliged to submit to the most complete degradation. So must it be with Mandeville; and our present task is to follow in the footsteps of Colonel Yule and Mr. Warner in demolishing the myth which has grown up round that name. We shall proceed to this by showing first, that there was no such person as Mandeville; secondly, that the writer of the book never travelled further East, on the most charitable view, than Palestine; and thirdly, that the work was originally written in French, not in English, as was commonly supposed, nor in Latin as Stopford Brooke and others have assumed.

The ostensible writer of the book died at Liège in 1372, and the event is recorded by Jean d'Outremeuse, the chronicler of that city, in these words:—

'L'an mccc lxxii. mourut à Liège, le 12 Novembre, un homme fort distingué par sa naissance, content de s'y faire connoître sous le nom de Jean de Bourgogne dit à la Barbe. Il s'ouvrit néanmoins au lit de la mort à Jean d'Outremeuse, son compère, et institué son exécuteur testamentaire. De vrai, il se titra dans le précis de sa dernière volonté Messire Jean de Mandeville, chevalier, comte de Montfort en Angleterre, et seigneur de l'isle de Campdi et du Château Perouse. Ayant cependant eu le malheur de tuer, en son pays, un comte qu'il ne nomme pas, il s'engagea à parcourir les trois parties du monde. Vint à Liège en 1343. Tout sorte qu'il étoit d'une noblesse très distinguée, il aima de s'y tenir caché. Il étoit, au reste, grand naturaliste, profond philosophe et astrologue, y joint en particulier une connoissance très singulière de la physique, se trompant rarement lorsqu'il disoit son sentiment à l'égard d'un malade, s'il revindroit ou pas. Mort enfin, on l'enterra aux FF. Guillelmins, au faubourg d'Avroy, comme vous avez vu plus amplement cy-dessus.'

If we were bound to accept this statement, much of which is palpably false, as, for instance, the assertion that the subject of it was Comte de Montfort, we should be obliged to believe that Sir John Mandeville, desiring to conceal his identity, lived at Liège under the assumed name of Jean de Bourgogne, 'dit à la Barbe,' that he died there, and that he was buried in the Guillemin Church. It is beyond question that there was a tomb in this church bearing the inscription, 'Hic jacet vir nobilis Dominus Joannes de Mandeville, alias dictus ad Barbam, Miles, Dominus de Campdi, natus de Anglia, medicinæ professor . . . qui . . . Leodii diem vite sue clausit extremum anno Domini mccc lxxii mensis Novembris die xvii.' The evidence of eye-witnesses to the existence of this tomb extends from the fourteenth century to the end of the eighteenth, when it was finally buried among the ruins of the church, which was demolished during the French Revolution. It was thus made possible that, 'by the irony of fortune, the burial-place of one who for centuries had enjoyed the fame of having been the greatest of medieval travellers should eventually be covered by a modern railway station.'

But if Sir John Mandeville, 'dictus ad Barbam,' was known during his lifetime as Jean de Bourgogne, 'dit à la Barbe,' it is interesting to ascertain what is recorded of the history of this latter personage. It will be observed that D'Outremeuse states in the above quotation that Jean de Bourgogne came to Liège in 1343. We know also that the earliest extant dated manuscript of Mandeville's Travels appeared in the same volume with a treatise on the plague, in the colophon of which it is stated that the work was composed by Jean de Bourgogne, in 1365, at Liège,

Liège, 'where he had previously written several other noble scientific works.' In this treatise *De Bourgogne* speaks of having had forty years of medical experience, and it is sufficiently plain therefore that either Mandeville and *De Bourgogne* were two personages, or that Mandeville when he pretends to have been travelling in the East was in reality practising medicine at Liège.

Mandeville himself tells us that he was born in England, 'in the tounne of Saynt Albanes.' Research, however, has failed to discover any notice of such a man at that time in that or any other part of England. A family of that name had property at Black Notley in Essex, not far from St. Albans, and in the thirteenth century a Sir John Mandeville was in possession. But at his death a Sir Thomas succeeded, and was followed by a Sir Walter, who in his turn gave place to another Sir Thomas, who was alive in 1372. There was no place therefore for the sole of the feet of the traveller in this line. But *D'Outremeuse* tells us further that Mandeville having had the misfortune to kill in England a certain nobleman whom he does not name, 's'engagea à parcourir les trois parties du monde.' It is a curious circumstance that a certain John de Mandeville did get into trouble for being concerned in the murder of Piers Gaveston. But this event, as all history books tell us, took place in 1312, and in the following year Mandeville was pardoned. He would scarcely, therefore, have thought it necessary to flee the country nine years after the committal of the crime for which he had been pardoned, nor is it the least likely that the man who took part in this deed should have lived until 1372. In all branches of this enquiry, however, we find that when we follow up a shadowy Mandeville, we come upon a substantial *De Bourgogne*. And though the story as regards the accomplice in the murder of Gaveston breaks down, a much more probable one crops up in relation to the attack on the Despensers in 1321. In this movement a certain 'Johan de Burgoyne' was implicated, but was pardoned on the banishment of the favourites. On the recall of the Despensers, however, in 1322, the following year, *De Bourgogne's* pardon was formally revoked, and he had therefore the best of reasons for going abroad at the very time when Mandeville states that he started on his travels.

We have thus a Jean de Bourgogne leaving England at the time and under the circumstances under which Mandeville is said to have gone abroad; we have him living at Liège under that name, and declaring on his death-bed that he was Sir John Mandeville 'dictus ad Barbam,' the author of the

celebrated Travels. Never was the romance of Jekyll and Hyde more completely realized than in this case. Even the *sobriquet* which distinguished the one was applied also to the other, and the explanation which in the Latin version Mandeville gives of the man with the beard serves only further to complicate a matter already sufficiently involved. He states that while residing at the Egyptian court he saw about the Sultan a venerable and skilful physician who was 'sprung from our own parts,' and that, although at the time the nature of their respective duties rarely allowed of intercourse, long afterwards at Liège he wrote his Travels at the exhortation and with the assistance of this same venerable man. And he further relates, that

'in 1355, when on his way home, he stopped at Liège, and was there confined to his bed in the street called "Bassesavenyr" by arthritic gout. He therefore consulted some of the physicians of the place, and among others one older and more hoary than the rest, and evidently expert in his art, who went by the name of Master John "ad Barbam." In the course of conversation they recognized one another as old acquaintances at Cairo. Having first proved his medical skill, this physician urged him for the sake of posterity to write an account of his wanderings through the world, and thus the work was composed by his advice and aid, although the author had intended to write nothing, at least until he reached England.'

Learning was not generally an accomplishment possessed by English knights of the fourteenth century; least of all might it be looked for in one who, having in his youth been mixed up in political controversies in England, spent thirty-four years in travelling through the most distant regions of the world. And yet the writer of Mandeville's Travels was, as we shall presently show, intimately acquainted with the works of 'Boldensele and Odoric, Carpini and Hayton, Vincent de Beauvais and Brunetto Latini, Albert of Aix and Jacques de Vitry, the *Historia Scholastica* and the *Legenda Aurea*, the Palestine itineraries, both Latin and French,' and numerous other works. The fact, however, that some of these books—Odoric's, for example—appeared when the pseudo-Mandeville declares that he was thousands of miles beyond the confines of Europe, finally disposes of his pretensions as a veracious traveller. It is noticeable also that in a work written by Jean d'Outremeuse—whose real name, by the bye, was Jean des Preis—entitled 'Myreur des Histors,' constant references are made to almost all the works of which Mandeville has laid so freely under contribution. We know also that Jean d'Outremeuse and Jean de Bourgogne were not only neighbours, but close friends; and that D'Outremeuse was executor to De Bourgogne. He would naturally, therefore, have

have access to his friend's library, and the probability appears to be that De Bourgogne wrote the Travels with the connivance and assistance of D'Outremeuse, and that the latter, finding after his friend's death that his work had become famous, invented the death-bed declaration of De Bourgogne quoted above.

The vagaries of nature are often stranger than those of art, and it may well be that a perverted spirit of friendship may have induced D'Outremeuse to put into his dying neighbour's mouth a declaration which a novelist would hesitate to make use of. In the same way the writer of the Travels closes his mendacious record by asking all 'thase that redez this buke' to pray for him, and he on his part promises to pray to God that 'he will fulfil them with his grace.' Such pious imprecations were common closing sentences in fourteenth-century works, and need not be regarded as fixing any more additional infamy on 'Mandeville,' than the conventional imprecations used by Easterns in support of lying assertions do on those past masters in the art of imposture.

The Travels naturally divide themselves into two parts—the first containing the account of the Holy Land and Egypt, and the second the remainder of the supposed journeys eastward. Colonel Yule—who, with that unerring geographical instinct which commonly guided his criticism, was the first to point out the fallacious character of 'Mandeville's Travels'—considered that the author wrote to some extent from personal observation the account of his wanderings in the first part of the work. Mr. Warner does not take so charitable a view, and has succeeded in tracing to earlier sources many of the statements upon which Colonel Yule based his opinion. On the whole we are inclined to agree with Mr. Warner. It is true that even he fails to discover any authority for 'Mandeville's' account of the Hippodrome at Constantinople, but Jean d'Outremeuse's library may have contained works of which we have no cognizance, and from which, also, 'Mandeville' may have drawn his statements with regard to the number of columns in the Church of the Nativity, and of the steps down to the Grotto at Jerusalem. By some expressions made use of he appears to have had some slight acquaintance with Arabic, but unfortunately for him, at page 71, he is tempted to give what he is good enough to call the Arabic alphabet, and which bears no more resemblance to the Arabic letters than it does to the syllabary of Japan. As a matter of fact, as Mr. Warner points out in one of his excellent notes, the alphabet is copied from the *Cosmographia* of Æthicus, and

is there stated to have been of the author's own invention. Psalmaanazar, who during the last century so far out-Mandevilled Mandeville that he not only pretended to have travelled in Formosa but to have been a native of that island, yielded, like Mandeville, to the temptation to quote letters which purported to be Formosan. The result was destruction to his pretensions, and the means of detection being ready to hand, he speedily met with the same fate which has now after five centuries overtaken his prototype. In the fourteenth century, however, very little was known in Europe of Eastern alphabets, and 'Mandeville' probably felt that he might allow his imagination to run riot on the subject without incurring any risk of being discovered by his contemporaries. There was no reason, therefore, why he should stop short at the Arabic. Nor does he. For at pp. 27 and 76 he sets out 'bothe the letters and thaire soune' of the Egyptian and Persian alphabets. These, like his Arabic letters, bear no resemblance to any alphabetic system upon earth, but agree closely with a series of alphabets given in an eleventh-century MS. which is quoted by Eccard in his '*De origine Germanorum Libro duo*,' 1750.

In these matters, however, we can trace the sources from which he drew his inspiration. But throughout his work he appears to have been subjected at intervals to outbreaks of impatience at the trammels which the necessity of quoting from them imposed upon him, and when under these impulses he gave full rein to his taste for entangled misstatements. For example, he asserts that the inhabitants of Cyprus hunt with *papiouns* (*i.e.* baboons), 'the whilk er lyke to leoperds,' and eat their food in pits after the manner of the early Aryans. The first of these assertions is, as we shall see, compounded from passages in the writings of Boldensele and Jacques de Vitry. Boldensele states that the natives of Cyprus hunt '*cum canibus et maxime domesticis leopardis*;' and De Vitry, speaking of the animals of the East, describes the hunting leopard, and then goes on to say, '*sunt ibi papiones*.' Either by a mistaken reading, or possibly by a vulgar desire to astonish, 'Mandeville' makes from these two passages the jumble quoted above. So also when he says that the Bedawin live on fish, gain a livelihood by hunting and wear white turbans, he is providing us with a hodge-podge of the accounts given by Boldensele and Vincent de Beauvais of the inhabitants of the Red Sea littoral. Boldensele tells us that the Bedawin '*vivunt maxime de camelis et capris*,' and Vincent mentions, quoting from Pliny, '*Porro ichthyophagi gens errant in litore Maris Rubri, super petras solis calore serventes assant pisces et hoc solo alimento vicitant*.'

victitant.' With these two passages before him it is plain what 'Mandeville' did. He mistranslated Boldensele, and jumped to the conclusion that Vincent's ichthyophagi were Boldensele's Bedawin! In his quotation from the apocryphal letter of Prester John, to the effect that in the land of that potentate 'er many mervailles, bot amanges other thare es a grete see all of gravell and sande, and na drope of water therein . . . nevertheles thare es grete plentee of gude fischez taken by the see bankes,' he is more accurate; but the crowning falsehood, 'I John Maundeville ete of tham,' is in his best manner; though it is only fair to add that this affirmation is only found in the English translations.

He evidently thinks an occasional thumping assertion, that he has personal knowledge of the circumstances which he relates, is necessary to preserve his position as an independent author. Thus he affirms that he 'dwelled a lang tyme with the Sowdan (Sultan of Egypt), and was sowdiour to him in his weres agayne the Bedoynes;' that he fought for the Emperor of China against the Manzi; that he drank thrice of Prester John's mythical fountain of youth, 'and evermare sen that tyme I fele me the better and the haler and supposez for to do till the tyme that Godd of his grace will make me to passe oute of this dedly lyf.'

It is probable that 'Mandeville's' first intention was to write a guide-book to the Holy Land, since he describes several routes thither without making any statement as to the one which he afterwards represented himself as having taken. But the taste for romancing *vient en mangeant*; and having found it easy to appropriate the writings of Albert of Aix and William of Boldensele, he was tempted to take a bolder flight and plunge in imagination into Asia under the guidance of Friar Odoric, Hayton, Carpini, and others. Odoric, we know, went 'from Constantinople to Trebizond, and thence to Erzeroum, Tabriz and Soltania, probably spending some time in these parts. From Soltania he passed to Kashan and Yezd, and thence turning by Persepolis he followed a somewhat devious route, probably by Shiraz and perhaps a part of Kurdistan to Baghdad. From Baghdad he wandered to the Persian Gulf, and at Hormuz embarked for Tana in Salsette. Here, or from Surat, where Jordanus had deposited them, he gathered the bones of the four brethren who had suffered there in 1321, and carried them with him on his voyage eastward. He went to Malabar, touching at Pandarani, Oranganor, and Kulam, and proceeded thence to Ceylon and the shrine of St. Thomas at Mailapoor, the modern Madras. From this he sailed tediously to Sumatra, visiting various parts of the coast of that island, Java, probably Southern or Eastern Borneo, Champa, and Canton. Hence

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he travelled to the great ports of Fokien, and from Fucheu across the mountains to Hangcheufu and Nanking. Embarking on the Great Canal at Yangcheufu, he proceeded by it to Cambalec or Peking, and there remained for three years, attached, it may be presumed, to one of the churches founded by Archbishop John of Montecorvino, now in extreme old age. Turning westward at length through Tenduc (the Ortu country of our maps) and Shensi to Tibet, and its capital Lhassa, we there lose all indication of his further route, and can only conjecture on very slight hints added to general probabilities that his homeward journey led him by Cabul, Khorassan, and the south of the Caspian, to Tebriz, and thence to Venice by the way he had followed thirteen or fourteen years before, when outward bound.'

This from beginning to end is the route taken by 'Mandeville.' It will be observed that there is some uncertainty as to the way by which Odoric reached Baghdad. The same uncertainty exists in 'Mandeville's' case. Odoric also leaves doubtful the road by which he travelled westward into Europe after leaving Lhassa. 'Mandeville' follows suit, the only information on the subject which he vouchsafes to us being, 'from this land men commez thurgh the land of the grete Caan, of the whilk I talde yow before, and therefore it nedez noght to reherce it here agayne.' On his return to Europe Odoric went to Avignon to lay the narrative of his travels before the Pope. 'Mandeville' also presented himself before the Holy Father, but by a curious blunder he states that he went for the purpose to Rome, whereas from 1309 to 1377 the seat of the Papacy was at Avignon, and not at Rome.

'And for als mykill,' he says, 'as many men trowez noght bot that thai see with thaire eghen, or that thai consayve with thaire awen kyndely wittes, therefore I made my way in my commyng hameward unto Rome to schew my buke till oure haly fader the Pape.'

But though 'Mandeville' servilely followed in the footprints of Odoric, he allows himself free licence to introduce into his narrative legends and marvels concerning which the genuine traveller is silent. These interpolations furnish, however, no sort of proof that 'Mandeville' learned them on the spot. They are one and all such as had done duty for many centuries both in Eastern histories and Western books of legends. The tale of the 'Castle of the Sparrowhawk,' in which dwelt a fair lady who was only to be won by the knight who could keep her sparrowhawk awake for seven days and nights; and the story of the 'Monk,' who brought a plank of Noah's ark from the summit of Ararat, are specimens of the tales which are freely besprinkled over 'Mandeville's' pages. The slightest hint of
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any peculiarity dropped by Odoric is taken advantage of by the copyist to interpolate myths derived from Eastern traditions. Odoric states that in the Indian Ocean he voyaged in a vessel made without nails, but stitched together with twine. This was enough for 'Mandeville.' The 'Story of the third Royal Mendicant,' in the 'Arabian Nights,' in which mention is made of a Loadstone Mountain, had long been current in Europe, and what more appropriate opportunity could there be for its introduction than that here offered by the Friar? He therefore assured his readers that ships were thus made 'by cause of rockes of adamaundez that er in the see, whilk wald drawe schippes to tham.' This story he evidently felt needed some confirmation, and so he states (p. 133): 'I was one tyme in that see, and I sawe' the remains of the ships which had been wrecked on the rocks.

Sometimes also he lays the pages of Pliny and Solinus under contribution, and fills to the gorge the gaping mouths of his credulous readers. 'In Cicile is manner of nedder (adder),' he wrote, 'with whilk men of that land usez to prove thair childer, wheder thai be geten in leel spousage or noght. For, if thai be geten in leel spousage, the nedder will go aboute tham and do tham no harme; and if thai be geten in advoutry, the nedders will stang them and venym tham.' This story is told by Pliny of the Psylli, a tribe of Northern Africa, whose bodies, according to that authority, were endowed by nature with a subtle venom fatal to serpents, upon which their very odour acted as a narcotic. They exposed their children, therefore, in the manner described, adjudging them begotten by men of a different tribe if the reptiles attacked them.

But the strangest appropriation of which 'Mandeville' is guilty is an account he gives of the inhabitants of an island in Eastern Asia, which he extracts indirectly from no less an authority than Julius Cæsar, whose description of the manners and customs of the ancient Britons is, with all solemnity, made to do duty for the habits of these Oriental islanders.

'Beyond this ile,' he wrote, 'es another ile in the see, whare es grete plenty of folk. And thai ete nevermare flesch of hares, ne of hennes, ne of geezese; and noght forthi thai hafe many of tham all anely for thaire solace and for the sight of tham. But they eat flesch of other bestez and drinkez mylke. In this ile thai wedd thair awen doghter and ther sisters and ther sibbe wymmen, and dwellez togyder in a hous ten or twelf or ma. And ilke mannez wyf sall be comoun til other that wonnez thare; and ilkane of tham takez other wyfez, ane a nyght, another another nyght. And, when any of thir wyfes beres a childe, it sall be giffen to him that first lay by her

her that es the moder; and so is ther nane that wate whether the childe be his or another mannez,'

Strangely also with prophetic foresight he very appropriately places next to this island one described by Pliny in which boycotting was carried on in a manner which would have done credit to the emissaries of Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien. By the laws of these Oriental Hibernians, if their King committed a crime he was to forfeit his life.

'Bot he schall noght be slaen with mannez hand, bot thai schall forbode that na man be so hardy to make him company, ne speke with him, ne com to him, ne giffe him mete ne drink; and so for even pure nede and hunger and thrist and sorow that he schall hafe in his hert he schall dye.'

On landing on the mainland of China, however, 'Mandeville' found that there was no need much to enlarge on the wonders which Odoric described as existing in the land of Cathay. With the eyes of the Friar he took note of the quaint coiffures and strange customs of the women of Fukien; of the trained cormorants, which by a curious confusion between the narrative of Odoric and a mention of trained luræ by De Beauvais he calls 'otters,' catching fish at the bidding of their masters; of the pigmies on the banks of the Yang-tze-Kiang, whose skill in preparing cotton and the beauty of whose women he is loud in proclaiming; of the garden of transmigrated souls; and of the Palace of the Great Khan. In describing the capital he is not, however, satisfied with Odoric's sufficiently florid description, but adds to it from Hayton the particulars of the 'Golden Peacocks, and other maners of fewles of gold, curiously and sutilly wrought. And thir fewles er so wonderfully made by craft of man that it semez as they leped and daunse and bett with thaire wengez and playd tham on other diverse wyse; and it is right wonderfull to the sight, how that swilk thinges may be done.' Not content with this hyperbole, he adds to the glories of the Khan's dining table the 'grete vyne of syne gold,' which Alexander saw at the palace of King Porus, and further attempts to paint the lily by enumerating the gems and precious stones of which the grapes were composed.

Following in Odoric's footsteps, he travels into Central Asia through the northern provinces of China, which, by the bye, he speaks of as Islands, and reproduces all the time-worn Eastern stories which are narrated as legends by the Friar; among them, as a matter of course, the Tartarian lamb figures.

'And thare growez a maner of fruyte grete as gourdes; and when it es rype thai open it and fyndez therin a beste with flesh and blude
and

and bane, and it es lyke to a lytill lambe withouten wolle. And men of that cuntree etez that beste, and the fruyt also. And that es a grete mervaille. Nevertheles I said tham that me thocht it na grete mervaille, for in my cuntree, I said, tham ware treesse berand a fruyte that becommes briddez flyand, the whilk men callez Bernakes, and ther es gude mete of tham; and thase that fallez in the water liffez and fliez furth, and thase that fallez on the land dyez. And when I had talde tham this, thai mervailed tham gretely theroff.'

And no wonder. The Lamb story was some centuries old when Odoric first heard it, and up to the beginning of the critical period in natural history it was commonly accepted as a fact in Europe. Even the Royal Society directed its attention to the myth, and Sir Hans Sloane exhibited before that learned body the artificially shaped downy rhizome of a species of fern with some of the stems left for the legs, as a specimen of the creature. But later research tends to show that the whole myth is a distorted account of the cotton shrub. In Chinese books of early travels the legend is frequently told, and it is further commonly stated that by sowing the bones of lambs the natives reap in due season plentiful crops of the living animals.

The myth of the Barnacle Goose with which 'Mandeville' astounded his friends is a still older tradition, and is found in a reversed form in a Chinese work bearing the date of about 2000 B.C. It is there stated, according to Chinese commentators, that at a certain season of the year sparrows go into the sea and become barnacles. Professor Max Müller has explained that the Irish version of the myth arose from a confusion between the words *Bernacula*, the Latin for a barnacle, and *Hibernicula*, the name by which the Barnacle Goose was known. But, at least in some other parts of the world, the myth has a far more ancient origin than this.

We shall not follow 'Mandeville' into his accounts

'of antres vast, and desarts idle,

Rough quarries, rocks, and hills whose heads touch heaven.

* * * * *

And of the Cannibals that each other eat,

The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads

Do grow beneath their shoulders.'

We have traced him far enough to show that he followed throughout the writers who preceded him except when he interjected romances of his own weaving. It is obvious that he was conscious that the coincidence of his travels with those of Friar Odoric would probably attract attention, and he therefore made some attempts to draw a red herring across the
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scent by dropping a hint in the famous account of Valley perilous that he had travelled in the company of two Friars—presumably Odoric and his companion James. In the uncritical age in which he wrote, this explanation of his otherwise obvious plagiarism was deemed satisfactory, and it is even said that he was described on his tombstone as 'Socius Odorici.'

Our third contention is as capable of proof as the other two. The belief that the *Travels* were originally written in English appears to have been based on the assumption that the author being an Englishman would naturally write in English. But an examination of the earliest English texts shows that they are translations from a French original, and that some of them are very bad translations. One strange evidence of this is found in a curious gap which occurs in all but two of the English MSS. in 'Mandeville's' account of Egypt. The full French text runs at the passage: 'Et ovesqe ceo il est Califfes, qest mult grande chose en lour langage, et est tant a dire come roi. Il y soleit avoir v. soudans,' &c. The text, however, from which the most common English version was taken was evidently deficient after the words 'roi. Il,' which probably occurred at the bottom of a page, and the translator, not recognizing that anything was wanting, rendered the passage by 'and also he haldeth Calaphes qwyche is a gret thing to the Sowdan, that is to say among hem Roys ils.' And then he goes on with the entirely new matter at the end of the gap, 'And this vale is ful cold,' &c. Such a mistake speaks for itself. On no other supposition than that which we have adduced is it possible to explain the fact that the unpunctuated 'roi il' or 'roy ils' is understood as an alternative Arabic title of the Caliph. The other two English versions are complete; one of them is that which is generally known from the edition first printed in 1725, and afterwards by Halliwell; the other is now printed by the Roxburghe Club for the first time. A somewhat similar error occurs in the account of Samaria, which, according to the French text, 'siet entre montaignes.' This in one at least of the complete English versions appears as 'and it sytt betwene the hille of Aygnes'—a mistake which plainly arose from the fact that the word 'montaignes' was divided at the end of a line. In the same way, by reading 'C. ordres' for 'Cordeliers,' the translator has turned Cordelier nuns into 'nunnes of an hundred orders.' It is not often that we can acknowledge a debt of gratitude to a bad translator, but in this instance we can, since his mistakes have put beyond the reach of cavil the fact that the English version is not the original text. They prove conclusively also that the author was not the translator, for it is impossible

impossible to suppose that he would have rendered 'le cercle des signes du ciel' by 'the cercle of swannes of hevene,' or that, by a confusion between the words 'chemins' and 'cheminées,' he would have described the volcanic Lipari islands as the 'ways' instead of the 'chimneys' of hell. Nor would even 'Mandeville' commit himself to the statement that travellers in the Arabian desert cannot get on without 'men that can speak Latyne.' The author of the French text used the expression 'latiniers' in the more general sense of interpreters, and it was reserved for his translator to credit the wandering Arabs with a knowledge of the classical tongue.

We may dismiss then the supposition that the original text of the Travels was written in English, and it now remains for us to show that it was not written in Latin. Unfortunately for the supporters of the Latin theory, their chief witness is the English translator to whom we owe what we call the Halliwell version, and who, in this case, has proved himself to be as ignorant of the parts of French verbs as we have shown him to have been of the meanings of French substantives. A man who was unable to distinguish between 'signes' and 'cygnes' and between 'chemins' and 'cheminées,' is quite capable of regarding 'que je eusse' as the equivalent of 'que j'ai.' And so he writes at the end of the prologue :—

'And yee schull undirstonde that I have put this boke out of latyn in to frensch, and translated it aghen out of frensch in to Englyssch, that every man of my nacon may understonde it. But lordes and knyghtes and othere noble and worthi men that conne not latyn but lityll, and han ben beyonde the see, knowen and understonden if I seye trouthe or non. And if I erre in devisynge for forghetynge or ell, that thei mowe redresse it and amende it; for thinges passed out of longe tyme from a mannes mynde or from his syght turnen sone in to forghetynge, because that mynde of manne may not ben comprehended ne withholden for the freelte of mankynde.'

If this were a correct translation, it would be definite enough in support of the Latin original, but a comparison of the passage with the French text proves exactly the opposite conclusion. The words of the French are :—

'Sachies que ie eusse cest livret mis en latin pour plus briefment deviser. Mais pource que plusieurs entendent mieulx rommant que latin, ie l'ay mis en rommant, par quoy que chascun lentende, et que les seigneurs et les chevaliers et les autres nobles hommes qui ne scevent point de latin ou pou, qui ont este oultre mer, sachent et entendent se ie dy voir ou non, et se ie erre en divisant pour non souvenance ou autrement, que ilz le puissent adrecier et amender ;
car

car choses de lonc temps passees par la [longue] vene tournent en oubli, et memoire d'omme ne puet mie tout retenir ne comprendre.'

This, if it means anything, means—

'Know that I should have put this book into Latin to be more concise; but seeing that many understand Romance [*i.e.* French] better than Latin, I have put it into Romance,' &c.

Besides, as Mr. Warner points out, although Latin was the common literary medium of communication in the Middle Ages, it was, after all, the language of the scholar and the clerk; while the style of Mandeville's Buke shows that it was addressed rather to the less highly cultured classes and to travellers than to the learned and students. The weight of the evidence before us is thus decidedly in favour of the French text being the original; and, further, there can be no doubt that the English translation was not the work of the writer of the Travels.

A story is told of one of the *Encyclopédistes*, who, being taunted by a fellow freethinker on his continuing to read the Bible after having denied its credibility, replied, 'I read it because I love it.' This is the kind of feeling which we experience towards the Travels of Sir John Mandeville. We know that they are fictitious so far as he is concerned from 'the egg to the apples,' but it is impossible to resist the fascination of his style. There is a quaint grace about it which carries the reader on in rapt attention through its chapters. Whether the author is describing the Holy Places, the palaces of Cathay, or the wonders of Central Asian deserts, he writes with such graphic picturesqueness that all sense of the unreality of his personal narrative is lost in the charm which attaches to his pen. If he had allowed himself to carry out what was doubtless his original idea of writing a guide-book to the East, we should have nothing but admiration to express of his work. It is the occasional assertion that 'I, John Mandeville,' did so and so which is as the fly in the ointment, and which has converted what would otherwise be an excellent book of travel into a standing illustration of the art of imposture.

Before taking leave of Mandeville, we cannot refrain from congratulating the Roxburghe Club on the magnificent volume which they have produced, and on their choice of editor. With the instinct of a scholar and the patient industry of a bookworm, Mr. Warner has tracked 'Mandeville's' quotations line by line until he has left him nothing that is original, except a few efforts of the imagination which are as baseless as his own existence. He has printed the French text side by
side

side with the English, and has completed his work by adding notes which are a mine of erudite information. The original intention of the Roxburghe Club was to publish only a set of fine fifteenth-century miniatures, illustrating the first part of Mandeville's Travels, which are preserved at the British Museum. Fortunately, the present more extended work was undertaken, on the advice of Mr. Warner, and reproductions of the miniatures have now been appended to the text. The manner in which these works of art have been printed are beyond all praise, and amply justifies their admission into the extremely handsome volume of which they form a very interesting portion.

No greater contrast could be found between any books of travel than that which exists between 'Mandeville's' work and Mr. Hallett's 'Thousand Miles on an Elephant.' In the one we have reproduced the kind of narrative which satisfied the wants of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries public, before any value was attached to exactness, and before scientific knowledge had reduced the marvels of the early chroniclers to the limits of truth; and in the other we have a minute record of a very interesting journey, mapped out into miles and distances, with careful observations on the physical features and trading capabilities of the country. In 'Mandeville's' days travellers looked upon foreign countries as children look on strange places. Their eyes were so occupied in observing all the more striking objects of novelty and wonder that they cared little to note the more prosaic matters of daily travel. Time was of little moment to them. Whether they were a week or a month journeying from one point to another mattered nothing to them, and was of no interest to their readers. They therefore usually said nothing about it, nor did they consider it necessary to reckon distances, and beyond an occasional reference to trade they left the subject unnoticed.

Familiarity with Eastern subjects has, however, so completely worn off for us the wonder and excitement which were wont to agitate our forefathers at the tales brought home by adventurous travellers, that the desire to be exactly informed on all subjects which are of interest to a nation of traders and globe-trotters overmasters every other craving. As a representative of a nineteenth-century book of travels Mr. Hallett's work is a model specimen. It is full of exact information. It is clear and concise on all geographical points as well as on all the concerns of interest to the manufacturers of Manchester and Sheffield, and it excels equally with 'Mandeville's' Travels in the purity and aptness of its literary style. Like 'Mandeville' also, Mr. Hallett shows a taste for local legends. He gives them

them in abundance, but, unlike his prototype, he uses them only to illustrate the beliefs and superstitions of the natives. Some of them are very quaint and interesting, and the author's descriptions of the manners and customs of the people are as strange and piquant as any which are to be found in the work of the pseudo-traveller.

The thousand miles travelled by Mr. Hallett were through the Siamese valleys northwards, from Bangkok towards the Chinese frontier, and the main object of the journey was to examine into the practicability of making a railway on the line of country travelled over to connect the Gulf of Siam with the rich provinces of Yunnan and Szechuen, the Carajan and Sindafu of the Mandeville period. By an unfortunate geographical configuration these two exceptionally productive provinces are cut off from the maritime districts of the Empire by ranges of mountains, which make communication by land almost impossible, and which convert the beds of the rivers that traverse them into dangerous rapids. The inhabitants thus find themselves comparatively isolated from the rest of the world, and, though possessing all things necessary to their own comfort and well-being, they are virtually shut out from the markets of the Eastern seaboard. That a territory as large as France and half of Germany put together, with a fertile soil and an industrious and enterprising population, should be left in this secluded position, while the manufacturers of Europe are tripping up each other's heels in their haste to find new markets for their goods, would be contrary to the spirit of the age. The frontiers of England and France are now, the one on the side of Burmah and the other in Tonquin, within measurable distance of this commercial El Dorado; and the two countries, each after its own manner, have been using their endeavours to open practicable trade routes into this much-desired region.

The average Englishman commonly displays a marked conservatism in matters of trade. He prefers the old commercial systems, even though they be antiquated, to any new departure, and in the question of opening up a new country he very wisely adheres to the established native trade routes. But the argument in favour of these, though *primâ facie* sound, is apt at times to be pushed too far. It is forgotten that mountain tracks which may be sufficient for the meagre needs of native traffic are often quite unfit for the requirements of European trade. And though it is true that the recognized native trade route between Yunnan and Upper Burmah is by way of Bhamo, it is also true that this road is quite impracticable for the construction of a railway,

railway, and could only be made available for wheel traffic at an enormous cost. In the minds of many, however, it still holds its position as the recognized road, and any proposal to open another route appears to be regarded by such persons as an unnecessary attempt to improve on the original designs of Providence.

Messrs. Hallett and Colquhoun not being imbued with these ideas, and finding that the Bhamo route affords safe foothold only to goats and kakhyens, made enquiries to discover if by chance there was any other recognized road which offered fewer obstacles to communication. A glance at the map shows that the lofty ranges of mountains which separate China and Siam from Burmah gradually lower their crests as they approach the sea, and that to the east of them an almost level country, consisting of river valleys, stretches through the Shan States and Siam from the Yunnan frontier to Bangkok. From a geographical point of view these river valleys thus appear to form a practicable route, and further investigations have shown that it was one well used to the footprints of Chinese sumpter-mules. It was found also that a considerable trade was carried on between Maulmain in Southern Burmah and the Siamese trading centres by a road which crosses the mountain ranges separating the two countries at a perfectly practicable elevation. Having ascertained these facts, Mr. Hallett made a personal survey of the country, and gives the result in the work before us. In brief, he found that physically there is no great difficulty in the way of constructing a railway from Maulmain to the frontier of Yunnan; that the country through which such a line would pass is dotted with large cities which already keep up a constant trade with Yunnan by means of caravans to and from that province; and that the Siamese, both bureaucrats and people, are favourably disposed towards the scheme.

The advantages of such a line are sufficiently obvious. It would bring the Yunnan frontier within twenty-eight days of London, it would obviate the necessity of traversing the typhoon-tossed China sea, and it would greatly diminish the cost of freight. Those who are most directly interested in the matter have already pronounced in its favour. More than twenty of the principal Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom have passed resolutions urging its construction; and the King of Siam, who has expressed himself favourably disposed towards it, has directed a survey to be made of the route proposed. The main objection to the scheme is the fact that a considerable portion of the line would pass through Siamese territory. The diplomatic difficulties entailed by this necessity

would undoubtedly require careful handling, but they are not insuperable.

The events of the last few months have shown that whatever is to be done for the opening of a practicable trade route into Yunnan from Burmah should be done quickly. Already, while we have been discussing the pros and cons of the various schemes proposed, others have been acting. In Tonquin the French possess the great advantage of having direct water communication by the Red River with Yunnan, and they have now succeeded in establishing a comparatively easy trade route between the ports of Haiphong on the Gulf of Tonquin, and Manhao at the head of the navigation in Yunnan. From this point to Mengtze, which is the centre of the trade in that part of the Province, a good paved road exists, and as a matter of fact goods are carried now from the sea-board of Tonquin to Mengtze in twenty-two days. So well assured is the traffic by this line that Sir Robert Hart has lately sent a Customs' inspector to Mengtze, and the report recently issued by that gentleman on the prospects of trade by the new route is highly favourable to it.

It is a common saying that war always finds us unprepared, and that our first efforts in the field are necessarily devoted to making good deficiencies in our preparations. The same fate seems to follow us in our commercial campaigns. We suddenly find ourselves forced into a competition with Foreign Powers for a mercantile advantage. Our resources compared with those of most other nations are boundless. Yet we have no definite plan by which to avail ourselves of them. Travellers and engineers point out practicable trade routes to new markets, our diplomatic agents report upon them, Chambers of Commerce pass resolutions in favour of them, but nothing is done, and the prize for which we have been striving passes at first into other hands. So far this has been the case in the present instance. Our competitors have unquestionably gained the first tactical advantage. Even now, however, the great bulk of the merchandise carried into Yunnan by the French steamers is owned by Chinese and English merchants, and there cannot be a doubt that if a railway, such as is advocated by Mr. Hallett, were constructed to connect Burmah with the Yunnan frontier, the temporary advantage now gained by the new owners of Tonquin would be speedily redressed, and that the benefits derived from closer commercial relations with 'Mandeville's' old enemies the Manzi would amply justify the enterprise.

ART. VIII.—*The Bishop of Lincoln's Case. A Report of the Proceedings in the Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury.*
By E. S. Roscoe. London, 1891.

THE last half-century has witnessed an extraordinary diminution of business in the Ecclesiastical Courts. The Probate and Divorce jurisdictions have been transferred to the High Court. Doctors' Commons has ceased to exist as an institution, and survives only in the name of a half-forgotten corner of the City. The laity are no longer subject to spiritual discipline for their souls' health, and even peccant clerks have scruples against entering the Court of Arches, which are generally respected. But side by side with this decay in amount of business there has been a remarkable growth in importance. If the suits have been few, never since the Reformation have there been so many *causes célèbres*. The Gorham Case, the Colenso Case, the Essays and Reviews Case, the Mackonochie Case, the Bennett Case, the Ridsdale Case, and now the Lincoln Case, are altogether without parallel for gravity and interest. But the last is likely to be the best remembered of any of them, partly because of the status of the defendant, partly because of the anomalous Court, revived after long disuse, but, most of all, because it seems more than probable that the Lambeth Judgment will mark the crisis of the long Ritual struggle, and, for good or for ill, be a turning-point in the history of the Church of England.

Three or four years ago Ritual litigation was decidedly flagging. The old suits had been wound up, and the Bishops, entrenched behind their power of Veto, refused to allow new suits to be started. The public were well pleased that this should be so, but the Church Association were extremely dissatisfied at the practical failure of their policy of suppression, and the apparently insuperable obstacles against its revival. At last some learned adviser conceived the ingenious notion of prosecuting a Bishop. The plan presented the double advantage of escaping the Veto, and of challenging the hitherto assumed immunity of Bishops from ecclesiastical control. Accordingly on June 2nd, 1888, a petition was presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace, asking for a citation to be issued calling on the Lord Bishop of Lincoln to answer articles alleging that he had offended against the law ecclesiastical by certain offences in regard to ritual. The Archbishop at first declined to entertain the suit, but the Promoters appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, who 'advised Her Majesty to remit the case to the Primate to be dealt with

according to law.' The suit therefore proceeded before the Archbishop, five Assessors—the Bishops of London, Winchester (Hereford was afterwards substituted), Rochester, Oxford, and Salisbury—and the Vicar-General, Sir J. Parker Deane. On February 12th, 1889, the Bishop of Lincoln appeared personally in the Court at Lambeth Palace and presented a Protest to the Jurisdiction, stating that the case ought to be heard before the Archbishop as Metropolitan, and all his comprovincial Bishops. Dr. King, however, 'in accordance with his oath of due reverence and obedience to the See of Canterbury,' appeared under protest, and the question of jurisdiction was learnedly argued before the Court for seven days. On May 11th the Archbishop gave judgment in favour of his own jurisdiction, not only following the Privy Council, and the very authoritative precedent of *Lucy v. Bishop of St. David's* (1699), but investigating the question independently from the point of view of Church History and Canon Law. The Archbishop's tribunal, notwithstanding this decision, has been the subject of much debate in ecclesiastical circles. Several of the Bishops have expressed their dissent, and insisted that a Bishop should be tried by the Primate and all his suffragans. So far, however, as law is concerned, it may be considered that Church and State have said their last word, and that the matter is settled. It is difficult to see why, except on ecclesiastical grounds where we dare not trespass, the clergy should show so much anxiety for synodical tribunals; for of all machinery for the administration of justice, trial by committee is the most dilatory in action and the most uncertain in result.

Following the accustomed course of modern ritual litigation, no sooner was the protest against jurisdiction disposed of than Sir Walter Phillimore, the Bishop of Lincoln's leading counsel, advanced a new objection. The rubrics which the Bishop was said to have disobeyed are directions to be followed by the 'minister,' and it was argued for two days (July 23rd and 24th, 1889) that a Bishop is not a minister within the meaning of the rubrics, and is therefore free to disobey them. Such a contention was not likely to find favour outside the Court. There were distinct signs that public opinion would be shocked if it were really decided that Bishops are above law. That event, however, did not happen, for the Archbishop held that 'when a Bishop ministers in any office prescribed by the Prayer-book, he is a minister bound to observe the directions given to the minister in the rubrics of such office.' At last on February 4th, 1890, the case began to be argued on the merits, and was continued for nine days. The Archbishop reserved judgment.

judgment. The delay, inevitable where so much had to be considered, and so much depended on due consideration, was prolonged by a domestic calamity which befel the Archbishop just at the time appointed for giving judgment. There was much anxiety felt as to the decision, and as time went on an impression, for which it would be hard to account, got abroad that the Bishop of Lincoln would be condemned. In some quarters there was a marked tendency to discount this anticipated result by repudiating the spiritual authority of the Archbishop's Court, and asserting beforehand an intention to disregard his ruling. The 'Church Times' reported a meeting held in London at the beginning of August, attended by a large number of Incumbents, at which this policy was advocated, and the High Church press generally adopted a similar tone. On the other hand, wiser men were content to wait, and, if they spoke of the matter at all in public, to counsel moderation and patience. The Bishop of Durham, for example, in an atmosphere electric with suppressed excitement, ended his Presidential Address to the Hull Church Congress on September 30th, with these words:—

'This Congress will not have met in vain if with our heart and soul we silently resolve to welcome what may be spoken, by him who has a right to speak, on matters which have been long debated, not as defining afresh what has been left doubtful, or limiting the objects of future effort, but as determining on our present position from a comprehensive survey of the whole evidence.'

The judgment was delivered on November 21st, 1890, in the Library of Lambeth Palace. The Archbishop, in his scarlet Convocation robes, sat in the centre of a horse-shoe table, with his Assessors and the Vicar-General, also robed, seated on either side. In front were the counsels' seats and tables; behind them a mass of people, of whom the majority were clergymen, filled the floor to the back of the hall. The space behind the Judges and the bays on each side were crowded with spectators, amongst whom many faces well known in Church and State were to be recognised. The Judgment occupied four hours in delivery, but it was listened to throughout with absorbed attention. The scene was profoundly impressive, and will, we may safely predict, live long in the memory of all present. The verdict, so to speak, of the Court was:—(1) That the Bishop had offended by mixing the chalice during service; (2) that by administering the mixed chalice he had not offended; (3) that by drinking the 'ablutions' he had not offended; (4) that by taking the Eastward Position during the first part of the Communion Service he had not offended; (5) that he

he had offended by so standing during the Consecration Prayer that the manual acts were invisible; (6) that by allowing the *Agnus Dei* to be sung after the consecration of the elements he had not offended; (7) that by using Altar Lights in the day-time he had not offended; (8) that by making the sign of the Cross over the people during the Absolution or during the Benediction he had offended.

It is impossible in the compass of a single article to discuss with anything like critical fulness all the eight points raised and decided in the Lincoln Case. We propose to make a selection. We shall say little as to some heads of complaint, and give what space we can spare to those which seem most important. Proceeding on this principle, we shall pass lightly over the subject of the Mixed Chalice. It is matter of common knowledge that from the very earliest times it was the custom to add a few drops of water to the wine before consecration. The Privy Council made a mistake,* for which they have never been forgiven, by saying that this mixing had always taken place during the service, whereas it seems that the practice of adding the water privately in the vestry before the service has been universal in the East, and not uncommon in the West. The first Prayer-book of Edward VI. directed the minister when ordering the elements to pour the wine into the chalice, 'putting thereto a little pure and clean water.' This direction has, however, been omitted from all subsequent Prayer-books. Under these circumstances the Archbishop came to the conclusion, which it is scarcely rash to suppose that the Privy Council would have reached, had they been accurately informed as to the historical facts. He decided that the administration of the mixed chalice is legal, but that the mixing cannot properly be done during the service, and that the Bishop of Lincoln had broken the law in this latter detail.

The charge against the Bishop of pouring water and wine into the paten and chalice after the Communion Service, and afterwards drinking up such water and wine in the face of the congregation, was somewhat curtly dismissed, as it deserved to be. The rubric directs that any consecrated remnants should be reverently eaten and drunk immediately after the Blessing by the priest and such other of the communicants as he shall call unto him. It is surely unnecessary, we had almost written indecent, that the precise manner in which a clergyman accomplishes this result should be made a matter of legal argument and decision. If, in order to carry out the purpose of the

* Hibbert v. Purchas, 3 P. C. 652.

rubric completely, he adopts methods which to ordinary people seem unnecessarily elaborate and not in all respects suitable to the end in view, it is still a private matter, and there is something repulsive in what at the most is mere over-scrupulousness in sacred matters being dragged into litigation, and made the subject of ill-mannered jests. The Archbishop distinguished between the Bishop of Lincoln's practice and the Roman Catholic ceremony of ablution, which term he considered was not fairly applicable to the act complained of. The ablution, properly so called, took place, he said, 'long before' the priest gave the Sacrament to the people, instead of, as in the Bishop of Lincoln's case, after the service. It would be unreasonable to expect either the Archbishop or his Assessors to be familiar with the service of the Mass as a spectacle, but no one who was so could have fallen into so obvious a mistake. The ablutions take place, as might be expected, after all handling of the Elements is concluded. It was so in the Sarum Missal and other English uses.* In the Roman Missal the rubric is precise. After the priest has communicated himself—'*quo sumpto si qui sunt communicandi eos communicet, antequam se purificet. Postea dicit*' (then follow directions for the ablutions).

The question of the Eastward Position has throughout the Ritual controversy been regarded by both sides as of great consequence. The position of the officiating clergyman during the Communion Service—whether he stands in front of the Holy Table with his back to the people, or whether he stands at one end with his side towards the people—pleads powerfully to the eye for or against a sacrificial view of the Sacrament. The enquiry, therefore, must not be dismissed as frivolous; and yet we are no sooner involved in its discussion than we discover that its solution depends on minute definitions of common words, and the historical arrangement of an oblong table, endwise or lengthwise.

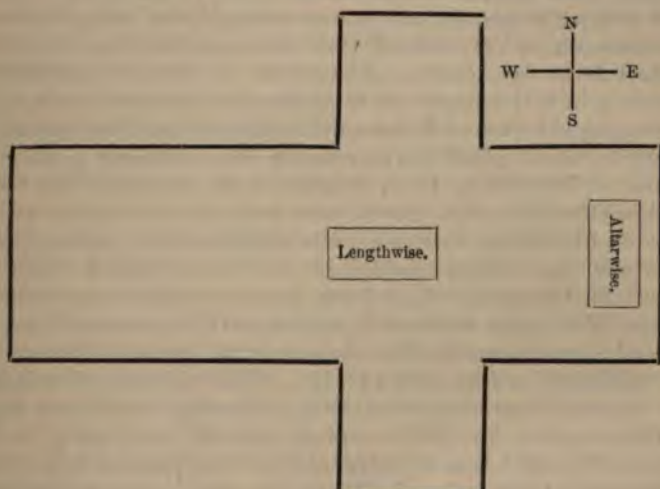
Under this head two distinct charges were made against the Bishop of Lincoln. The first complaint was that he stood in front of the Holy Table with his back to the people during the Communion Service, prior to and until the consecration of the elements; and the second complaint was that he maintained the same position during the consecration, and that as a result the operations of breaking the bread and handling the cup, known as the 'manual acts,' could not be seen by the people. Different considerations attach to these two points, and we deal

* Maskell's '*Sarum Missal*,' p. 124.

with them separately. The position of the clergyman in the ante-Communion Service is governed by rubrics which can easily be stated. Before the Reformation the celebrant occupied the Eastward Position. The Communion Service of the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. opens with this rubric: 'The priest standing humbly afore the midst of the Altar shall say the Lord's Prayer with this Collect.' It is admitted on all hands that this direction applied throughout the Communion Service until the consecration (except when otherwise specially ordered by the rubrics), and that it meant that the celebrant was to take the Eastward Position. From Whitsunday, 1549, when this Prayer-book came into use, until 1552, when it was supplanted by the second Prayer-book of Edward, there was no doubt as to the matter. The second Prayer-book removed the rubric given above, and substituted the following words: 'And then the priest, standing at the North side of the Table, shall say the Lord's Prayer with this Collect following.' From 1552 to the present time, and notwithstanding successive revisions of the Prayer-book, the rubric which governs the general position of the celebrant until the consecration prayer has remained substantially unchanged, and the problem which has given so much trouble and has divided great authorities is simply the meaning of 'the North side of the Table' in the rubric. No difficulty would have arisen if only our forefathers had kept their Communion Tables stationary. But no sooner were the old stone Altars pulled down (about 1550) and Tables substituted than, for good reasons or bad, the portable superiority of the latter was made full use of, and at the time of celebration we find the Communion Table in the chancel, or in the middle aisle, or in a transept, sometimes turned one way, and sometimes another, just as taste or supposed convenience suggested. The 'North side' of a quadrilateral which might be placed anyhow, or anywhere, and in the course of a year might 'box the compass,' is an expression which may not unnaturally give trouble, and accordingly it has come to be considered highly ambiguous. The diagram of a cruciform church on the opposite page will enable the reader to understand more clearly the following discussion.

The Archbishop's argument is shortly this. Between the first and second Prayer-books the position of the Altar or Holy Table had become changed, not only as to the part of the church in which it was placed, but also as to its direction with regard to the points of the compass. The altars had stood with their long sides facing East and West, and their short sides or 'ends' facing North and South (*i.e.*
altarwise

altarwise or crosswise). It is said that at the date of the new rubric requiring the clergyman to stand on the North side, it had become customary to place the Table with its long sides facing North and South, and its 'ends' facing East and West (or lengthwise), so that the celebrant should stand in the middle of the long side (North) looking South. In Charles I.'s reign (under Laud's auspices) there was a tendency to replace and retain the Tables at the East end of the chancels, and in the 'altarwise' position. In 1633 the Privy Council issued an



anomalous order, which was taken as of general application, and within a few years compliance was successfully exacted throughout England, so that in 1662, when the last revision took place, and this rubric was much discussed, the condition of the churches was in this respect the same as at present. The Archbishop argues that the 'North side' is a hopelessly inaccurate phrase as applied to the existing or altarwise position of the Holy Table, because an oblong table has not four sides, but two sides and two ends, and that the sides are East and West, and the ends North and South; although therefore there is a 'North end,' there is no 'North side.' But he thinks that the expression was left in the Prayer-book in 1662 on purpose to admit of a double interpretation, and a consequent variation of practice. Some would think the word 'North' the governing idea, and they would go to the North end, although it is not a
'side'

'side' at all. Others would feel that the 'side' was vital, and they would go to the long West side (*i.e.* take the Eastward Position), remembering that when the rubric was first published the Table stood lengthwise and the present West was then the North side: (we notice, in passing, that it might as often and as easily have been the South side.) In short, some would read the rubric as dealing merely with the points of the compass. Others would regard it as indicating the long side of the Table by a sort of title or nickname which it had acquired in 1552, and retained in 1662, although it had ceased to be accurate.

As we have said, no alteration was made in 1662, but it would seem that an important one was on the point of being adopted. The manuscript Prayer-book (the Annexed Book), attached as a schedule to the actual parchment of the Act of Uniformity, was early in this century cut loose from the statute by a clergyman engaged in research, who did not understand the appalling gravity of his act, and it was actually lost for many years until discovered in 1867 by Dean Stanley in the custody of the Chief Clerk of the House of Lords, who was all unconscious of the value of his charge. It has been reproduced by photography, and has just been published by the Queen's Printers. When the 'Annexed Book' was found, it was lying side by side in the same cupboard with the 'Convocation Book,' a relic of almost equal value and of even greater interest. It was published in facsimile in 1870. The 'Convocation Book' is a printed Prayer-book of 1636, with the corrections made in Convocation in 1661 copied into it, and with it the 'Annexed Book' was collated. After the preface there is a table headed 'Alterations.' These are arranged in two parallel columns—old to the left, new to the right. Under the sub-heading 'Communion,' amongst other Alterations in the rubric there is (old) *North side*—(new) *North part*; and in the rubric itself the word *side* in the printed text has been struck out, and *part* written over the line, and then *part* has been struck out and *side* reinstated. So that apparently until a very late stage of the revision, so late that the table of Alterations had already been compiled, it was intended that the rubric should run, 'the priest standing at the North part of the Table,' the recurrence to the old words being determined on at the last moment. The 'Annexed Book' shows the same change.

It would be wrong to express a confident opinion upon such a point as this; and after the serious consideration which the Archbishop has given to the question, it is with some diffidence that we venture to bring forward some objections to His Grace's explanation of the compatibility of the rubric and the

the Eastward Position. It rests on the supposed inapplicability of the word 'side' to the short ends of an oblong table. It is said that, although it may be strictly accurate, we do not in conversation talk of the ends of an oblong as sides. The reader must judge from his own experience whether this is so, but are we right in assuming that the rubrics were written in colloquial, as distinguished from accurate English? Euclid describes an oblong by its unequal 'sides,' and without referring to Geometry we are all accustomed to speak of the long and the short 'sides' of any rectangular figure which is not square. The contention is more venerable than convincing. Bishop Williams of Lincoln, in the seventeenth century, is supposed to have first enunciated the notion that 'North side' does not properly describe one 'end' of the Table, as an argument against replacing and fixing it altarwise in the chancel. He urged that unless the long side were North, it would be impossible to obey the rubric, because there would be no North side. Prynne professed to feel the same difficulty. It may justly be asked, At what point of proportion do the four sides of a rectangular parallelogram become differentiated into ends and sides? We are told by antiquarians that the Edwardian tables were generally square; certainly they were so often. But with a square Table all significance as to sides and ends disappears, and the framers of the rubric cannot in that case be credited with an intention that the celebrant 'should stand at the side of a table set lengthwise,' for lengthwise and altarwise are synonymous in the case of a square. The only point of the rubric applied to a square Table would be that the clergyman should stand to the North of it.

Again, the theory of the Archbishop assumes that the lengthwise position of the Table was so firmly established in 1552 as to make the framers of the rubric, who were rigorously desirous to be precise and to exclude any possibility of evasion, yet feel perfectly safe in giving a direction only applicable in churches where the novel arrangement had been adopted. In any churches where the Table was still altarwise—it is admitted that there were some such—the rubric, if the Archbishop be right, would allow the clergy then, as now, to retain the Eastward Position. Moreover, the privilege would belong to just those clergymen who would be most likely to use it—to those who, from their retention of the altarwise arrangement of the Holy Table, had shown their attachment for the old ways, and their indifference to the new. Is this likely?

Whatever is the meaning of the rubric to-day was also its meaning in 1552. If it now admits of an Eastward Position, it must

must equally have done so in 1552. On the other hand, if it is urged that the rubric by requiring the priest to stand at the 'North side,' contained within itself a tacit direction that the Table should be turned so as to have a 'North side,' i.e. lengthwise, it contains the same direction now, and to be consistent the judgment should have required a recurrence to this practice. This seems to us very like a *reductio ad absurdum*, for it is as difficult to suppose that the Reformers in 1552, compiling a rubric for the express purpose of abolishing the Eastward Position, should have nevertheless legalised it, as it is to believe that the true construction of the rubric binds us down to a grotesque arrangement of our churches, in defiance alike of ancient custom and modern taste. It must be remembered that no one broke any law civil or ecclesiastical by keeping the Holy Table altarwise, unless the rubric itself contain a concealed prohibition. Although the Archbishop speaks of 'the lengthwise position in which the Table stood under the injunction of Queen Elizabeth,' His Grace cannot intend to convey that either under Elizabeth or Edward, or any subsequent sovereign, the lengthwise or altarwise position of the Table has ever been made the subject of any binding direction. It is not so. When the Tables were square, no such question could arise. Although both rubrics and injunctions have a great deal to say as to moving the Table from the East end to other parts of the church, they are silent as to its arrangement North and South or East and West.

There was considerable discussion at the time of the 1662 revision of the Prayer-book as to this rubric, and, as we have seen, *side* was nearly altered to *part*. It was also proposed to use the words 'North side or end.' Of course if either change had been made, there would have been no room for doubt, and it is a fair argument to say that the fact that the decisive term 'end' was after all discarded, goes to show an intention to leave the question open, or in other words to make the Eastward Position permissible. But when the history is looked into, it becomes plain that the Eastward Position was scarcely thought of at that time. The real conflict was about the altarwise or lengthwise arrangement of the Holy Table. Laud by administrative pressure, rather than by law, compelled the Tables to be fixed, railed in, and placed altarwise. The civil authorities supported him, but their action appears to have been irregular. On the other hand, Bishop Williams and his party vehemently fought against this reform. There was no law against them, and there was none for them. The theory that the 'end' of a table is not a 'side,' was born of an anxious endeavour to twist the rubric into an indirect command to place the Table lengthwise. Like
many

many other arguments of the time, it was far-fetched, but its ingenious authors would have been shocked indeed if they could have foreseen its controversial value in favour of the Eastward Position. So again there seems every reason for saying that the refusal to insert 'end' into the rubric was founded simply on this, that it would have indirectly sanctioned, and indeed required, the altarwise arrangement of the Holy Table. Although an 'end' may be a 'side,' it must be admitted that the long side of a table is not its 'end.' If therefore the priest were directed to stand at the North end, it would be plain that the Table must be so arranged as to have its short sides North and South. But this was exactly what Laud required, and what Williams' party objected to. The retention of the word 'side' left the question of the altarwise or lengthwise arrangement open, and even, according to Williams, made the latter obligatory.

The Archbishop proceeds at this point of the Judgment to consider what has been the usage or custom with regard to the minister's position during the Communion Service. But before following him into this interesting enquiry, it is desirable that we should understand what influence usage has, or ought to have, in determining the true and legal construction of a rubric. If we may assume, as we probably can, that the same rule holds in construing a rubric as in construing the terms of an ancient trust, the matter is simple enough. Given clear words, the meaning of which, according to English grammar and etymology, is, in the opinion of the Judge, certain, and no length or universality of custom will avail to lend any other meaning. But if the clause to be construed may fairly bear either of two meanings, then the question which is to be authoritatively adopted depends largely upon which has been actually adopted in practice. It is said that usage is the best explanation of doubtful words. To quote Chief Baron Pollock, 'The rule amounts to no more than this, that if the Act be susceptible of the interpretation which has thus been put upon it by long usage, the Court will not disturb that construction.'* If, therefore, the direction to stand at the North side of the Table is so ambiguous as to make it doubtful whether it is to be obeyed by standing at the West side or at the North 'end,' evidence of custom is properly applicable. If, on the other hand, it is clear that West side is not North side, and that North 'end' is also North side, evidence of custom, however important from an historical point of view, is legally irrelevant. The Archbishop considers that, in the changed circumstances of Laud's successful

* *Pochin v. Duncombe*, 1 H. & N. 856.

replacement of the Communion Tables, the construction of the rubric became a matter of doubt, an 'indeterminate problem,' and he, therefore, quite consistently proceeds to ask what was then and has since been the custom. One curious feature of the matter is, that the Eastward Position seems to have been little heard of in the seventeenth century. What the Archbishop calls 'the High Church solution' was to stand at the North end. Laud, Wren, Juxon, and Cosin all adopted this use, and insisted that a side of a Table was none the less a 'side' because it was also an 'end.' Wren and Cosin were accused by the Commons of standing on a few occasions at the West side of the Table, but that was only during the Consecration Prayer, and they excused themselves by pleading some accidental reason. The Archbishop considers that 'there cannot be much doubt that it [the North end use] was the usual High Church manner of adapting the rubric to the altarwise Table.' The Visitation Articles exhibited by Bishops at this period, show that up to the Restoration it was common to enquire whether the clergyman stood at the 'North side or end.' After that date the Articles, with some exceptions, become silent on the point. This silence may have been due to several reasons, but it can hardly have been caused by any intended acquiescence in a prevalent practice of the Eastward Position, for there is really no evidence of its use, and much of its non-use. The Archbishop says, 'The North end became the generally used position.'* Mr. Tomlinson says, 'No point of anybody standing on the West side of the Table crops up till the reign of Queen Anne, and then only in relation to the Consecration Prayer.'† The Prayer-book commentators, Nicholls, Beveridge, Wheatly, L'Estrange, and Bennet, all give the North end as the recognized and proper place for the clergyman to stand. Bishop Charles Wordsworth says :—

'There was not a single Anglican writer upon the subject, so far as I could discover, from 1662 to 1843, who had taken the other side, except Scrandret, 1708, and John Johnson, 1714, who, however, though inclined to suggest it as tending to recommend their peculiar views of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, yet are really witnesses against it in point of fact.'‡

The Archbishop, though he indicates its doubtful value, makes a bold attempt to get useful evidence of practice from the engravings which, in former times more than now, used to

* P. 131.

† 'Historical Grounds of Lambeth Judgment,' examined by J. T. Tomlinson, p. 34.

‡ Cited at p. 39 of Mr. Tomlinson's pamphlet.

adorn Prayer-books, books of devotion, and similar works. We confess that we can attach no weight to this sort of evidence. Just as it was considered essential in artistic treatment that people should appear in classical robes, so all sorts of other conventions were adopted which defy calculation, and make these pictures valueless for this purpose. It is impossible to separate the matter of fact from the artistic imagination. The Judgment itself gives ample verification of this view. Two illustrations of a book *'Ενιαυτός* are produced, one of which represents 'the lengthwise position of the Table, with the two ministers standing respectively on the long North and South sides of it,' while the other 'indicates the position looking Eastward.' The Judgment adds, 'There seems to be here a simple effective evidence of contemporaneous diversity, living and tolerated.' But it so happens that the book is a Catechism, from which at an earlier page of the Judgment,* and in another context, the following extract is made:—

'Q. Why does the priest stand on the North side of the Table?

'A. To avoid the Popish superstition of standing towards the East.'

It is plain, therefore, that the picture indicating 'the position looking Eastward' was not intended by the author to be taken literally. As this case is one of those relied on by the Archbishop and his Assessors, it may fairly be taken to show the entire unsafety of this class of so-called evidence.

It only remains to quote the words of Lord Cairns and the Privy Council in the *Ridsdale* case, in which he expressed a decided opinion adverse to that entertained by the Archbishop.†

'It seems extravagant to put on the word "side" a sense more limited than its strict and primary one, for the purpose of suggesting difficulties in acting upon the rule, which for two centuries were never felt in practice, and which would not arise if the strict and primary sense were adhered to.'

The second complaint made against the Bishop of Lincoln with regard to the Eastward Position had reference to the Consecration Prayer only. It was that the Bishop so stood with his back to the people that the manual acts could not be seen by them. Though much shorter, this is a more important point than that we have just considered, inasmuch as the significance of the Eastward Position attaches to this part of the service. Indeed, a change of the celebrant's place from the North end to the West side of the Holy Table at the beginning of the

* P. 130.

† *Ridsdale v. Clifton*, 2 P. D. 340, 341.

Consecration Prayer seems to emphasize the idea which the Eastward Position is supposed to denote. The rubric governing the priest's position at this part of the service was introduced in 1662, and is in these terms:—

‘When the priest standing before the Table hath so ordered the bread and wine that he may with the more readiness and decency break the bread before the people, and take the cup into his hands, he shall say the Prayer of Consecration as followeth.’

Upon this part of the case the Privy Council and the Archbishop came to the same decision, but on different grounds. The two phrases which give difficulty are: (1) that the priest is to stand ‘before the Table;’ (2) that the bread is to be broken ‘before the people.’ The Privy Council in the Ridsdale Case* held that the first expression is satisfied both by the North end and by the Eastward Position; and that the second expression means ‘in the sight of the people,’ so that the duty which the rubric enjoins on the celebrant is merely so to stand as that the manual acts may be visible to the communicants when gathered round the Table. The Archbishop, however, points out that it is not all the manual acts (which are five), but only that of breaking the bread which the rubric directs to be done ‘before the people’: and this corresponds with a practice which existed, and to which the Puritans felt grave objection, the practice of a private breaking of the bread before the service began. ‘Accordingly each of the Puritan Liturgies, . . . while they prescribe no other manual act, prescribe the breaking of the bread to be done in the course of the service.’† ‘The Archbishop thereupon concludes that the words ‘before the people’ in this rubric mean in their presence, and so the rubric becomes silent as to any direction for the visibility of the manual acts. His Grace adds, however:—

‘We do not doubt that upon wider considerations, and far more important principles, the minister, wherever he stands during the Prayer of Consecration, is bound to take care that the manual acts should not by his position be rendered invisible to the bulk of the communicants. There is no doubt that at the time of the insertion of this rubric the manual acts were so visible. . . . No change as to this openness has ever been recommended, nor does the lack of openness necessarily follow upon the use of the Eastward Position. . . . The tenor of the Common Prayer is openness. The work of its framers was to bring out and recover the worship of the Christian congregation, and especially to replace the Eucharist in its character as the communion of the whole Body of Christ. By the use of the mother tongue, by the audibleness of every prayer, by the priest’s

* 2 P. D. 342, 343.

† ‘Judgment,’ pp. 142, 143, 144.

prayers being made identical with the prayers of the congregation, by the part of the clerk's being taken by the people, by the removal of the invisible and inaudible ceremonial, the English Church, as one of her special works in the history of the Catholic Church, restored the ancient share and right of the people in divine service. . . . Books of devotion frequently desired communicants to fasten their eyes upon these actions of the priest. To hide them would be as if the signing of the child with the cross were hidden in baptism.'

It is impossible not to recognize the strength and the breadth of these words, emphatically supported as they are by the Roman Missal which directs everything to be said by the priest *secreto*. Nevertheless, they present difficulty, for it is somewhat of a novelty to import into the Communion Service on general grounds important ritual directions which are not contained in the elaborate rubrics of the Prayer-book. The general result of the Judgment as to the Eastward Position is to make it optional during the whole Communion Service, but subject to the condition that the manual acts must be visible. The law as laid down by the Privy Council was the same, except that during the first part of the service the North end position was held to be compulsory. The verdict, so far as the Bishop of Lincoln is concerned, is that he has offended by so standing that the manual acts were not visible, but that otherwise he has not broken the law.

The next charge against the Bishop of Lincoln, in the order followed by the Judgment, is that of permitting the hymn, known as the *Agnus Dei*, i.e. the words 'O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world—have mercy upon us,' to be sung immediately after the Consecration Prayer. In the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. it was expressly enjoined, 'In the Communion time the clerks shall sing "O Lamb of God, etc,"' but the *Agnus Dei* and its rubric were omitted in all the revisions. In 1661 it would appear from the draft Prayer-book, known as Sancroft's, and supposed to contain the suggestions of Bishop Wren's Committee, that it was proposed to reinstate the *Agnus*. Archbishop Sancroft, however, tells us that in the end it was decided that it should be 'wholly omitted.'

The Judgment, after a careful consideration of the matter, comes to the conclusion that although, since its excision from the first Prayer-book of Edward VI., the *Agnus* is not an essential or obligatory part of the service, yet that as hymns must be held to be legal and not unusual, and as the *Agnus* is in the words of Holy Scripture, it cannot be illegal to use it as a hymn immediately after the Consecration Prayer. The

Archbishop considers that if the singing of the *Agnus* is to be forbidden it must be for one of three reasons: 'Either because (1) it is illegal to introduce into the service of the Church any hymn or anthem which is not ordered by the rubric; or (2) illegal to do so in this particular place of the Communion; or (3) because something in the words themselves renders them so unsuitable that they are virtually illegal.'* The Archbishop's first and second points will be generally admitted, although the proof of the legality of hymns is difficult to work out. For once custom has triumphed absolutely and admittedly without any apparent support from the written law. A hundred years ago, Lord Stowell, sitting in the Consistory Court of London, decided that 'to sing with plain congregational music is a practice fully authorized,'† and the same account of the matter has been given ever since. But the third point does not satisfactorily exhaust the possibilities of argument. The case against the *Agnus* is not so much as to the intrinsic unsuitability of the words, but rather that having been originally part of the service they were advisedly struck out. The Archbishop, while declining, in our view rightly, to accept the doctrine that omission is necessarily prohibition, yet admits that the omission in this case was not accidental.‡ It has not been, and could scarcely be suggested, that the framers of the second Prayer-book omitted the *Agnus* by inadvertence. Dom Gasquet, in his recent book on 'Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer,' writes, page 294 n. :—

'Taken in connexion with the treatment to which the whole service was subjected, this omission of the *Agnus* cannot be considered accidental. According to either Catholic or Lutheran doctrine, its use at the time of Communion is appropriate. But the scruples felt at the strained interpretation put by Gardiner in "the prayer of humble access," as opening the door to adoration, would have a greater effect in determining the Revisers to this change.'

It does not seem necessary to enquire whether what we may call the popular view (supported by Dom Gasquet) of the doctrinal significance of the *Agnus* is well founded, or whether the Archbishop is right in saying that the Reformers did not object to the *Agnus* on that ground, and that they probably omitted it here in order that it might be inserted later in the *Gloria in Excelsis*. It is surely inconsistent with all true canons of construction to attempt to get behind the acts of the Revisers. Does it matter why the service was altered so long

* P. 146.

† *Hutchins v. Denzeloe*, 1 Hag. Con., p. 180.

‡ Pp. 148, 153, 156.

as we know that the alteration was intentional? To argue that you may disobey the plain letter of the law, if on a probable view of the lawmaker's intention you can avoid doing violence to its spirit, is to stand on very slippery ground. Nor does the tolerated, and, we must suppose, legal use of hymns really help the Archbishop. What if some, or let us say all, other hymns are permissible at this point of the service, because custom allows them and express law has not forbidden them: how does that give liberty to use this particular hymn which has been forbidden? For that is the meaning of its admittedly intentional exclusion from the second Prayer-book. It is beside the question to ask whether the words of the *Agnus* are in our judgment unsuitable in the context with which they are associated. They appeared so to the Revisers of 1552 (whether on doctrinal grounds, or, as the Archbishop inclines to believe, for reasons of mere verbal convenience, is immaterial), and they were accordingly struck out. The result intended to be produced, by the alteration in the Prayer-book, was of course a corresponding alteration in the service, and to this intention the force of law was added. As soon therefore as the second Prayer-book came into use the clergy were bound to read the *Gloria in Excelsis* in the amplified form then introduced, and they were equally bound to omit the *Agnus* in its old place. This is the conclusion to which one is forced directly it is admitted that the alteration was not accidental, but deliberate and intentional. Sir Robert Phillimore is, we believe, the only ecclesiastical Judge prior to the Archbishop who has considered this question in a reported case. He twice decided against the *Agnus*; on the second occasion he said:*

‘It was contended on behalf of Mr. Mackonochie that the singing of this hymn might be put upon the same footing as the ordinary singing of a hymn before or after the sermon, or the singing of the *Gloria* before reading the Gospel. But looking to the history of the Prayer-book and to the fact that this hymn is appointed to be said or sung in a later part of the Holy Communion service, I am not of this opinion.’

Whether the Archbishop's decision on the *Agnus* is upheld or not, he has, as we shall presently see, denied its doctrinal significance, so that its retention or exclusion is not of the importance that it would otherwise have been.

The next complaint against the Bishop of Lincoln was of the use of Lighted Candles on the Holy Table, or on the retable behind, during the Communion Service, when not needed for

* *Martin v. Mackonochie*, 4 A. & E., p. 290.

the purpose of giving light. The charge did not include, as in some prior cases, the act of the lighting of the candles, but only their use when lit, throughout the service. Lighted candles on or near the Altar were in common use before the Reformation. The Archbishop says: * 'Before the reign of King Edward VI. . . the Missal contains no directions that there should be two lights on the Altar during the Celebration.' It may be that the rubrics of the early Missals contain very slight ritual directions, but the Roman Missal (1570) is precise: 'Super altare collocetur crux in medio et candelabra saltem duo cum candelis accensis hinc et inde in utroque ejus latere.' Edward VI., by his Injunctions of 1547, required that all ecclesiastical persons 'shall suffer from henceforth no torches nor candles, tapers or images of wax, to be set afore any image or picture, but only two lights upon the High Altar, before the Sacrament, which for the signification that Christ is the True Light of the world, they shall suffer to remain still.' These Injunctions had no Parliamentary sanction, but are 'undeniable proof of what in the early times of the Reformation was deemed right on this subject, and sanctioned by Royal authority.'† They were prior to the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. (1549) and the various Acts of Uniformity, so that, whatever their original importance, they must now be read subject to, and not in rivalry with, those later authorities. The first question that suggests itself is this: To which of the two great liturgical departments—Ceremonies and Ornaments—do Lights belong? The Elizabethan Act of Uniformity (1 Eliz. ch. 2, sec. 4) enacts that 'if any person . . . use any other rite or *ceremony* . . . than those set forth in the Prayer-book of Elizabeth, he shall be punished; and sec. 27 makes 'void all laws, statutes, and ordinances' whereby any other service is established. By the Caroline Act of Uniformity (13 and 14 Charles II. ch. 4, sec. 24), the prior Acts of Uniformity were confirmed 'with relation to' the present Prayer-book. If, therefore, Altar Lights are a Ceremony, it is important to note that they were not in the Elizabethan, nor are they in the existing, Prayer-book. If, however, they are not a Ceremony, but an Ornament, they come under the Ornaments Rubric prefixed to the Morning Prayer. It is as follows:—

'And here it is to be noted, that such Ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof, at all times of their ministration, shall be retained and be in use, as were in this Church of England, by the authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth.'

* P. 157.

† Dr. Lushington's Judgment, *Westerton v. Liddell*. Moore's 'Report,' p. 65.
We

We may console ourselves for the complexity of the present enquiry, by reflecting that it might be much greater. The Ornaments Rubric has a bad name. It probably offers the widest field for ecclesiastical controversy of any single sentence in the English language, and is an insoluble problem after all. But the battle has raged almost wholly round the application of the rubric to Ornaments of the ministers at all times of their ministration (*e.g.* vestments). As to Ornaments of the Church, although there has been and probably still is some difference of opinion, the rubric has been judicially construed, and the meaning thus put upon it is now generally accepted as the true one. It is that only those ornaments of the Church that were in use under and were authorized by the first Prayer-book of Edward VI., are to be retained. Altar Lights are not mentioned in the first Prayer-book, so that if they are an ornament they are excluded by the Ornaments Rubric so understood.

Dr. Lushington, in *Westerton v. Liddell*,* as Judge of the Consistory of London, condemned the use of lighted candles, and there was no appeal from his sentence on this point. But the most elaborate judicial opinion as to their legality is in the judgment of the Privy Council read by Lord Cairns in *Martin v. Mackonochie*.† Their Lordships inclined to the view that although candles and candlesticks may *per se* be looked upon as part of the furniture or Ornaments of the Church, the 'cremation' of candles as giving life and meaning to what is otherwise inexpressive must be justified, if at all, as part of a ceremony. But they deemed it unnecessary to decide this, because they relied on the dilemma we have already indicated. If the Lights are a Ceremony, they are forbidden by the Act of Uniformity: if they are an Ornament, they are met by the Ornaments Rubric. The Archbishop deals with the matter by proposing two questions,‡ which he proceeds to answer:—

'1. Whether two Lights so alight have been at any time lawful since the establishment of the Book of Common Prayer? and

'2. If so, when if ever, and by what enactments, were they made unlawful?'

He endeavours to show, by historical and other evidence, that in Edward's reign two lights were, as the Injunctions of 1547 direct, kept burning on the Altar. He then cites the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity, and admits that if the 'cremation' of candle wax is, as Lord Cairns inclined to consider, a Ceremony, then the two Lights became illegal when that Statute was passed. But the Archbishop challenges the accuracy of

* Moore's 'Special Report,' p. 70.

† 2 P. C. p. 12.

‡ P. 157.

the supposed identification of the burning candles themselves (as distinguished from the lighting of them) with a Ceremony. He sums up a learned enquiry into the liturgical definition of a ceremony as follows: * — 'It remains that a ceremony in worship is an action or act in which material objects may or may not be used, but is not itself any material object.' Common sense, which, however, is by no means the ultimate test in these matters, will have anticipated this decision, and it is a distinct relief to be assured on high authority that the English language is not to be tortured afresh in the service of ecclesiastical science.

Having thus disposed of one horn of Lord Cairns' dilemma, the Archbishop recurs to evidence of usage, and satisfies himself that although lighted candles became uncommon by the end of Elizabeth's reign, and yet more so in the seventeenth century, while in the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth they were practically unknown, 'there is no trace of lighted Lights having fallen into any doubt of legality.' And so the Archbishop answers the questions he had propounded, by saying that 'the Lights so alight' have not at any time been unlawful since the establishment of the Book of Common Prayer. We shall return to the evidence of usage presently; but it will probably occur to the reader that to make his argument complete the Archbishop's analysis must be pushed home, and the other horn of Lord Cairns' dilemma must be dealt with. The Altar Lights may not be *Ceremonies*, but if they are *Ornaments* they are clearly forbidden by the Ornaments Rubric, which is as much statute law as the Queen Elizabeth's enactment against Ceremonies. On the face of it there seems much more ground for calling massive candlesticks, with large burning candles, Ornaments than Ceremonies. They are placed in a prominent position, and must catch the eye of any worshipper within sight of the Altar. On the other hand, there seems great difficulty in distinguishing between lit and unlit candles. Lord Cairns probably felt this when he inclined to regard them as Ceremonies. There is evidence that candlesticks and unlit candles have been not unusual objects, especially in Cathedrals and College Chapels, ever since the Reformation. Even Dr. Lushington, in *Westerton v. Liddell*,† hesitated to declare unlit candles illegal, although, if technically 'Ornaments,' they were as clearly obnoxious to the rubric as lighted candles. And Lord Cairns, in *Martin v. Mackonochie*, although he does not in terms say that unlit candles are lawful, is careful to avoid

* P. 162.

† Moore's 'Special Report,' pp. 70, 71.

suggesting

suggesting the contrary. Probably at the present day no one would seriously support such a contention. The Privy Council, in *Westerton v. Liddell*,* held, that although the Ornaments Rubric excluded the use of crosses in the services, the general question of crosses not used in the services,

‘but employed only as decorations of churches, is entirely unaffected by the Rubric. If crosses of the latter description were in use in the second year of Edward VI., they derive no protection from the Rubric. If they were lawfully in use, they are not excluded by the Rubric, though they might not have the sanction of the authority of Parliament.’

Accordingly, movable crosses when placed so as not to rest, or to appear to rest, on the Holy Table itself, have been again and again allowed, and we need not say are exceedingly common. But it would be a strange anomaly indeed if the Cross in the middle, which serves no purpose but as a symbolic ornament, were held to be a mere decoration, and not technically an Ornament, while the unlit candles on either side, the presence of which is referable to a utilitarian purpose, were condemned as Ornaments within the meaning of the rubric, and therefore excluded by its terms. It may fairly be concluded that unlit candles on the Holy Table belong to the same category of ‘Decorations’ which are not ‘Ornaments,’ to which Crosses, and to give another example, the figures in the Exeter Reredos,† have been decided to belong.

Is it then possible to hold that the unlit Altar Candles are an innocent decoration, but that the same candles when lit become an illegal Ornament? The whole question seems to be narrowed down to this rather fine distinction. Much may be said on either side. On the one hand, it will be urged that the candles when lit in the day-time, with their surroundings, form a striking phenomenon of obvious significance, so that a spectator seeing them for the first time would naturally ask for an explanation, whereas the candles unlit would be no more remarkable than a pair of gas brackets. On the other hand, there is surely force in the plea that the Altar Lights cannot be illegal Ornaments in the morning, and lawful, subsidiary decorations in the evening when needed for light. It would be a singular condition of the law if, for instance, the supervention of a London fog during morning service could turn illegal Ornaments into lawful Decorations. It is always undesirable that important decisions should rest on narrow distinctions, and it may be safely asserted

* Moore's ‘Special Report,’ p. 161.

† *Phillipotts v. Boyd*, 6 P. C. 435.

that this question, which any fair-minded person is as competent to deal with as the most highly-trained canonist, ought if possible to be settled on a broad basis. The Archbishop has done this by declining to pronounce against the mere presence on the Holy Table of candles which have been lit before the commencement of the service, and the evidence of usage to which the Judgment devotes much space and care tends to help his decision, though it does not lead to any very emphatic result. Queen Elizabeth, amid the protests of some of her Bishops, retained lighted candles in her chapels, and they seem to have been used elsewhere. 'Before the end of her reign there is little doubt that lighted Lights had generally gone out of use.'* Prior to the Rebellion there are a few doubtful instances of their use, and a civil prosecution treating their use as an offence broke down. 'After the Restoration (1660 to 1680) no evidence of the Lights being lighted has presented itself, though the Lights themselves were common.'† From 1680 to 1750, 'the quiet and consciously Protestant period,' as the Archbishop calls it, the only evidence is that of illustrations contained in Books of Devotion and Prayer-books. The Judgment says that this kind of evidence can 'neither be accepted nor disregarded without caution.' The result of it, according to the Judgment, is that 'the use of Lights lighted and unlighted seems to be very equally balanced' during this period. We venture, however, to repeat here what has been already said as to the worthlessness of this so-called evidence. The illustrations of such books as Prayer-books are in their nature idealistic. There is not the slightest reason to believe that the artist knew, or was instructed to portray, the actual state of things. It would be as reasonable to accept the little cherubs, with and without bodies, which may often be seen flitting about such pictures, or the long scrolls which the artist of Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs' places in the mouths of sufferers at the stake, as evidence that these had an objective existence. Mr. Tomlinson‡ criticises with learned severity the evidence of usage in pictures and otherwise, relied on in the Judgment, but it is not necessary to follow his animadversions because he comes to much the same conclusion as a careful perusal of the Judgment itself suggests. There is slight, and only slight, evidence of usage, at a time when, if the Altar Lights are either a Ceremony or an Ornament, they were illegal under statute.

The last complaint against the Bishop of Lincoln is that

* 'Judgment,' p. 163.

† Ibid. p. 167.

‡ 'Historical Grounds of the Lambeth Judgment,' p. 75.

during

during the Absolution, and also during the Benediction, while standing with his hands elevated and looking towards the congregation, he made the sign of the Cross with his hand. The Roman Mass did and does abound in these crossings, and it concludes by the priest making the sign of the Cross *once* over the people, while he pronounces the Benediction. The Judgment says this crossing is repeated 'thrice over by the celebrant,' and again speaks of 'the triple crossing;' but this is not so, except in the case of a Bishop celebrating pontifically. The English services had no directions for crossing at this point, although it was required at many other parts of the service. But one object of the reformed Liturgies was clearly to get rid of the elaborate postures, crossings, and genuflexions of the old worship, and the Archbishop therefore had no difficulty in deciding that the crossings complained of were acts, either never authorized, or advisedly discarded in the Church of England. The point is a small one; but having regard to the profound feeling which the use or abuse of the Cross has excited amongst Christian nations for many centuries past, it would perhaps be going too far to call the matter trivial.

It will probably appear that the most important feature of the Judgment, so far as it affects ecclesiastical law, is the practical overthrow of a very important Canon, said to have been laid down by the Privy Council in *Westerton v. Liddell*, and subsequently affirmed in later cases. This rule is generally referred to briefly as a statement that in matters of ritual 'omission is prohibition.' It was, however, enunciated by the Privy Council in fuller form, as follows* :—

'The next question is as to the Credence Tables. Here the Rubrics of the Prayer-book become important. Their Lordships entirely agree with the opinions expressed by the learned Judges in these cases and in *Faulkner v. Lichfield*, that in the performance of the services, rites, and ceremonies ordered by the Prayer-book, the directions contained in it must be strictly observed; that no omission and no addition can be permitted; but they are not prepared to hold that the use of all articles not expressly mentioned in the Rubric, although quite consistent with and even subsidiary to the service, is forbidden. Organs are not mentioned, yet because they are auxiliary to the singing, they are allowed. Pews, cushions to kneel upon, pulpit cloths, hassocks, seats by the Communion Table, are in constant use, yet they are not mentioned in the Rubric.'

Now the first thing to ascertain about this proposition is what it means. It is not a model of clear expression. Although

* Moore's 'Special Report,' pp. 186, 187.

stated *à-propos* of the Credence Table, *i.e.* an Ornament or fitting, it deals in terms not with Ornaments, but with rites and Ceremonies. Then the exceptions in the proviso at the end are not of the nature of rites and Ceremonies, but rather Ornaments and furniture of churches. The terms of the rule do not, therefore, convey an impression that they had been thoroughly thought out by the learned Judges, or were intended to embalm a leading principle of Ritual law for the guidance of future generations. The rule deals with the construction of the rubrics of the Prayer-book, but the directions contained in the rubrics, in the first place and chiefly, affect Ceremonies and Ornaments. It has not been perhaps sufficiently noticed that the proposition 'omission denotes prohibition' can have no useful application to either Ceremonies or Ornaments. As we have seen, the test of the legality of Ceremonies is, by the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity, combined with the Caroline Act, the Prayer-book itself. We do not want a judge-made rule to tell us that no Ceremonies are to be used except those contained in the Prayer-book, because the statute has already told us so in plain language. So far then as Ceremonies are concerned the rule is quite superfluous. But with regard to Ornaments it is not only superfluous, but misleading. The test of legality for Ornaments is whether they were prescribed by the first Prayer-book of Edward, and it is immaterial for this purpose whether they have been left out of later Prayer-books. Omission is not prohibition in the case of Ornaments. Of course it may be said that the Ornaments Rubric is a rubric, and that therefore the proposition 'omission is prohibition' is strictly accurate, because the Ornaments of Edward's first book are not omitted, but by virtue of the Ornaments Rubric itself are contained in the present Prayer-book. But we need hardly point out the elaborate uselessness of the rule so regarded. The Ornaments Rubric is itself statute law by virtue of the last Act of Uniformity, and a judicial dictum that the statute law is to be carried out is not helpful, while the apparent attempt to substitute the present Prayer-book for Edward's first Prayer-book, as the criterion of legality of Ornaments, is distinctly misleading. So far then as Ceremonies and Ornaments are concerned the rule 'omission is prohibition' is useless.

Then there is a third class which is excluded from the operation of the rule by the proviso at the end of it. The Privy Council in *Westerton v. Liddell* were the first tribunal to give formal shape and form to a distinction which had been growing up long before. They asserted the existence of *quasi* ornaments or decorations which are outside of and not obnoxious

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to the Ornaments Rubric. The Credence, Crosses placed behind and not on the Holy Table, Organs, figures in reredoses, and Altar candlesticks (at any rate unlit), are prominent examples of a class, the only limits of which are, according to the Privy Council, consistency with or subservience to the service. The legal purist may argue that, according to ancient liturgical phraseology, some if not all of the articles we have mentioned are technical Ornaments, and therefore included in the Ornaments Rubric. It may be so, but the absurdity of trying to tie us down in every detail of our church furniture, in such a matter as an organ for example, to the notions and requirements of our forefathers in 1549, has forced the Courts to adopt a more liberal construction. It is reasonable—and most Englishmen, we believe, think it is wise—that in the general arrangements of our churches, and especially with regard to what may be called symbolic Ornaments, adherence to the Reformation model should be required, but in matters of mere upholstery, or of taste and convenience, each age must decide for itself.

But it must not be supposed that the rule 'omission is prohibition' has no scope for its action because it is inapplicable to (1) Ceremonies, (2) Ornaments, and (3) Decorations. It has been used with drastic effect with reference to a fourth class, consisting of acts or observances of a *quasi* ceremonious character, having the same kind of relation to Ceremonies properly so called that 'Decorations' bear to 'Ornaments.' The Prayer-book contains certain—as compared with the Roman Missal, rather meagre—directions as to the minister's posture, when he shall stand and when he shall kneel, when he shall face the people and when not—and instructions as to other details of the same sort. It is with regard to these matters, ceremonious acts rather than ceremonies, that the supposed rule laid down in *Westerton v. Liddell* has been rigidly enforced. In the Judgment in the later case of *Martin v. Mackonochie*,* it is distinctly said:—

'The rule upon this subject has been already laid down by the Judicial Committee in *Westerton v. Liddell*, and their Lordships are disposed entirely to adhere to it. In the performance of the services, rites, and ceremonies ordered by the Prayer-book, the directions contained in it must be strictly observed: no omission and no addition can be permitted.'

But for this opinion enunciated by the Privy Council, and more especially by Lord Cairns, one of the greatest Judges of the century, we should have ventured to assert with some confidence that the learned Judges in *Westerton v. Liddell* never

* 2 P. C. p. 383.

intended to lay down any rule at all. We have already referred to the apparently unconsidered form in which the supposed rule was stated; and if the words be read carefully in their context, it will, we think, strike the reader that the purport of this passage is not to lay down that omission is prohibition, but exactly the opposite. The writer is giving reasons why the Credence, although not mentioned in the Prayer-book, is *not* prohibited, and in doing so he guards himself against any inference detrimental to the authority of the rubrics by prefacing the legalization of things 'consistent' or 'subservient,' but 'not mentioned in the rubric,' by stating in general terms that the rubrics having the force of statute law are to be fully and strictly obeyed. This paragraph of the Judgment certainly had the result of permitting the use of *quasi* Ornaments outside the rubric. It seems strange if its true effect was really intended to be precisely the contrary with regard to *quasi* Ceremonies. There is no doubt a certain mechanical convenience in the rule 'omission is prohibition' on account of the ease of its application. The Ecclesiastical Judge becomes grandly independent of liturgical or historical knowledge; no further labour or research becomes necessary to settle the most abstruse point than is expended in turning over the pages of a Prayer-book.

It is a legitimate subject of enquiry, whether the supposed rule really admits of consistent application, or whether the same latitude which in *Westerton v. Liddell* was allowed with regard to *quasi* Ornaments, which were then alone under consideration, ought not in reason, and must not in practice, be extended to the case of *quasi* Ceremonies. In other words, just as 'Ornaments' in the Ornaments Rubric is now read in a restricted sense, so 'Ceremonies' in the Elizabethan Statute of Uniformity, which forbids any ceremonies not authorized by the Prayer-book, ought to be read to denote large matters only, and not to include every nod of the minister's head and every motion of his hand, irrespective of its significance or importance. Although the Archbishop's Judgment does not contain any direct criticism of this supposed rule, it rather takes for granted the arguments of the Bishop of Lincoln's counsel, which were addressed with much ability and success to showing that the rule is inconsistent with admitted facts and practically impossible of application. One very grave example relates to what are known as the manual acts in the Holy Communion. They were directed by the first Prayer-book of Edward; but the direction was cut out of the second Prayer-book, and was not re-inserted until the last revision of 1662. From 1552 to 1662 there was no direction in the Prayer-book that the minister in consecrating the Elements

ments should break the bread and take the cup into his hands. Was omission prohibition in this case? It is difficult to conceive that it could be so. In practice we know that the manual acts were not only used but insisted on by some Bishops, although there is evidence that the omission was at the time considered by some Bishops and others to establish their illegality. The present Prayer-book does not state that deacons shall administer the cup only, although the first Prayer-book contained such a direction. The usage is still universally recognised. Again, there is no express prohibition against a deacon reading the Absolution. There is no rubric to warrant minister and people turning to the East at the Creed. Can it be argued that it is illegal? The same observation may be made as to the prevalent practice, supported by the 18th Canon but not by the Prayer-book rubrics, of bowing at the name of Jesus. Are the Canons and the Prayer-book in conflict in this respect, and is it penal under the rule that 'omission is prohibition' to obey the former where the latter is silent? The use of the versicle, 'Glory be to Thee, O Lord,' before the Gospel, and the use of hymns as a whole, are further additions to the ceremonial of the Prayer-book.

The last, and in some respects the most remarkable illustration we shall give, does not seem to have been mentioned during the arguments in the Lincoln Case. In the Morning Prayer the rubric before the Collects concludes with the words 'all kneeling.' The clergyman immediately before has been standing, so that the effect of the rubric is that he then kneels and says the Collects kneeling. But in the Evening Prayer, the corresponding rubric does not contain the direction as to kneeling. It was apparently omitted by accident in 1662 when it was inserted in the Morning rubric. The result is that, if the rubrics are to be obeyed 'without omission or addition,' the clergyman at Evening Prayer must stand while reading the Collects, although a standing posture during these prayers is not in harmony with the general rubrical directions of the Prayer-book, and is contrary to the practice enjoined for the corresponding part of the Morning Service. Yet if the extreme strictness insisted on by Lord Cairns is to govern these questions—'it is not open to a minister of the Church, or even to their Lordships in advising Her Majesty as the highest Ecclesiastical tribunal of appeal, to draw a distinction in acts which are a departure from or a violation of the rubric, between those which are important and those which appear to be trivial,'*

* *Martin v. Mackonochie*, 2 P. C. 382.

—it follows that any clergyman who kneels as he reads the Collects at Evening Prayer is committing a ceremonious act which is illegal and punishable, and further that he will be equally guilty and liable to censure if he should read the Collects at Morning Prayer otherwise than in a kneeling posture.

It is much to be hoped that the whole question of this supposed rule or canon will be reconsidered by the highest court when an opportunity arises, and that the same breadth, which the Privy Council have shown in dealing with Ornaments, will be extended to Ceremonies. For it is as absurd to try and confine a minister's posture and acts to those directed by a book dated 1662, as to insist that the furniture of our churches is to follow with undeviating exactness the pattern of 1549. The one has been acknowledged to be impossible; it is time that the equal impossibility of the other should be recognized. The true test of the legality of what we may call the minor ceremonies and articles used in our services, which (if our view be accurate) are neither allowed nor forbidden by the great statutory enactments, seems to be that applied by the Archbishop in several parts of the Judgment. Is the practice English? Was it ever sanctioned in England? If so, has it ever become illegal, either directly or indirectly, as being inconsistent with something enjoined, or connected with something forbidden? According to the answers given to these questions, the lawfulness or unlawfulness of the practice will be determined. The observations of Mr. Justice Jeune, as counsel for the Bishop of Lincoln, have much application in this context. He insisted '(a) that the rubrics are short and not scientifically drafted, (b) they assume a mass of usage and custom, (c) they contain very little prohibition in terms and very little express option.' In a word, the rubrics were intended to settle the main lines of the Service, but not necessarily its *minutiae*, and the duty of the Judge (and still more of the Bishop to whose domestic forum these minor questions seem by the preface to the Prayer-book to be relegated), in deciding as to the legality of any practice, is first to see whether it belongs to the class of observances which, from their importance or otherwise, are directly dealt with by the rubrics; and if not, then to consider the matter on the liturgical and historical grounds we have indicated above.

There are one or two other matters upon which it is necessary to say something while the Judgment is under consideration. Great exception has been taken, especially by Lord Grimthorpe in his pamphlet already referred to, to the Archbishop's treatment of the prior judgments of the Privy Council. It is said that he ought

ought simply to have followed them without attempting to discuss the points afresh, much less to differ from the opinion of the ultimate Court. It may be admitted at once that, if the Archbishop had had a professional training in law, he would have treated the Privy Council Judgments in another way. He might still have differed from them, but he would have felt bound to discuss, distinguish, even refute, the reasoning of preceding Judges with elaborate fulness and punctilious respect. A large part of his Judgment would probably have consisted of this sort of criticism. But this is only a question of manner. It is obvious that no disrespect was intended, and, what to a professionally trained Judge would have seemed an inevitable part of his task, probably struck the Archbishop as an embarrassing and unnecessary complication. The Archbishop's position with regard to the Privy Council Judgments was undoubtedly a difficult one. Putting aside for a moment the question of the competency of his Court to reconsider points decided in the Privy Council, it ought to be borne in mind that it was essential, if the Archbishop's ruling was to carry any weight at all with the High Church clergy, that it should rest on his own reasoning. A mere echo of the decisions of a Court, the jurisdiction and ecclesiastical learning of which are alike denied by the party whose obedience it is most desirable to secure, would have been useless. Moreover, the nature of the questions at issue depending largely on historical and antiquarian knowledge, is such that, as research widens and new discoveries are made, it is inevitable that different conclusions may in fact and in reason be arrived at. It would be a lamentable defect in our machinery for the administration of justice if it were so stiff and unpliable as to exclude the introduction of 'new light,' and to give to demonstrably wrong decisions, grounded on inadequate knowledge and exploded notions, the Median stamp of permanence. In the present case the Archbishop and his Assessors considered that on some at least of the points at issue fresh evidence of importance had been produced which was not before the Privy Council. It is not material to enquire whether the Court was right in thinking this, because whether right or wrong they were clearly justified in acting on their own view of the new evidence. The Privy Council has itself laid it down* that in 'proceedings which may come to assume a penal form, a tribunal ought to be slow to exclude any fresh light which may be brought to bear upon the subject,' and there are not wanting examples, rare though they may be, in which a Judge has deliberately and without

* *Ridsdale v. Clifton*, 2 P. D. 307.

offence departed from the English method of treating prior decisions as binding on all but superior Courts. It is largely a question of individual dignity and self-respect. A Judge who lightly or frequently breaks through the ordinary rule would be severely snubbed, and his decisions reversed on appeal, but that is probably all that would or could happen to him. Here the circumstances are so entirely unique, and the composition of the Archbishop's Court, both as to the official dignity and the personal distinction of the Judges, was so authoritative, that we may well wait, before condemning the Archbishop's freedom, to see whether it is resented or even disapproved by the Privy Council. The points on which the Archbishop disagrees with the Privy Council are (1) the mixed chalice; (2) lighted candles; and (3) the Eastward Position prior to the Consecration Prayer. The *Agnus Dei* and the Ablutions, though held illegal by inferior Ecclesiastical Courts, have not, we believe, been considered by the Privy Council.

One of the most striking features of the Judgment is the anxiety which it evinces to deprive the ritual practices held to be lawful of all symbolical significance. The Archbishop probably followed the precedent of the 'Black Rubric' at the end of the Communion Service, which, after reciting that communicants had been directed to receive kneeling, continues, 'it is hereby declared that thereby no adoration is intended.' When it is considered that the symbolism, or inner meaning given to outward acts, is essentially a thing of the mind, over the thoughts of which no Court, civil or spiritual, can exercise any effective control, it may be doubted whether it is wise to assume a jurisdiction which cannot be enforced. At the same time the authoritative expression of the Primate's opinion as to the non-significance of such things as the use of the Eastward Position and the singing of the *Agnus Dei* is calculated to disarm the fears of one party, while it not a little mitigates the satisfaction of the other. There are increasing signs of displeasure amongst the extreme High Church clergy as they realize more perfectly the ban of meaninglessness under which their cherished practices have been placed. With regard to the *Agnus Dei*, the Archbishop says,* 'There is no ground left for believing that the words had then (1550-1661) or have now any association with those Roman doctrines or practices which the Church of England repudiates.' Whether the Archbishop is successful or not in his attempt to divest the novel practices of doubtful meaning, he has carried all right-feeling

* P. 156.

people with him in the noble and dignified words with which the Judgment concludes : * 'The Church therefore has a right to ask that her congregations may not be divided either by needless pursuance or by exaggerated suspicion of practices not in themselves illegal. Either spirit is in painful contrast to the deep and wide desire which prevails for mutual understanding. The clergy are the natural prompters and fosterers of the Divine instinct, "to follow after things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another."'

The newspaper comments on the result of this great trial were plentiful, but, with a few exceptions, not important. It is interesting, however, to note the various receptions which the Judgment has encountered in different quarters. The Bishop of Lincoln, with the tact and good sense which he has shown in the whole affair, except when he made the litigation possible, at once conformed his practice to the Archbishop's ruling in every respect. The Church Association were equally prompt in announcing their intention to appeal to the Privy Council. Lord Grimthorpe composed a characteristic pamphlet, at the invitation of the Protestant Churchmen's Alliance, a recently formed body of which his Lordship is or was the Chairman. The pamphlet,† though not differing much either in manner or matter from previous efforts by the same pen, proved unacceptable to the Alliance. There was war amongst the members, and Lord Grimthorpe's criticisms were at length given to the world on his own authority, with a few side hits at recalcitrant followers. Some advanced High Churchmen complied at once with the Archbishop's Judgment, but the majority, while thankful that the Primate's mind has been led in the right direction, have felt that the moral beauty of the Judgment would be marred by any indecent haste in obeying it. They have thought it wise to await something, we scarcely know what, not of course the Privy Council, which is to make the path of individual and diocesan duty more plain. The Evangelical party seems to be suffering, as it usually suffers at an important juncture, from divided counsels. On the one hand, 'A Northern Churchman,'‡ or rather the well-known ecclesiastic who under one *nom de plume* or another, but always with unmistakable individuality, has led a large section of the party for forty years, denounces the Judgment as bringing us nearer to a practical toleration of the Roman Mass. On the

* Pp. 176, 177.

† 'A Review of the Lambeth Judgment.'

‡ See letter from 'A Northern Churchman' to the 'Record' newspaper, February 13th, 1891.

other hand, some influential Evangelicals have received it with more than dutiful submission. They not only eat their leek, but they do so with enthusiasm and relish, while their saddened friends hold up horrified hands. Meanwhile the public, outside the rather restricted circles of ecclesiastical interests, have greeted the Judgment with hearty approval, on the ground—not very flattering to the Judge, bound to regard ‘law’ rather than ‘policy’—that it is a good, substantial, all-round compromise of a dispute which has become irritating and unpleasant, first because it has been going on so long, secondly because it is unintelligible to ordinary people, and thirdly because the quarrel is a venomous one on both sides. Finally, there is the great mass of quiet, moderate Church people, who, although they do not write letters to the newspapers and are incapable of raising themselves to a high temperature over ritual disputes, are nevertheless disposed to welcome the Archbishop’s Judgment as seeming to offer some compensation for the proceedings, generally regretted, by which an earnest and popular Bishop has been recently harassed, and beyond this to promise some relief from the far longer standing trouble of the ritual conflict.

Of criticism properly so called, the Judgment has encountered little, except from a learned champion of the Church Association, Mr. J. T. Tomlinson. His pamphlet, already quoted, is an indictment based on historical details rather than legal conclusions. A full treatment of this work would be foreign to our purpose, but its uncompromising character may be gathered from the final sentence, ‘Never before was a Judgment published containing so many inaccurate quotations, so many misstatements of facts, so many unverifiable vouchers, and perversions of history.’ He has detected various misprints and omissions, and some important mistakes. Mistakes are always regrettable, but it is fair to note that on this extremely intricate subject mistakes are not only natural, but, if we may say so, customary. To mention one example only: the Privy Council in a celebrated judgment gravely announced * that ‘the Prayer for the Consecration of the Elements was omitted in the second Prayer-book of Edward, though in the present Prayer-book it is restored’! This prodigious blunder with its correction is embalmed in the official report. We have no wish to depreciate the real learning and industrious research shown in Mr. Tomlinson’s pamphlet; they are considerable. But we must add that he has done his best to prejudice the

* Westerton v. Liddell. Moore’s ‘Special Report,’ p. 179, n.

reader against his arguments by their displeasing dress. His supercilious arrogance of tone is quite ludicrous, when it is remembered that the work, on which Mr. Tomlinson showers scorn and contempt, is that of some of the most learned liturgists of the day, amongst whom is numbered also the first living authority on English history. Further, Mr. Tomlinson, again and again, accuses the Archbishop and his Assessors of intentional misrepresentation and suppression, but he altogether fails to prove a charge which even its author, apart from controversial heat, would no doubt acknowledge to be unjust. If Mr. Tomlinson had been content to express himself with less confidence and more courtesy, his pamphlet would have lost none of its force, and it would have had a better chance of exercising the influence which extensive knowledge and acute criticism ought to command.

The order of the Court as formally drawn up is simply declaratory. It does not admonish the Bishop of Lincoln to abstain from the practices declared to be illegal. There is neither monition nor any graver sentence, and the Privy Council will have to deal with the singular anomaly occasioned by a course of procedure probably without precedent. Whether the omission was accidental or intentional has not been stated, but inasmuch as a monition (the mildest censure known to Ecclesiastical law) would in regular course be nailed to the door of Lincoln Cathedral, it may have been desired to save the Bishop from the appearance of an indignity. As the matter stands the Archbishop's Judgment is a learned statement of reasons for a sentence which, however, was not pronounced. As we have said, the Church Association have lodged an appeal, and it is now awaiting argument. We do not see that they can be blamed for adopting this course. Throughout they have taken no pains to conceal their want of confidence in the Archbishop's Court, and their treatment of it as a mere vestibule to the Privy Council. They have shown for the last twenty-five years that rightly or wrongly they regard the vindication of what they deem Protestant principles as more important than the peace or unity or establishment of the Church of England. So far from feeling any scruple as to the jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee to try spiritual questions, it is the scene of their many triumphs, triumphs which they believe, perhaps a little rashly, are certain to be repeated. The Judgment has gone heavily against them. They believe that the effect of it is to restore the Mass, and they are not comforted by being told that it is to be 'without prejudice.' With these beliefs and these feelings is it wonderful that an appeal has been brought? The only wonder

seems to us to be, that sensible men—men, that is, who would never have dreamt of beginning the suit—can suppose that their opinion and advice, unsolicited by the Church Association, can have the weight of a feather in turning that body from the purposes which it has so long and so perseveringly pursued. Almost equally hopeless seem the efforts which have been made to persuade the Bishop of Lincoln to plead before the Privy Council. It is extremely difficult for a man so deeply committed as the Bishop, to appear, even under protest, before the Erastian tribunal which he has often and severely condemned. And yet, if it were possible, it would be of great advantage. For it is difficult to see how the case can be adequately dealt with in the Judicial Committee on an *ex parte* argument, and it must be remembered that much higher interests than those of the individual Bishop are involved. It will be nothing short of a calamity if there should be a difference of opinion between the Archbishop's Court and the Privy Council, under circumstances which would prevent the ruling of the latter from having the weight which should attach to the decision of a final Court of Appeal. On the other hand, words cannot exaggerate the advantages which would ensue to the Church from such a final settlement of the questions involved as would result from a substantial agreement between the Church Court and the Crown Court. We venture to add that scarcely any sacrifice of personal inclination and feeling is too great that will help to achieve this end.

It is useless to attempt to speculate as to the outcome of the appeal, but it is not so difficult to see what the needs of the Church require. Far more important than the particular concessions made in favour of the ritual party by the Archbishop's Judgment is the fact that some concessions have been made. Until it was delivered, although tolerated in fact, the innovating practices were officially condemned and in theory they were forbidden. For more than a generation the coercion of law has been persistently applied. But the attempt to enforce the precise type and standard of public worship approved in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and to make the clergy conform to every jot and tittle of regulations made three hundred years ago, has failed, as it must surely have failed in any other department of national life. It is always a hopeless task to try to squeeze a later age into the mould of an earlier one. If there is not growth, at least there is change, and each generation is to a large extent, and within wide limits, the best and indeed the only judge of its own requirements. Whatever the result of the pending appeal, it will be impossible to wipe out the fact that the spiritual rulers of the Church have formally
and

and deliberately declared in favour of the legality of practices hitherto supposed to be illegal innovations. It is obvious that the extreme party occupy a stronger position than formerly. It must by this time have become clear to everybody that room has to be found for observances which our fathers would have deemed impossible in the Church of England. The real question before us is not whether this is to be done, but how. The attempt to draw the line very tight has failed, and, perhaps because we have been too stiff, the danger now is that we shall become too lax.

Happily for the prospects of the English Church, the various schools representing very different opinions understand one another better than formerly. The result of this growth of knowledge is that the suspicion that the aim of the innovating party is really Roman is passing away. With deeper study of history there has come a juster recognition of the Anglican point of view. Much that seemed dangerous when the ultimate issue was either concealed or misunderstood may safely be tolerated now that mutual trust is being restored. The bulk of the English clergy occupy as firmly as ever the great historical position of unmistakable separation from the teaching and practice of the Church of Rome. Dean Church's description of the standpoint of the majority of the Oxford leaders in 1839, truly expresses the feeling now predominant amongst the clergy:—

‘Their content with the Church in which they had been brought up, and in which they had taken service, their deep and affectionate loyalty and piety to it, in spite of all its faults, remained unimpaired; and unimpaired, also, was their sense of vast masses of practical evil in the Roman Church, evils from which they shrank, both as Englishmen and as Christians, and which seemed as incurable as they were undeniable. Beyond the hope which they vaguely cherished that some day or other, by some great act of Divine mercy, these evils might disappear, and the whole Church become once more united, there was nothing to draw them towards Rome; submission was out of the question, and they could only see in its attitude in England the hostility of a jealous and unscrupulous disturber of their Master's work.’*

But there are, as there always have been, a section, probably a very small section, of clergymen, some sinister, but most of them only silly, who are not really loyal to the English Church. The confusion of recent years, the over-strictness of the theological standard, coupled with the practical abeyance of all control, have given them an opportunity, and probably swelled the

* ‘The Oxford Movement’ (Twelve years, 1833-1845), p. 233.

number of those willing to use it. If, therefore, on the one hand, there is reason for more toleration, on the other there is need for better discipline. The former has in substance been granted, but the latter remains the most urgent and the most comprehensive of all demands for Church Reform. The regulation of ritual is the phase of discipline which the Archbishop's Judgment most naturally suggests, but it is by no means the only one, and under present circumstances illustrations of another sort will be equally useful and less invidious. The present state of things is deplorable. The Court of Arches, which for most purposes has absorbed the functions of the other Church Courts, is all but closed. Its sittings are extremely rare, and its sentences are often inoperative. We do not stop to discuss whether there is or is not good reason for the effecteness of this tribunal, but we note the fact. What would happen if any of the Civil Courts, even the obscurest County Court, were deserted as the Court of Arches is deserted? Unfortunately the paralysis of business does not indicate that we have reached an ecclesiastical millennium in which pastors and people cease from quarrelling and churchwardens are at rest. Clerical scandals, when they once become public, are usually exaggerated. For political and other purposes there are always people eager and anxious to blacken a parson, and then to hold him up as a typical specimen of his class. But while this is as mean as it is untrue, it is inevitable that in a very large number of men, most of them placed in circumstances where there is slight control and considerable temptation, there should be here and there cases of neglect and worse. The machinery for dealing with such cases is at present cumbersome and costly, and it is worked timidly and ineffectively. It may be hoped that the Primate's Clergy Discipline (Immorality) Bill will become law during the present Session, and that it will be used with caution, but also with firmness. But it is the moderately bad cases that can hardly be touched by such an Act which are the most difficult to deal with. A man who does something notoriously bad is often, though not always, punished; but a man who does nothing at all, who is simply incorrigibly lazy and useless, is almost invariably left alone. The Pluralities Amendment Act (1885) was intended to meet such cases, but it is not, perhaps it cannot be, much used.

In the care and preservation of churches there is a similar, though happily a somewhat decreasing, looseness of control. Our ecclesiastical buildings comprise the most numerous and valuable architectural remains of the past to be found in England, or probably in Europe. The oversight of these fabrics is
confided

confided by the constitution to the Bishops, to be exercised through their Consistory Courts. The 'Faculties' or orders of these Courts, which are legally requisite before any alteration, either of addition or subtraction, can be made to the church or its furniture and ornaments, were formerly extremely costly, and the machinery for obtaining them of harassing complexity. The result was that Faculties were systematically evaded, and every kind of mischief was done which local ingenuity could devise under the specious name of 'restoration.' Now, every diocese in England has, we believe, reformed its practice and moderated its tariff. But the old neglect—partly, no doubt, as a survival, and partly out of dislike of any control—continues to a much larger extent than is creditable. Very recently a contested faculty case was reported from the Diocese of St. Albans. A clergyman had of his own motion, and without authority, placed flower vases on the Holy Table. The churchwardens objected. A faculty was then applied for, and at length obtained; but as it was the result of a costly struggle, these harmless flower vases cost the clergyman probably nearly one hundred pounds in costs, and, in addition, a parochial feud. Had he proceeded regularly, a pound or two would have been the outside limit of the expense. A few years ago some churchwardens were keenly anxious to suspend a picture of Queen Anne over the altar of their church, and nothing but the necessity of a Faculty restrained them. A long list of similar *bêtises* might be given, *e.g.* chimney-stacks built into ancient church walls, ancient glass broken out of windows to make room for more gorgeous colours, foundations undermined for hot-water apparatus, brasses torn from church pavements to make way for Doulton's glazed tiles, old bells melted down, old oak doors replaced with sticky pine, and so on. Such vandalisms as these are common. The most effective, though by no means infallible check, is that provided by law, the supervision of the Consistory Court.

We forbear to describe the strange and elaborate functions which, in what are called 'advanced' churches, take the place of the sober Morning and Evening Prayer. The Ceremonial and Ornaments, and the teaching (when there is any), are alike alien to the spirit, and contrary to the law, of the English Church. It is sometimes said that the Bishops are powerless to deal with rebellious priests. The parson's freehold is no doubt a well-guarded preserve, but, all the same, a Bishop has large powers of attack. Apart from the ordinary machinery of Church discipline, a Bishop can, without spending sixpence, or allowing a moment's delay, inhibit a clergyman from officiating anywhere in the diocese outside his own parish—a very stringent

gent sentence. The result, to suggest another example, of a vigorous and sustained attempt to exercise the power reserved in the preface of the Prayer-book to the Bishop of the diocese to take order by his discretion for the quieting and appeasing of doubts, has yet to be ascertained. He would be a rash man who would predict that it must be slight.

It will hardly be questioned that this lack of effective discipline is a misfortune. It may even grow to be a great calamity. Disestablishment, though it might ultimately cure the evil, would, if it happened, be a far heavier disaster to a Church, the clergy of which were, so to speak, out of hand, than if the Church were organized as it well might be. But it is unnecessary to measure our needs by reference to what some regard as a mere bugbear, and others as an impending storm. This is not a day for martinet strictness, and we may be quite certain that while Church and State are connected, so that citizenship itself confers some ecclesiastical rights, it will be impossible to establish effective discipline over laymen, and difficult to do so in the case of the clergy. Nevertheless, there is a widespread feeling amongst Churchmen, which we believe to be perfectly well founded, if it is not even instinctive, that we should be governed better if we were governed more. We do not so much mean that new laws are necessary as that there should be greater vigour and courage in the exercise of existing powers. Probably at no time since the Reformation has there been so profound a respect felt amongst Churchmen for the Episcopal office. Unfortunately the most unbounded professions of reverence for the office are sometimes coupled with very scant regard in practice for the individual. A moderate and resolute use of power for purposes which the popular conscience acknowledges, such as the removal of scandals, the arrest of idleness, and the control of individual vagaries, would, we believe, be supported by the good sense and good feeling of the majority, while the necessity for recourse to drastic remedies would steadily decrease in proportion as it came to be understood that, if required, they would be used.

If the Archbishop's Judgment marks, as seems likely, the beginning of the end of the war of suppression which has been waged for half a century between High and Low Church, is it too much to hope that it may also be the first step towards the recovery, by the Church's own action, of that order which the long struggle has done much to weaken, and the need of which becomes more patent every day?

ART. IX.—*A Plea for Liberty. An Argument against Socialism and Socialistic Legislation, consisting of an Introduction by Herbert Spencer and Essays by various Writers.* Edited by Thomas Mackay, Author of 'The English Poor.' London, 1891.

A MARKED peculiarity of modern practical benevolence is the continual tendency to seek and to provide those things for one another which each one can get, with infinitely greater benefit and more completeness, for himself; and to neglect those works which, to be properly provided, must be done by public influence and combination. We can see, with great concern, the failures of our fellow-citizens, each in his own peculiar sphere of personal or domestic duty; but we do not see how all of us are wanting in our corporate service to the erring individual. Each poor sufferer is blamed for his shortcomings or his misdemeanours; but the great municipality, that is his judge and executioner, may in its detailed censure be oblivious of the vast neglect by which the reprobated individual is daily troubled, owing to the misdirection of administrative public power. Municipalities are quick to indicate the mote that they discover in each individual eye, but very slow to mark the beam that so afflicts their own.

To ascertain and to distinguish the respective duties of each grade, from individual members of society up to the highest legislative rank and governmental power, is the most pressing subject for political consideration at the present time. No revolutionary movement is required; but full discernment of the natural aptitudes and social needs of men, and of the comprehensive or restricted methods by which all these various needs may be supplied, should be attained by those who are engaged in our political affairs. The time is getting sadly out of joint; and, owing to the constant course of hasty, inconsistent legislation, a wide scope of practical discrimination is required to set it right.

To the neglect of this discernment, and of wise and necessary action on the part of politicians, as distinct from statesmen, are now due the Irish difficulty and the rise of Socialism among us. Half a century ago, in Parliament, tenant-right was periodically brought before the public, in the endeavour to obtain some equitable settlement and definition of this much vexed question. At that time, the rights, respectively, of landlord and of tenant might have been with fairness ascertained, and finally adjusted. But for a whole generation the increasing irritation was permitted; until recently the so-called settlement has been a grievous

grievous wrong to those who might have been, with proper promptitude, abundantly protected. Thus Lord Melbourne's lazy query: 'Can't you leave it alone?' so often quoted as a piece of cleverness, is far from wise; and true Conservatism is most healthily engaged when it anticipates, and warily prepares for, changes that, if left to inexperienced and impulsive advocacy and to impetuous action, may become a danger to the State; but which, if promptly yet deliberately made, would tend to and confirm our national stability. We are now engaged in combatting one troublesome result of past neglect; and others are before us, threatening the future. To avoid and neutralize these troubles should be now our ever present care; and thus the 'Plea for Liberty,' with which we head this article, is opportune and welcome.

During the Anti-Corn-Law agitation Lord John Russell condescendingly approved of those who so efficiently were able to 'instruct the public mind;' not seeing that this popular instruction was of infinitely more importance than the blundering politics that were so common in those days, and were esteemed superior by those who did not understand that states advance and rise by wisdom rather than by cleverness. At present, had the public mind been previously instructed, Parliament would hardly have to waste its time on questions of Home Rule, entirely undefined, and never understood; nor would the public have been so absurdly ignorant of Irish affairs that one of the great parties of the State could be induced, with direful levity and want of discernment, to approve the incipient disruption of the British nation.

Sixty years ago, and less, with a restricted suffrage, the constituencies could not have been ignored, as recently has been the case, about a project that affects momentarily the whole community. The Reform Bill that was passed in 1832 had been discussed in all its chief provisions at each public-house and tavern parlour, and at every dinner-table throughout England. Schedule D was canvassed carefully at every social gathering; and 'the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill,' became the public cry. The public then were in the confidence of those who were their representatives; and no great party leader would then have conspired in conclave with the enemies of England to dissolve the Empire, for the sake of Irish sectional complacency. Constituencies then were not to be deluded into feminine emotion by such a phrase of folly as 'the union of hearts,' when sordid gain and reckless plunder were the avowed determination of one party to the 'cordial union.' In those times constituencies were not convertible by mere loquacious notoriety to an immediate denunciation

denunciation of their former sentiments and policy. No such turning of the coat as the prompt ratting of the Liberal party on the Irish question was then possible. The British voter was not in those days an item merely in the State.

But now the immense majority of the constituencies are almost wholly uninstructed. All their notions about government and legislation are picked up from newspapers, or from the gossip of the day; and the incapacity of most men to appreciate and understand the powers and duties of authority, together with the individual and social rights and interests that are affected by the various grades of government, has become a constant peril to the nation. Those who represent the populace in Parliament are often scarcely more informed than their constituents; * they are hardly chosen for their statesmanship, of which indeed the voters would be wholly insufficient judges, but, for the most part, for their wealth or notoriety, or even for their advocacy of some small question on which narrow-minded people are so apt exclusively to fasten their affections. So large a number of the constituencies and representatives of the United Kingdom being in this pitiable state, we must be thankful to those writers who have made political and social science their peculiar study, when they venture forward to instruct their fellow-citizens. In years gone by the works of Burke and Mackintosh, of Adam Smith and Bentham, Young and Horner, of Malthus and John Stuart Mill, were of incalculable benefit. At present, teachers, theoretical and practical like these, are sorely needed to inform the public mind, and a succession of such tracts as those collected in '*A Plea for Liberty*' would be of special value in the immediate future; raising the people of Great Britain from dependence on the arts and mysteries of mere self-seeking partisans.

The '*Plea for Liberty*' is a varied and instructive argument, in the form of essays, against socialism and socialistic legislation. Mr. Herbert Spencer is the writer of an animated, very lucid Introduction, pointing out that the demand for a more equal distribution of this world's goods is a result and evidence of the patent fact that these good things have been of late more equally enjoyed than heretofore; and that it is the natural improvement in the economical condition of the working class, together with their want of corresponding mental growth, that makes so many of them foolishly impatient for still further prompt, and so in fact unnatural, developments on their behalf.

* An instance of such crass incompetency was the recent conversation in the House of Commons about taxing ground-rents and land values. The ignorance of fiscal science and political economy was curious, and might become alarming.

According

According to the recent rate of gradual and increasing liberation and improvement of the working class, another half a century of peaceful progress would result in all that working men could reasonably hope for, or enjoy. So many of the lower orders are bewitched by the display of wealth that those who have excessive riches make, to gain the foolish admiration and subserviency of the ill-conditioned people of whatever rank below them, that they yearn for these exhibits as if they were really things of value; estimating them as the criteria, by contrast, of their own comparative abasement. The 'inferior classes' have no knowledge or idea to make them see how worthless for the most part, and unsatisfactory, is the show that so imposes on them, or that many an aristocratic and palatial saloon is in artistic degradation on a par with the 'saloons' and 'palaces' of quite another use, with which our working people are familiar.

A great failure of the working class is their neglect of the necessity, and worth, and work of time. They do not value their own time sufficiently, and they waste it until they are doomed to poverty. They similarly seldom see that in the progress of humanity time is a necessary factor; that in every development of animated nature, whether human or herbaceous, growth must be waited for, and that with men this time of waiting for increase of fortune gives the opportunity for moral growth consistent with their better circumstances. This increase of moral elevation is, however, the most valuable good of all. It matters little what may be the increase of a man's possessions in comparison with the extent to which he is himself improved.

Again, the working class so often fail to see that change is not itself a benefit, but if hasty, may be a great cause of suffering. They are impatient in their actual condition, and they look abroad for something, or for other people, to improve it. Thus their views are constantly *ab intra*, outwards; and they always hope for good to come spontaneously to them, instead of seeking to make good continually to radiate from themselves. Their chief desire is for that which is denied them, or, without much self control and wise exertion on their part, is unattainable; and they care little for their own consummate possibilities when these must be impelled and guided by sound moral principle and energy. This want of introspection is a constant source of injury, the great preventative of good to those who are the mass of discontent among our workmen; and no greater benefit can be conferred upon these people than such wise and generous direction, full of sympathy, as shall lead them to perceive and rightly estimate the various capacities and powers, intellectual

intellectual and moral, with which they, each of them, have been endowed. These are their natural stock in trade; by the right use of these they may obtain still further good; and with sound judgment and a proper elevating sense of right and wrong, they will improve their status and condition in the world, and gain that wholesome reverence of self that will compel full, suitable exertion, and may lead a simple workman up to the highest level of the human character and understanding.

The true progress of the nation must be measured by the moral progress and improvement of the working class; and this must be the care and object of all classes. By this only is peace possible for all, and hope for any; and the care must be, in practice, demonstrated everywhere throughout the kingdom. It is useless to propose that Government or Parliament shall direct the moral culture of the working class. The State may do 'justly and love mercy,' but it can hardly 'walk humbly with' the working man. This must be done by individuals and local sections of society, and it would be well if those who frequently complain of all or any of the failings of the working people, would, in substitution, make some strenuous exertion to improve their deprecated ways, and make them fitter citizens.

'The fates of the majority of men have ever been, and doubtless they still are, so sad that it is painful to think of them. The strong divisions of rank and the immense inequalities of means, are at variance with that ideal of human relations on which the sympathetic imagination loves to dwell; and the average conduct under the pressure and excitement of social life as at present carried on is in sundry aspects repulsive. The system under which we at present live fosters dishonesty and lying. It prompts adulterations of countless kinds; it is answerable for the cheap imitations which eventually in many cases thrust the genuine articles out of the market; it leads to the use of short weights and false measures; it introduces bribery, which vitiates most trading relations, from those of the manufacturer and buyer down to those of the shopkeeper and servant.'—Introduction, pp. 4 and 5.

For some half a century there has been a constantly decreasing quantity and a depreciating quality of moral teaching, both in church and school. A century ago, in the pre-scientific period, manners, founded on some theory of ethics, were particularly taught. But now, for many years, mere intellectual instruction, tending to the mercantile advancement of each scholar, has engrossed unduly the attention of most teachers of our youth. Formerly, in almost every church, the duty of just dealing was inculcated, and then the character of British merchants of all ranks stood high. But now this character is sadly

sadly lowered. Those who have been for forty years or more engaged in commerce give an ill account of the depreciated tone of morals in the Stock Exchange and in the produce market. Men of the highest rank in several commercial spheres admit the failing; and for the lower ranks of trade the account that Mr. Spurgeon gives of mercantile morality is a curious comment on our Christianity.

‘Young man, when you go into business they will tell you that you must do so and so because it is “the custom of the trade.” “Why,” say you, “it is lying.” You will be told that it is not exactly lying, because your customer is used to your tricks, and quite understands that a hundred means eighty, and the best quality means a second-rate article. I am told that half the business in London is robbery in some form or another, if the customs of the trade are not understood. If it be so that it is all understood, it might be just as well done honestly, for the matter of that, and it would pay as well.’

With a lack of moral teaching, and such questionable examples, is it to be wondered at that many of the non-proprietary and the working class should be unduly selfish and absurdly foolish in their, so called, principles of right, or in their wilful want of principle? They see what their superiors do; ‘they are used to their tricks’; and their crude sense of justice makes them feel that unionism and socialism must be better than the competition which seems but another name for fraud. How little do they see in the transactions of the world to set them thinking on the elements of justice that should be abundant, but which are in fact so wanting in the intercourse of nominally Christian men! In politics, where a mere student might suppose that those the most notorious were also excellent, he may find, by moderately careful scrutiny, that right and wrong, consistency and truth, high statesmanship, and even the existence of the nation as a first-class power, are imperilled and neglected for the sake of paltry personal and partisan success.

Thus, ‘Angry with the existing system, under which each of us takes care of himself, the communist or socialist thinks how much better it would be for all of us to take care of each of us; but he refrains from thinking of the machinery by which this is to be done. “Do your prescribed duties and take your apportioned rations,” must be the rule.

“Well, be it so,” replies the socialist. “The workers will appoint their own officers, and these will always be subject to the criticisms of the mass they regulate. Being thus in fear of public opinion, they will be sure to act judiciously and fairly; or, when they do not, will be deposed by the popular vote, local

or

or general. Where will be the grievance of being under superiors, when the superiors themselves are under democratic control?" And in this attractive vision the socialist has full belief!* Is it not whole brother of Home Rule in Ireland?

'Nothing but the slow modification of human nature by the discipline of social life can produce permanently advantageous changes. A fundamental error pervading the thinking of nearly all parties, political and social, is that evils admit of radical remedies; but anything like immediate cure is impossible. The root of all well-ordered social action is a sentiment of justice, which at once insists on personal freedom and is solicitous for the like freedom of others; and there at present exists but a very inadequate amount of this sentiment.'†

Nor will it ever exist in greater quantity or influence, until the public learn that we are only at the threshold of our work of education. The instruction that is given in schools may tend to selfishness and vice as well as to high principle and generosity. The mere scholastic teaching of the common-places of morality is not sufficient; and any rise of wages, without proper ethical and mental training, is too often but an opportunity for wasteful folly. Working men are now prepared in influence and also by instruction for a higher education in philosophy; and thus the progress and due elevation of the lower orders cannot be sectional and partial, if they are to be efficient. Intellectual culture of the ordinary elemental kind results immediately in knowingness; and who so clever as the half-instructed working man, so loud in his demand for other people's wealth, but not so ready first to sacrifice his own advantage and divide his higher wages with the lower, ill-paid labourer. The movement for instruction, for increase of wages, even for a voluntary limitation of the hours of work, has made considerable progress; but the real education of the working class, their ethical advancement, their development of thought, their self-discernment, and their practical consideration of their own condition in the spheres of morals and society, of their incumbent duty in their various relationships with all the world, have hardly been begun; and until this personal self-study has become habitual and general among the people a disordered socialism and a pseudo-democratic tyranny will be a constant threatening danger to all parties in the State; and to the working class especially a means of ruin.

* Such higher education has not hitherto, as it appears, been advocated or proposed for working men. Their highest good

* 'A Plea for Liberty,' Introduction, p. 12.

† Ibid., pp. 24, 25.

has been supposed to be good wages; and the men have taken this to mean that sensuality is their appropriate and peculiar demonstration and delight. The exhortation to 'give right to the poor' has been of late so partially addressed that those who claim the right appear to think that they have rights alone, and have no duties; that they are but the pampered infants of society, and may without reproof assert themselves by vehement demands and outcry, without any sense of obligation due by their own selves to their own characters, and so to all the world.

A great mistake of socialism is that it assumes society to be essentially a unit, homogeneous and regular in all its elements; and that individual men are but sectional developments of this great mass of procreant humanity, pensile and frail, and subjective, like leaves on trees. The fact however is that individual men in multitude form the foundation and the root of all society; on them, and by them, and according to their quality and character, society exists, and fails or flourishes. They are the bricks with which the social fabric is erected; and, for the firm consolidation and successful structure of the whole, the chief requirement is the sound completion of each 'casual' part. The bricks thus make and qualify the building, and sustain it. It is only in its ruin that the building desolates and overturns its own constituents.

Heretofore, and very much at present, instincts of pecuniary self-interest have been esteemed by most economists to be the motive power of human progress; and perhaps they are so while the progress is continually low and sordid. But if elevation is intended, then the money power is evidently insufficient. Men get richer, and society is richer every day; but riches do not elevate; they are but a most useful means, when properly applied, of elevation. As an aim or object they may very well become a 'root of evil.' Thus we find that when men's natural wants have been supplied, or even earlier, money, almost universally, is made the means of vanity and base display. The modern equipage of life, the house, the furniture, the dress, the 'ornaments,' the 'arts,' are mostly of no value save as they are priced by fashionable folly. And the care and interest that these low things excite throughout society are, by their grievous influence on the minds and characters of men, good evidence that more than wealth is needed for the hopeful elevation even of the highest classes in the social world.

It would be a salutary intellectual occupation to observe habitually the strange mental failure that accumulated wealth so commonly induces. It is obvious everywhere, in every rank and

and station. The unfortunate possessor often sinks into a slave of affluence. How small a part of his expenditure is made for his own personal and dignified enjoyment, and how large is the proportion wasted on the various follies that are taken for essential needs by the authoritative customs of 'the world.' Scarcely any spend their money simply, in accordance with their unpretending or more cultivated pleasure; almost all but waste their means in doing and in getting the accumulated nonsense that is called the fashion. In their home and personal surroundings there is little beauty or superior enjoyment; almost everything, including 'art,' is but a tribute to the current imbecility; and this is now the highest reach of excellence, according to, and properly resulting from, the doctrine of self-interest and money worship. When will our higher classes also raise a plea for liberty?

But socialism only seeks to make a wider and more equal distribution of this folly. In its aims it is expressly sordid, and the man is treated merely as a dull recipient of the common vanity. The 'goods' in some way are to be divided into shares; and men and women are to be allotted in appropriate subordination to a share apiece. This, stated clearly, is the socialistic method *à outrance*. But not by such inferior means can men of any class be raised into comparative superiority.

In an entirely different direction we must look and move to take the next immediate step for the improvement of society. Instruction is now organized, and is, or may be made, a means for bringing out the mental qualities and moral character of every child. It should be taught that human nature is, or is to be, superior to its surroundings; that to 'get on,' to be encumbered with the treasures of the world, or even to become of influence among the immoralities of politics, is not the highest object to be set before aspiring men. Each man should make himself, and not his monetary gains or frivolous expenditure, his chief concern; that thus, instead of an assortment of constricted, dwarfed, mechanical inflections of mankind, there may be men of cultivated individual power, with minds above the present ordinary fashion, each of whom would add peculiar intelligence and picturesqueness to the social aggregate.

To this end increase of liberty must be secured, and more abundant spheres for detailed public action, under stringent statute law. Municipalities should be extended downwards in the population; each ten thousand people having in large towns their minor local government, that public-minded men may have due opportunity for influence, and local character may be developed. Here, in London, many parishes are very much too

large and populous to be the lowest ultimate municipalities. The better public generally find themselves completely overwhelmed, in each extensive district, by the common multitude, whom it becomes impossible to interest in local matters that affect a section only of the great parochial territory; and a vast amount of valuable public spirit and activity is lost, unutilized, in London by this want of wholesome segregation in our intimate municipal affairs. The larger London parishes might be divided into several small 'communes.'

One great cause of the encroachment upon liberty in various spheres of government, and of material supply, is the defective knowledge and discernment of the people. The post office, railways, water and gas works, might all have been conducted by popular commissions, that is by the people for themselves, distinct from companies or from the government; but that the public were so ignorant that other means were necessary to obtain these various benefits. In almost every case the want of enterprise of the whole population has been the first cause of their restricted liberty. At present the great cloud of smoke that overhangs the London district, and pollutes the air, is obvious enough to every sense; and yet the population are incapable of any resolution to prevent it. The cost, annually, of the nuisance is sufficient to pay interest on any outlay that could be required for its extinction; but the dulness of the people is so great that no attempt is made to clear the atmosphere. Indeed, the black opacity seems quite appropriate, as a symbol and association for the population that permit it. It appears as the pervading, brooding spirit of the place; as if each human brain had lost its individual vitality, and had been dissolved into a universal and pernicious overhanging cloud.

Few gifts of liberty would be so great as that of freedom from this chief oppression of the poor, and inconvenience of the rich, in all our large towns and manufacturing districts. Nature gave us coal for use and comfort, but coal-smoke was never meant to be its absolute maleficent result. Besides the gift of coal we have the gift of intellect and scientific power, to neutralize this foulness; and a Government Commission might, by due attention, find some cheap and simple antidote quite close at hand.* Mr. T. Howell Williams, L.C.C., proposes to bring heating-gas

* The Prince of Wales and the Empress Frederick have anticipated our municipal authorities by inspecting a new, 'absolutely smokeless' fuel, manufactured, in the form of *briquettes* or bricks, under the Paulsen patent, of the smallest coal or 'slack,' pitch, and 'a certain mineral,' not named. It is said to burn freely and clearly, without odour, but with complete combustion; and 'the price will probably not exceed that of ordinary coal.' Cannot some County Council try it, and report?

—distinct and different from gas for lighting—from the coal districts, by large mains, to London, to be laid on by a second set of pipes, for house consumption; and thus underselling coal. Might not this scheme be tried in some small Midland town, by corporate or private enterprise? Or are we always to continue feculent and hopeless?

Socialism, though a folly, is, like many other follies, a development of hope, and so it cannot be extinguished save by some more practical and reasonable direction of the same invigorating sentiment. By some means or other hope must be maintained, and its variety of prospects multiplied among our people; and there must be direct and obvious physical associations for this varied hope to fix itself upon. It will not be enough that there are savings banks and company investments for the working class to use as their depositories; such peculiar opportunities will satisfy but a small relative proportion of the general human nature that surrounds us. Few men are financiers, and of these again but few have elevating pleasure in a banking hoard: in stocks, or shares, or mortgages, in things unseen, appealing only to the memory and to the clerkly, calculating mind. Finance is a contrivance of advanced commercial progress; not an elementary primeval instinct, like the culture of the land, or the construction of a house. Men are by nature, doubtless, agriculturists and builders, and it is by hope of house and land that the most healthy progress of the people can be influenced and sustained. The excellent arrangements made by Mr. Goschen, though so generally beneficial and approved, arouse no higher sentiment than that of admiration. People are merely pleased, in a dull way, that certain moneys are left for their use that had been formerly abstracted from them; but this money is not individualized and made a special influential object of affection. The amount invested is but a result and not an object; and it represents the past and present only: a history and a condition; whereas freehold houses, cottages, and gardens are most valuable means and elements of hope and aspiration. For the great majority of men their savings must, to be of dignified impressiveness, take some objective form. A man who loves his money is not generally held to be advanced in character beyond the destitute; but if he has a house or lands, and loves these demonstrations of his wealth, he is esteemed to have the making of a better man from this development of his affections. Thus 'The Housing of the Working Classes and of the Poor,' though not the first in order of these Essays, is the first in actual importance, and discusses a most pressing need. The author, Mr. Arthur Raffalovich, gives some interesting information on

the nature and extent of the demands by Socialists in Germany and France. 'Some are in favour of a nationalization of dwellings; others demand that the State or the local authority shall build for its own functionaries, for workmen, and for the poor; others wish to combat the *usury* of the landlord, the excessive price sought for dwellings which are insanitary and too small.'*

'Among the most important factors of development, physical, moral, and intellectual, the dwelling must be placed in the first rank; it is the sphere in which the life of the individual and of the family is passed. No one denies the inconveniences, physical and moral, of the insanitary dwellings inhabited by a portion of the working class and by the poor.' The inconvenient, narrow houses are yet overcrowded, owing to the 'extreme poverty of the inhabitants, which prevents their seeking for houses healthier, larger, and consequently dearer. Poverty is incurable. For the cure of bad habits in respect of cleanliness, we must arm ourself with patience. This is a matter of education.'†

But poverty is almost always a bad habit, not a necessary state. And it results from many causes; chiefly from the want of proper secondary education, and of an immediate, obvious motive for exertion. 'First, we must offer houses relatively comfortable and healthy, with an option to the tenants to become owners.' This, continuously and wisely done, will surely raise the household state of the whole working class.

As we have seen, possessions visible in land and houses, which excite the sympathies of men, become an influence for good to those who have acquired them. Most men do feel greater self-respect, distinct from vanity and sordid love of money, when they are endowed with house and land; and it should therefore be the generous aim of all of us to get such means of self-respect dispersed as widely and as numerous as possible among our population. It is thus that socialist propensities can most effectually be prevented. Yet the lawyers of our land proprietors, of those whose self-respect is so enhanced by their possessions, are the chief hindrance to the good that would ensue to individuals in multitude, and to the State, from universal, facile, inexpensive transfers of small properties in land.

The obligation under which the public stand to Mr. Jesse Collings should be acknowledged in the frankest manner. He is seeking to give strength to the foundations of the State, to bring

* P. 279.

† Pp. 280-282.

the labouring population into sympathy and good accord with the landholding class, by making each man, possibly or actually, a land proprietor. Nothing would so tend to satisfy the natural craving of a large proportion of the population as the possibility of being in some reasonable way, however small, a territorial owner; and the hesitation and delay of politicians to create this possibility throughout the country is not creditable to their statesmanlike sagacity. Instead of manifesting jealousy, or even negligence, they should encourage emulation and desire; and urge the people to become, each in a modest way, the cultivators and possessors of the soil. A hundred years ago, and yet more recently, the power and intelligence of England that carried her triumphantly through all the great French war, were represented chiefly by the land proprietors. These men had learnt to wait, in quietude and confidence, upon the seasons for their gain; and consequently were the strong and patient, persevering force that difficulties did not daunt, nor a disaster terrify. At present the great landlords are but a minority in Parliament, and but a very small minority throughout the country; and to supplement their recently diminished influence we need a great numerical increase of land proprietors, though individually on a smaller scale. Most Englishmen are only residents in England; they have small and only personal possessions here; and so in case of war or other national calamity they might be influenced unduly by shortsighted, selfish views, and thus be willing to surrender the great interests of the Empire. Clearly it is politic to stiffen these more flexible constituents of the nation by a sturdy yeomanry, the owners of house property and land, who should, in ample numbers, be enrolled on the extended registers of freehold property. By the release of land from needless formulæ and costs of law* the great proprietors would gain the sympathy and wide support of an increasing number of political constituents; and would be correspondingly relieved of the

* 'Mr. C. Fortescue-Brickdale, of the Chancery Bar, has given the members of the Surveyors' Institution a striking instance of the evils of the present method of proving title to land. The value of a certain piece of property was about 5000*l.*, and its extent less than six acres. Yet the abstract of title consisted of 195 sheets; it contained 91 deeds and other documents; and the number of skins of parchment used was about 180. Abstract and deeds, if stitched into a band three feet wide, would have reached from the cross of St. Paul's to the floor of the Cathedral; in other words, the title-deeds of the land were almost as extensive as its superficial area, and the cost of their preparation a ruinous percentage of its value. The effect of the documents could have been stated in two lines; yet circumstances might arise which would entail production of the whole for the perusal of a purchaser. The remedy for this is the establishment of a public Land Registry, such as is in force in several countries. An institution of the kind has existed in England since 1875, but it is not compulsory; and lawyers taboo it.

aversion and the jealousy of people who are Communists and Socialists only because they can, with due facility, be little else. Here then again must be advanced a plea for liberty. The liberation of the land, by founding every title on a public plan and register, would make our people as conservative as the French peasantry. Land also would be greatly raised in value by the possibility of selling it at little cost in a continually open and appreciative market.

It would, however, not be well to give the working resident in towns an area of land beyond what he could cultivate with ease in his spare time. An artisan must be maintained in his position as an artisan; he must not be a half-bred husbandman. Many a workman has been ruined by the allotment of a too extensive or too distant garden. Probably, there are more born agriculturists than born mechanics; and of those who are by training artisans a large proportion will, with due temptation, 'sport' into the agriculturist, and sink away from other handicrafts. But this is no sound argument against the freehold housing of the workman, with a moderate garden. These possessions tend to cultivate each branch of labour, art and horticulture, and thus make the workman a completer man than he would be if wholly tied throughout his life to the monotony of one employment.

In land tenure and house building the theory of socialism is in direct obstruction to the elevation and well-being of the people, and especially of the working class; and individualism is for these their only hope. The man, who can intelligently build his own substantial, well-planned house on his own freehold land, is of the quality of which great thriving states are constituted. A house well built, with due simplicity and dignity, and not without the touch of gracefulness and fancy, is an object lesson in the higher walks of human character. The builder has been influenced by his work for good, and also is an influence for good on others. Every beholder feels the better for his dignified display; and the improvements that judicious and inventive minds will make in the details of house arrangement and construction will abundantly surpass whatever speculating * builders or a socialist community could do in their abundant manufacturing monotony. Indeed, what we most need, in our first natural undertaking of construction in the course of life, is a complete release from everything that tends to limit individual character and action, since on these the State is most securely founded.

* Not speculative; a word of wholly different import.

Physical improvement is, moreover, specially concomitant with possibilities of moral elevation. Here, in London, on authoritative testimony, the chief weakness is not found among the children of the very poor, who being without law are therefore without sin, or sense of wrongfulness. These are let loose, and run about the streets uncared for, save by their own sharp wits, and get what air and sunlight may be met with. The prevailing feebleness of mind and body is among the class above the lowest, the 'respectable,' retiring children, those who go to school, and live at home in little, hardly ventilated rooms. The great hope for decent workmen and their children is in cottages, detached if possible, and self contained, in wide suburban villages, with tram cars or electric, tubular sub-railways up to town. But any interference by the State or the municipalities for housing of the poor would be pernicious to the poor themselves, preventing private enterprise. Industrious, honest working men can always get from Building Societies sufficient monetary aid to build their freehold houses; and then, repaying by instalments, the proprietor becomes in twelve or fourteen years the owner of his house, and for a total sum not greatly in excess of rent alone.

'In the United Kingdom, on December 31st, 1887, there were 2079 societies. Their mortgage property amounted to 53,101,000*l*. In the United States there are between 3000 and 5000 societies, and the accumulated savings during forty years by the occupants and their families reaches perhaps 160 millions sterling. In New York, from January to September 1888, more than 15,000 persons became members of building societies. In Philadelphia the yearly deposits are reckoned at more than a million. Out of a population of 900,000 souls, 185,000 are workmen; and out of this number it is calculated that 40,000 or 50,000 are owners of their own houses. Each year the city surrounds itself with a new ring of neat little houses of red brick, each of which forms the home of a single family. The public health is better at Philadelphia than at New York; and in poor-law and charitable relief, Philadelphia, with its 900,000 inhabitants, spends hardly more than Boston, with 360,000. Workmen are not afraid to live in the suburbs, and to make a railway journey of three-quarters of an hour twice a day. The system of their railways is nowhere so developed as at Philadelphia.

'At the International Congress at Paris, 1889, it was resolved that the direct influence of the State or local authority for competing with private enterprise should be excluded. That separate dwellings with little gardens should be preferred, and that in any case the independence of each tenant and his family should be secured. Among the main obstacles to be removed are an inconvenient system of land tenure, prohibition of enterprise, and the uncertainty caused by the threats of socialism.'—Pp. 289-301.

The

The first need of a community is a competent, familiar knowledge of the art of building; and three quarters of the subjects taught in schools of every kind should be postponed to this immediate study. Houses, even more than clothes, affect humanity, and should be perfectly within the practical acquaintance even of a school-boy. It is absurd to find the millions of our Board School children passing curious examinations on recondite subjects that they never will again hear mentioned, while the house that they inhabit all their life is a complete and painful mystery to them, and will become a constant cause of suffering and apprehension. The general ignorance of building art is the chief cause of the bad buildings, kept in bad repair, that so abound in London. Had the public their instinctive, natural development of house construction they would soon discover and remove the hindrances that now obstruct improvement in the houses of the people. It appears as if the officials, who control the methods and curriculum of Board School teaching, never read, or do not faithfully believe, the Bible, which assures us that it is what comes out of a man not that which is put into him that ennobles or defiles him. They insist on teaching many things; but to elicit good in practical endowment seems to be in too great measure overlooked. A Board School should be an instructive workshop. All the house cleaning, of whatever kind, should be performed by pupils; and these, further, should be gratified by a fair share of Board School building work. Within a generation the result of such sound teaching would be found in the intelligent appreciation of our houses, and of their defects; a public criticism would arise; the class of impotent, incompetent 'professors' would be understood in their true character; and building, public and private, would again become vernacular and good.

Having thus given to the widest public liberty of land and home, the people must, to use the blessing in security, have Liberty for Labour. In his essay on this subject, Mr. George Howell writes with ample knowledge and experience; and what he says is perfectly convincing. He points to the exclusiveness of the old medieval guilds, and shows how their incipient socialism turned into intolerant monopoly; just as our dockers, when they thought they were secure, determined to make their special union a close and limited, exclusive corporation. It was not the great working class, but a ridiculously little section of the class, their own immediate selves, that they desired to benefit; indeed the striking unionists are, altogether, but a small minority of working men. Moreover, of these strikers but a very small proportion are spontaneous combatants; a few strong,

strong, often cowardly, men compel and dominate the quiet docile multitude. Thus for the cause of liberty, this essay on the Liberty of Labour is of special interest at the present time; it shows how evil is the legislation that would regulate the labour market. Such regulation means immediate change, and 'a period of transition is nearly always a desperate time for the weak and unprotected.' Yet 'the demand for the extension of the provisions of positive law to cases not heretofore within its domain is, it is to be feared, as much due to unwise attempts in the direction of limitation as to unwise attempts to run in advance of public opinion by its extension. Every member of the popular branch of the Legislature is being forced, almost against his will, to support this or that measure, the exact bearing of which, beyond its more immediate objects, he does not in the least perceive. Such pressure is exercised quite irrespective of other pressure in a contrary direction by another set of enthusiasts.'

'The requisition for legislation during the last six years has been enormous; it is becoming more and more dictatorial each year, and it will be perpetual and growing until some principle of policy is formulated by which thoughtful men can stand. Whether or not this be possible is a question for debate; but the absence of a policy is dangerous to all concerned—to the State as a living organism, and to the various sections of the community of which it is made up.'—P. 123. 'If Parliament is to be called upon to interfere in matters of labour in all Bills brought before the Legislature for Parliamentary sanction, there is an end to the respective rights, whatever they may be, of capital and labour. It would be better at once to fix the hours of labour, and its wages or price, by legal provisions which shall be binding upon all classes, employers and workmen alike, in all departments of industry, all over the kingdom.'—P. 132.

'It might be thought that the demands of the new school of labour advocates have been exaggerated, and that the possible evils resulting from such demands have been maximised. One fact alone will disabuse either notion, if it exists. Recently, as late as August 1890, the newly-formed Dockers' Union, led by the men who claim to be the originators of what they are pleased to describe as the "New Trade Unionism," decreed that their books should be closed; that no new members were to be enrolled; that they were now sufficient in numbers to perform the work at the docks, and that any addition would but impede their progress by being brought into competition with the accredited members of the Union. Any departure from this decree was to be left in the hands of the Executive of the Union. This aristocratic ukase is worthy of the most unscrupulous, despotic tyrant that ever disgraced the pages of history. The monopoly of the land, or of the Upper Chamber of the Legislature, sinks into insignificance by the side of this unexampled piece of wicked stupidity on the part of

of the new leaders, the apostles of the new trades unionism.'—Pp. 137–138.

The constant talk about conciliation and arbitrament, with no concern about the further education and instruction of the workmen, is exceedingly pernicious. What is wanted is not prompt arrangement without due and ample information, a mere sentimental, temporary truce; but such investigation of the facts, and such extended information among the whole class of workmen, as shall show them fairly well the data on which equitable settlements of working time and wages may be periodically framed. Englishmen are not by temperament tyrannical, nor deliberately unjust; but they, like other people, are by mental constitution apt to be excited, apprehensive, combative, and foolish, when they are in a position that they do not understand, and cannot see their way. The dockers are perhaps as uninformed a class of men as can be found in England. They have been instructed in the means of knowledge, but have not been educated; they are wholly ignorant of the foundations of their personal affairs, of their own livelihood. They have been left entirely to agitators and 'conciliators;' and perhaps each class of meddlers may be taken as more grievously pernicious than the other. No one at present, it appears, has found it in his heart or mind, without regard to popularity, to instruct the workmen, that they may attain to even moderate appreciation of the facts that influence and mould the circumstances of their lives, and, therefore, must be always reckoned with. Were these men informed about the less immediate antecedents that combine to make their actual condition, they would have the elements of worldly wisdom, and the incentives to commercial moderation plain before them. Uncertainty and want of information are the stimulants of fear; from which arises animosity, and thus unreasoning action, hopeless theories, and unlimited desire, with the systematic, comprehensive covetousness that is now known by the so genial name of Socialism.

There is no reason why the working class should be considered more, or treated with more deference than any other class of the community; but surely they may claim their social liberty, and be protected from the roughs and scoundrels of their own commercial rank. Were tradesmen to be canvassed, hustled, and insulted, and their shops surrounded by pickets, in case they failed to follow the instructions of a clique of noisy neighbours to conduct their business as would please these busybodies, there would be immediately a call for prompt, efficient punishment of the offenders. Parliament, however, has, in its stupendous folly, handed over all the working class

to the particularly ill-conditioned gangs of men who lead the striking unions; and men quite willing to work steadily for honest pay are terrorised and threatened, till, from their timidity and apprehension, they are fain, entirely against their interests, their comfort, and their will, to join these unions. Tens of thousands, certainly, of honest workmen are deprived of liberty by blatant mobs of foolish men, set on by men as foolish as themselves, but cleverer and baser.*

And this condition of affairs has been so legalised, that, by the law, no order is obtained, but much disorder and intolerable wrong have been inflicted on society. Society should therefore promptly rectify the evil, and demand that every man shall be preserved in peace and quietness, whatever other men may think, or feel, or wish, concerning his own private interests and conduct as a workman seeking work. No man should be molested by a look, much less by injury and insult, from a lawless mob of brutal men, when he is going to his work, or when engaged upon it, or at home; and each willing labourer, in his going out and coming in, should feel that he is under the efficient care of that sound government which is the providential representative and agent of the Deity, who doeth all things thoroughly and well. Still, of the unionists but a fraction are spontaneously turbulent. A very large proportion join the unions from fear, and would not willingly molest a fellow workman; and again a large proportion countenance the agitation as a mere amusement, and a vain display of power. They would reprobate it were they to experience any inconvenience to themselves resulting from it. The residuum of arrant turbulence is very small compared with the whole class of decent artisans; but owing to bad legislation, this mere fraction of a class is able to annoy and injure all society. They are indeed our national Mafia.

This flagitious state of things should be immediately changed. Right should be done, and heaven will not fall. Picketing should be made illegal; and, in the mean time, since, as we have lately learnt, the Legislature and the Government are, owing to their cowardice and want of means, unable to protect the honest workmen, these men should combine and drill and arm themselves, and, on occasion, reckon with the fellows who presume by 'conversation' to direct their course of personal

* "Picketing," said Lord Bramwell during the recent discussion in the House of Lords, "is legal, if legally carried out—which it never is." One Gardner, Mr. J. H. Wilson's lieutenant at Cardiff, warned the men that it was not the number of "captures" they made that told; but the presence of the pickets had a wholesome effect in keeping away men who, *if they had a clear ground, would become blacklegs.*

affairs. Working men should be protected, like the rest of us, and, failing the police, they should efficiently protect themselves. At present, while we pride ourselves, and justly, on our reverence for individual right, we very grievously neglect the working class. Here, therefore, should be raised a plea for liberty, and an efficient statute should be passed to save the willing workmen; so that cruelties suggestive rather of the far west in America, or of the 'atrocities' that were attributed to Turkish rule, may be with promptitude abandoned.

While the majority of the working class are efficient, well-conducted people, there is also a large number of habitual incapables, the lazy and the uninstructed, who become at times 'the poor.' These latter are not special objects for philanthropy; they should be, rather, subjects for the law to recognize with due attention. But they are the abundant class for whom the agitators work, and get well paid, and who are patronised by 'arbitrators,' of whatever kind. These inefficient people are not the true working class of England, they are but its dregs; and when society becomes at times unduly moved, the dregs run out. The great mass of working people are entirely distinct from, and in quietude they reprobate the noisy unions; and it would be but a mere sacrifice of good men to the bad to give the slightest countenance to the picketing strikers. Those who have witnessed a great gathering of workmen at a bean-feast may have noticed the variety of character and of enjoyment among this class of men. A few proficient in their games, but many more distinctly bad but very serious players; the discursive party, much inclined to roam and see the country; and the boisterous and muscular, who must have rough horse play; and then, beside all these, the quiet men, who wander listlessly about, not wishing to be thought unsympathetic, but yet vexed to be thus separated from their wives and families at home. There may be some deficiency, at times, of good behaviour; but the rule is that the roughs are very few. Yet, if these get the upper hand, they seem to bring discredit on the whole of their companions; and, by the public, are not properly distinguished from the well conducted. Their employers never would treat all the men according to the manners of these few, nor should our Parliament take the demands of striking unionists as guides for legislation for the working class.

The fact is that the working class have now their fortune for the most part in their hands, if they would only make themselves entirely worthy of it. They have been instructed in the elements of learning far more thoroughly than were the middle class a half a century ago; and those who now are their
employers

employers are descended mostly from a generation who had few of the advantages enjoyed at present by the working men throughout the country. Were their object honourable self-aggrandisement, instead of mean desire, they soon would realize the value of their actual condition, and would willingly exchange a cankerous envy for rejoicing thankfulness. But folly, and presumption, and abundant want of self respect and reverence for one another in so many of the working class who make themselves most prominent, prevent their general recognition by those chiefly able and most willing to assist them.

In 'State Socialism at the Antipodes,' Mr. Charles Fairfield makes a very interesting and instructive revelation of affairs in Australasia. There the democratic working class have been enabled to give 'several years' fair trial to certain measures, of a socialistic character, recommended to our legislators at home, but up to the present almost solely on theoretical or abstract grounds. It is to be regretted that the public in this country have as yet no complete, careful, and unbiassed account of important legislative acts adopted by the colonies, and of their results.* Few things would be of more use than a Commission sent from England to report on legislative and municipal enterprise in our great colonies. To obtain trustworthy information from the colonists themselves is difficult, perhaps impossible. Their enormous indebtedness to the mother country, on apparently unascertained security, and the peculiar methods, seemingly without control, of the colonial administrators, for manipulating the advances sent from England, make it very troublesome and possibly invidious for an Australasian of position in affairs to give account of how the money goes. 'Lately some clerical tourists have described for home readers what they saw in the colonies. But as the various unestablished religious bodies have received valuable grants of land from the State, the principal ministers of religion are well paid, prosperous, and enabled to maintain an informal standing reception Committee, which takes travelling clerical celebrities from this country in hand, and in the true spirit of Oriental hospitality supplies them with that kind of information as to Free State Education and crypto-Socialism which is likely to gratify them.†

'The truth is that nothing definite can be known about the finances of the Australian Colonies. State Socialism there dares not produce a genuine balance sheet. The "Statement" distributed to members of the Legislative Assembly of Victoria

* P. 146.

† P. 150.

in July 1889, showed a surplus of 1,607,559*l*. The figures, however, were "not final"; and on the 21st November it was found that the huge surplus had no existence.* It had been actually given away.* The note on pp. 154 and 155 of Mr. Fairfield's essay gives a terrible account of the chaotic state into which Australian finance has fallen. It should be a warning to the English public, who may find that even *Cedulas* are not unique in insecurity. This peculiar revelation should be welcomed by our own investors, and particularly by the colonists themselves; who would eventually deplore the gradual and unregarded increase of their debt until it had become a burden so oppressive that the credit of the colonies would be endangered, perhaps forfeited, and with enormous consequent distress and social ruin.

'One step towards retrenchment and reform has, however, been taken by the Victorian Government. They recently obtained powers from Parliament to steal freehold land which may be required for future state railways, instead of purchasing it as heretofore.' With us in London, the removal of street bars without due compensation is a pernicious precedent that may have very serious consequences.

Mr. Fairfield makes repeated reference to Sir Charles Dilke's two volumes, 'in which some of the problems confronting rudderless democracy in the great self-governing colonies' are noticed; and the criticism is suggestive as well as severe. 'In Victoria,' says Sir Charles, 'State Socialism has completely triumphed'; but, considering he has not set foot in the colony for more than twenty years, this 'inhabitant' may be excused for not discovering that a group of rising colonies who can command a borrowed capital of three hundred millions sterling may be anything they choose to call themselves; may live in affluence, and be as merry and good humoured as the very favourites of fortune, until the day of reckoning comes. Moreover there is general protection to be borne in mind, and this has come to be an almost farcical development. For instance: 'The Victorian Tariff Commission of 1883-4 elicited the curious fact that one lonely human being earned his living in the colony by cutting corks. Thus, for the benefit of this cherished unit, a duty of 4*d*. per lb. on cut corks had been maintained; which was extremely irksome and injurious to the colonial wine industry generally.†

'Politicians sanction and float loans, to provide employment for their patrons on pleasant terms. Local banks and credit institutions make

* P. 153.

† P. 165.

use of the proceeds of State borrowing to "finance" building societies, manufacturers, importers, tradesmen, and private speculators, who in turn give credit to working men for goods, or for land and houses bought by them at inflation prices out of their savings. These pleasant practices grow upon the community like opium-eating. Ministers therefore dare not now hold their hand, calculate ways and means closely, or stop borrowing, lest the whole top-heavy fabric of State socialism should come toppling down about their ears. The expenditure by the Victorian Government for the last two or three years has been at the rate of £14,000,000 per annum. Part of this sum has been obtained by issuing bonds on the London market, part from revenue. During the last seven years, Government expenditure has increased by 41 per cent., while the population has increased by 15 per cent. only. Public and corporate debts have increased by 22,000,000*l.*, and annual exports of "produce and manufactures" fallen from twelve to nine millions.—Pp. 166-167.

The whole essay deserves very attentive perusal, as it exhibits with remarkable effect the evil tendencies of State Socialism. It is hardly probable that we in England are in any risk of such peculiar developments, since we have no rich mother country to supply us with the ways and means. But, on the other hand, we may have special evil inclinations of our own to which we may be quite as prone as these young colonies to their peculiar errors. Thus it behoves us in these days to subject every new proposal of a fiscal or financial kind to rigid scrutiny; and none the less if it were recommended on account of some immediate gain to any section, or even to the whole of the community. 'The majority of Melbourne shop assistants, mostly young fellows born in the colony, seem to have grasped the root principle of State Socialism thoroughly, namely, that the Legislature ought to provide what Sir Charles Dilke calls a "beautiful national existence" for them; and that it was to the State, rather than to their own exertions, that tradesmen's assistants ought to look for success, wealth, and comfort in life.'

The 'Plea,' it may be hoped, is a commencement merely of a large issue of like valuable literature. The spread of secular instruction, the enormous development of profitable trade, and the corresponding increase of capital in England within the last quarter of a century, are effecting a revolution not merely in the circumstances but in the minds of the people; and it is of serious importance that the public mind should forthwith be instructed well in sound economy, and not left waste and empty for the prompt reception of the many plausible and pernicious

* P. 196.

theories which people of small insight, no experience, but headstrong impulses, not always without generous feeling, are inclined to offer. We have now a vast and ignorant constituency throughout the kingdom; people who have never had a fact before them that they were not born to, and who do not even know what judgment and discernment mean; and these poor people have a score of recondite and novel questions constantly demanding their decision. How can they be brought to a judicial frame of mind? They have no knowledge on which they may rest, and so take time for judgment. They are called upon immediately; and being thus assured that their opinion is of value they will give it on the narrowest, most absurd, short-sighted view, or on the impulse of mere feeling and association.

These men are not to be blamed, or grumbled at. It is not they who have created this absurdity, but those who should have known that babes in public life are not the people to be trusted with affairs. We have, besides, in added folly, given them the little knowledge which is doubly dangerous; and are consequently not a little scandalized at the result of our own want of sense and prescience. The working class must now be educated thoroughly in economic science, for their own protection, as well as for the safety of the State.

The primary instruction that School Boards supply will be of little value, possibly will be a grievous injury, unless it is appropriately used. It is the means and not the end of education. No doubt, perfect freedom of instruction, without aid from government is theoretically right. All parents ought to have the sole responsibility and perfect care of their own children; and instruct and educate them. But the State, in its constituents or by its Ministers, must also bear in mind that its great comprehensive family is almost wholly without education; that its affairs are now controlled by people who are uninformed respecting everything but the most superficial, obvious, current incidents, and who have no proper cultivated judgment even about these. The chief aim, therefore, of intelligent conservatives, of whatever party, should be to frame a code of scientific doctrine on all economic subjects, social and political; and this should be so free from class distinction that it may be offered to, and cordially accepted by, all classes in the kingdom.

The entire budget of the nation should be carefully and publicly revised, and then made permanent. All separate 'interests' having been ignored, the fiscal system may be so adjusted as to be demonstrably acceptable by all, in systematic equity; and thus the interest of the State will be considered solely; the whole nation being the experienced and equitable judge.

judge. This should be now our constant aim. If sectional exclusiveness in any form should be retained, there would be constant war and loss, with a sad day of reckoning. And, after all that, annually, has been spent on school instruction, it would be disgraceful if the nation could not find some scientific, universally accepted basis for the economic settlement of its enormous and increasing income.

'The Discontent of the Working Class,' by Mr. Edmund Vincent, deals with a subject that is not in itself of much, perhaps of any real importance, save to the working class themselves. There is always likely to be a large class of men who, not successful in the contest for material good, are discontented, because envious of those who are more fortunate. Such people always seem to have their observation fixed on those above them, in their half discerning way. They never seem to take account of the immensely greater number of their fellow-men throughout the world whose circumstances are so much inferior to their own. There is but little thankfulness for their own superior condition, or of generous sympathy and brotherhood for those beneath them. Though not entirely without occasional excuse, this discontent is in the main but beggarly and mean; and greatly is a measure of those experiencing it. They are themselves the chief cause of their discontent. Certainly they suffer wrong, like most of us; but they afflict themselves with even greater injuries; and, furthermore, they have at times but little hesitation in inflicting grievous and deliberate wrong on others, even of their own association.

'The coercion which the members of the Union used upon other labourers—and with a great deal more effect than ought to have been permitted in a civilized community—was essential to success. The idea underlying it was only part socialistic, but it was the natural outcome of the socialistic spirit. The leaders thus would say, "It is the duty of every worker to be a member of the Union. We will enforce that doctrine by preventing non-Unionists from going to work." The whole doctrine and the manner in which it was carried out were but amplifications of the principle that the individual must be subordinated to the class; if he accepted his slavery willingly, so much the better for the class; if he rebelled against it, so much the worse for him. Of intimidation, of the open and physical kind, some instances were detected; but it was an open secret, and a fact thoroughly understood by both parties in the struggle, that much intimidation existed in concealment. Men able and willing to work were oppressed with a vague and mysterious terror that if they worked they would be made to rue the day. It may be answered that there was no evidence to justify this terror. The answer is that the working men, who knew their own class, felt it; that although willing to work

and spurred by hunger, fear stopped them from stepping into vacant places.'—Pp. 209, 210.

There is a healthy discontent, which tends to strong intelligent exertion, with accompanying thankfulness and generosity; but the feeling of our Socialists and Dockers' Union is that jealous envy which desires the property of other people. 'If the thing be looked at dispassionately the permanence of this discontent is no matter for wonder, nor is the thing itself a mere silly thing that can be argued away. The lot of him who is born in the lowest scale of society is hard; it is easier to persuade him that he has been defrauded of his opportunities, than to convince him that he has missed them: to those who would fain reason with him, speaking of the "laws" of political economy, of supply and demand, and so forth, he answers that he knows no laws save those which man, who made them, can alter. The appalling ignorance of the people, the readiness with which they accept statements and arguments of glaring absurdity, renders them an easy prey to the agitator. The agitator cries out for education. He may be well assured that in proportion to the knowledge of a man are his desire and determination to work out his own destinies, to argue rather than to fight.'*

The whole of Mr. Vincent's essay is particularly valuable as a statement of the character, and personalities, and aims of semi-socialist agitators. Mr. Auberon Herbert's 'True Line of Deliverance' also gives the reader a clear view of their methods and designs. He mentions, in a warning voice, that 'The fact that capital goes so largely abroad shows that, as things are, we are near the margin of profit; and a slight unfriendly pressure exercised upon capital, a slight discouragement to its investment, would probably do far more in reducing wages by reducing the amount of capital employed, than in raising wages by raising the proportion of the product which comes to the labourer.'† But indeed at present capital is grievously diverted from our own working class because of their unfaithfulness and folly. Why should three hundred millions be sent out to Australia, as much more to South America, and twice as much elsewhere, if quiet men of capital could use their funds in payment of trustworthy workmen here at home? In the great, constant, and ubiquitous building trade, how much more satisfactory it would often be for the investor to employ a foreman with respectable subordinates, and pay them well, instead of having a contractor and an architect. The present teaching of the working class is quite

* Pp. 210, 211.

† P. 398.

sufficient to make such a method feasible; the only difficulty would be their deficiency of manners, and their want of honesty. A class of people who are so particularly grasping for themselves that they allow, or possibly compel, their fellow-workmen to become their slaves, is not one likely to be welcomed to a confidential station or employment.

Questions of taxation will no doubt occur with reference to the working man's condition, and proposals will be made, of course, to tax accumulated property. It may be, therefore, well to point out for the thousandth time, that property is the employer, the chief friend of artisans, and should, for their peculiar benefit, be left untouched by fiscal officers. But, from whatever source obtained, an income never should be taxed, since this involves, with indirect taxation, double impost on the same amount of money; that is, when received and when expended. Sound taxation will be limited to what a man enjoys by personal expenditure. His surplus income, beyond what he himself expends, he does not personally enjoy; he lays it by as capital, by which the working people are employed; and he again enjoys that portion of the income from this saving that he spends, the rest becoming further capital. All capital is therefore in effect the beneficial and peculiar possession of the working class; the legal owner is but the administrator, who receives his five or ten per cent. as a remuneration. Therefore, to tax property as a relief to working people is a folly; much as if the seed of corn were taxed to benefit the agriculturist. Such confiscation is, moreover, an inducement to proprietors to limit saving; or to take their capital abroad, away from England; or to spend the whole of their net income. If, when they deny themselves, and make accumulations that the spendthrift non-accumulators use, they are deprived of their own property, why, then, an end to saving and investments that so tempt men to injustice; and endurance and provision for the future will be systematically disregarded. 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.'

The greatest caution should be used by those in legislative power to prohibit any recrudescence of the old disease of pauperism. There are few who now can recollect the state of things before the present Poor Law was enacted; and it may be, therefore, well to raise a note of warning. In those days the wages of great numbers of the working classes were very low; and their employers got their labour cheap, since out-of-door relief, supplied by the community, was used to supplement the insufficient wages. Often the beneficent community would be a different parish from the one in which the employer lived; and

so he would escape from even his own share of rating to support his underpaid field labourers.

All mitigations of taxation for the working class, and class advantages, like workmen's trains, are merely elements of pauperism, an authoritative eking out of wages, a protection granted to a portion of the class above, the employers of the workmen; and are therefore a contrivance for degrading the whole class of artisans. If working men become trustworthy, their whole rate of wages will inevitably rise; and all the pauperism of cheap workmen's trains and other doles will be rejected as a stigma on a self-respecting independent class of men. It seems at present that the lower middle class are greatly overtaxed in favour of the class below them; but all favour should be studiously abandoned, and taxation should be rigorous on every man's expenditure, on that which he enjoys, however small or large; and to remit taxation, to whatever class, is an injustice that will breed still further wrong, until a chaos of accumulated inconsistent favours brings a revolution. Nothing now can be of so much economical advantage to the labourer as perfect liberty, uninterrupted opportunity, and entire freedom from patronage, which is the infliction of another's views on those unable to resist them or to discern properly their bad result.

A partial, wide remittance of the income tax is but a form of indiscriminate almsgiving, reprobated universally by those most competent to estimate its bad effects. What workmen chiefly need is the removal of restrictions, the abatement of pernicious customs, and the development of necessary public works; and every form of special help and favour should thereafter be abandoned.

The whole volume of the 'Plea' will amply pay for careful and deliberate perusal; and if those who read it make its statements and suggestions elements of thought, much good will certainly result. A new departure will be taken in political affairs; and the course of legislation will be traced by other influences than those of noisy sectional assertion and of partisan intrigue.

- ART. X.—1. *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute.* Vols. 1–21. London, 1869–1890.
2. *Canada: Statistical Year Book of Canada for 1889.* Government of Canada, Ottawa, 1890.
3. *The Old North-West.* By B. A. Hinsdale, Ph.D. New York, 1888.
4. *The Intercolonial Railway. A History, 1832–1876.* By Sandford Fleming, C.E., C.M.G. Montreal, 1876.
5. *Canada since the Union of 1841.* By John Charles Dent. Toronto, 1882.
6. *Canadian Studies in Comparative Politics.* By J. G. Bourinot, C.M.G., D.C.L. Montreal, 1891.
7. *Correspondence respecting the Behring Sea Seal Fisheries, 1886–1890.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament. London, 1890.
8. *Papers of the American Historical Association, 1890.* New York and London.
9. *A Treatise on International Law.* By W. E. Hall, M.A. Third edition. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press, 1890.
10. *Oregon: The Struggle for Possession.* By W. Barrows. Boston, 1884.
11. *History of the United States of America.* By James Schouler. Vols. 1–4. 1783–1847. New York, 1880–1889.
12. *Narrative and Critical History of America.* Edited by Justin Winsor, of Harvard University. Vols. 1–8. Boston and New York, 1889.
13. *Canada and the Canadian Question.* By Goldwin Smith, D.C.L. London, 1891.

THE Canadian people can find some evidence of the growing importance of their Dominion by a reference to the official documents of the United States for several years past. When the Fishery question was under consideration in 1869, President Grant expressed his surprise in one of his messages to Congress that the 'Imperial Government should have delegated the whole, or a share, of its jurisdiction or control of its inshore fisheries to the Colonial authority known as the Dominion of Canada, and that that semi-independent but irresponsible agent has exercised its delegated powers in an unfriendly way.' When some years later it became necessary to appoint a Commission to consider the value of the Canadian fisheries, opened up to the fishermen of the United States under the Washington Treaty of 1871, the Secretary of State of that day, Mr. Hamilton Fish,—to quote the language of Mr. Blaine in his review of the correspondence between London and Washington on the subject,

—'very

—‘very sharply rebuked the interposition of the Government of Canada,’ because it had pressed on the Imperial authorities its right to be consulted as to the choice of Commissioners who were to decide a question of such deep interest to the Dominion. Mr. Fish, among other things, said that ‘the reference to the people of the Dominion of Canada seems to imply a practical transfer to that province of the right of nomination which the Treaty gives to Her Majesty.’ Coming down to a later time, when the Behring Sea difficulty arose to create some feeling between Canada and the United States, we find Mr. Blaine himself assuming the position that Canada, whatever might be her stake in the question at issue, should be considered of little weight, and that her Government should be kept quietly in the background, whilst the statesmen of England and the United States settle matters with as little interference as possible from mere outsiders like the Canadians; in fact, just as they did in the good old times when Canada was a relatively insignificant country, and diplomatists of the Republic had it generally all their own way. In the now famous correspondence on the question, Mr. Blaine displays some irritation that ‘the rights of the United States within Behring Sea and on the islands thereof are not absolute, but are to be determined by one of Her Majesty’s provinces,’ and even intimates his opinion that the English Government should interpose and prevent any objection on the part of the ‘Province of Canada’ to any arrangement that the Imperial authorities may choose to make with the United States.

The iteration of the word ‘province’ in these several State documents is some evidence that the public men of the United States do not yet appreciate the position of Canada in the British Empire, but believe that this aggregation of provinces, known constitutionally as the ‘Dominion of Canada,’ possessing large rights of self-government, and an increasing influence in Imperial councils, is still practically ruled in all matters by Downing Street, as in the days previous to the concession of responsible government. A little irritation on the part of American statesmen, however, is quite intelligible, when we consider that the political development of Canada within a few years has been a sort of revelation to the United States, who, for a long time, were taught to believe that Canada was a relatively insignificant appendage of the British Crown, whose interests were not considered of any importance in the case of negotiations between England and other nations, and that she could not possibly have any influence in the arena of international diplomacy. As we shall endeavour to show in the
course

course of this paper, the political development of Canada has given her a position in the Empire which makes her at last a factor in the affairs of the continent of America, and that the time has passed when her boundaries, and her territorial claims, can be made the mere shuttlecocks for ambitious and astute statesmen of the United States. Canada has won this position only after many sacrifices, and a stern fight against the ambitious designs of a powerful neighbour, not always animated by the most generous feelings towards the Dominion, and too often carried away by a belief in 'a manifest destiny,' which would eventually grasp a whole continent.

Indeed, when we look at the past history of America, we can well believe that there has been a Destiny ever 'shaping the ends' of the Canadian communities, however diplomatists and statesmen have endeavoured to 'rough hew' them in the early times of their development. In the beginning of the seventeenth century England and France entered on that contest for the supremacy in America which did not end for a hundred and fifty years. When the Treaty of Paris was signed in 1763, the results of French ambition in America were to be seen in a poor struggling colony on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and in a few settlements on the Illinois and in the Mississippi valley. The total population of these settlements did not exceed 80,000 souls, of whom 70,000 were living in the St. Lawrence valley. Even then the population of the thirteen colonies had reached 1,160,000 souls, or nearly fifteen times the French population of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi Basins. In wealth there was no comparison whatever between the two populations. The people of the English colonies were full of commercial energy and the spirit of political freedom. The people of the French province were the mere creatures of a King's ambition, and their energies were chiefly devoted to exploration and the fur trade. The conflict that was fought in America for a century and more was a conflict of antagonistic principles—the principles of self-government and free thought, against the principle of centralization and the repression of political liberty. Freedom was won on the plains of Abraham, and a great Frenchman and a great Englishman consecrated by their deaths on the same battlefield the future political union of two races on the northern half of the continent. Of the great events of history that have moulded national destinies none has had more momentous consequences than the conquest of Canada one hundred and thirty years ago. One consequence has been the development of a powerful federal Republic now composed of 62,000,000 of people—the heirs of those free colonies which were founded by Englishmen and flourished

flourished under the influence of English principles of government. The second consequence has been the establishment of a federation known as the Dominion of Canada, possessing political institutions which give remarkable scope to individual energies, and enable the French Canadians themselves even now to look forward to the realization of those dreams of ambition, which were the incentive to action of many noble men in those brave old days, when France held the St. Lawrence and the illimitable region of the West. But this grand conception of an Empire is in course of realization, not under the influence of French principles of government, but under the inspiration of those English institutions, which the experience of centuries proves are best calculated to develop political freedom, individual energy, and the finest qualities of human endeavour.

The conquest of Canada removed that fear of France which had long confined the whole thirteen colonies to the country between the sea and the Alleghanies, and opened up at last to their adventurous sons that great West which in later times has had such wondrous effects on the commerce of America. The Treaty of Paris in 1763 was the end of French dominion on this continent. It was immediately followed by a proclamation from George III. establishing new governments in America as a result of the English acquisitions from France and Spain. East and West Florida were formed out of the Spanish possessions to the south of the thirteen colonies, and the old French colony was confined practically to the St. Lawrence, and was to be thereafter known as the government of Quebec. The English possessions now reached the east bank of the Mississippi River, while Spain held the great country to the west of the river known as Louisiana. The claims of the thirteen colonies to the country between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi were not recognized by the British Government. On the contrary, settlement was discouraged in that rich region, and there is every reason for the opinion that the English ministry of that day had determined to retain its control in their own hands, and not to give new opportunities for the expansion of the old colonies, whose restlessness and impatience of all Imperial restraint were becoming quite obvious to English statesmen. But events, as usual, moved faster than the logic of statesmen. The war of American Independence broke out as a result of the practical freedom enjoyed by the colonies for a hundred years and more. The self-assertion of the thirteen colonies had its immediate results on the fortunes of Canada, for among the Acts passed by the Imperial Government, in accordance with a new and vigorous policy of colonial government, was the statute
known

known as the Quebec Act of 1774, which extended the limits of the Province of Quebec so as to include the country long known as the old North-West. This Act was obviously intended—indeed, it appears to have been a sequence of the policy of 1763—to confine the old English colonies to the country on the Atlantic coast, and to conciliate ‘the new subjects’ of England, the French population of the St. Lawrence and of the North-West, since it established a larger province with the civil law of the French *régime*, and removed the political disabilities under which the Roman Catholics had laboured since the conquest of Canada. During the War of Independence impassioned appeals were made to the French of Canada to join the thirteen colonies against England; and with a curious ignorance of the conditions of a people who probably never saw a printed book, and who never owned a printing-press during the French *régime*, references were made to the writings of Beccaria and to the spirit of the ‘immortal Montesquieu.’ With the same remarkable fatuity that has often prevented the people of the United States in these later days from understanding the feelings of Canadians, their predecessors in those early times attacked the Quebec Act as a measure of Roman Catholic tyranny at the very time they were asking the assistance of the French Canadians. Canada was invaded; and when Montgomery fell at Quebec, the tide of invasion was forced back into the rebellious colonies. The influence of the Quebec Act was from the outset felt throughout the country, and the dominant classes, the bishops and clergy of the Roman Catholic Church, and the principal French Canadian *seigneurs*, combined to preserve Canada to a country which had given such strong guarantees for the preservation of the civil and religious rights of its new subjects.

The period from 1774 to 1800 was one of great moment to Canada and the revolted Colonies. The Treaty of 1783, which acknowledged the independence of the latter, fixed the boundaries to the two countries, and laid the foundation of fruitful controversies in later times. Three of the ablest men the United States can claim as its sons—Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay—succeeded, by their astuteness and persistency, in extending its limits to the eastern bank of the Mississippi, despite the insidious efforts of Vergennes on the part of France to hem in the new nation between the Atlantic and the Appalachian Range. The relatively little interest that was taken in Canada during the preliminary negotiations may be easily deduced from the fact that Oswald, the English plenipotentiary, was even ready to listen to the audacious proposition made by Franklin for the cession of Canada to the new Federal Republic,

public, a proposition which has apparently moulded the policy of the United States ever since. It is said of Oswald that, when he returned to England with the draft Treaty, and was questioned by London merchants on the subject, he 'confessed his ignorance and wept over his own simplicity.'* 'The truth is,' said Dr. Franklin, in a letter from Paris, 'he (Oswald) appears so good and honourable a man, that though I have no objection to Mr. Grenville, I should be loath to lose Mr. Oswald.' Well might the astute Franklin be 'loath to lose' an envoy who conceded not only the territory west of the Alleghanies as far as the Mississippi, and valuable fishing rights and liberties on the banks and coasts of the remaining English possessions in North America, but also showed his ignorance of English interests by establishing boundaries which, in later times, made Canadians weep tears of humiliation.

The United States now controlled the territory extending in the east from Nova Scotia (which then included New Brunswick), to the head of the Lake of the Woods and to the Mississippi River in the west; and in the north from Canada to the Floridas in the south, the latter having again become Spanish possessions. The boundary between Nova Scotia and the Republic was so ill-defined, that it took half a century to fix the St. Croix and the Highlands which were by the Treaty to divide the two countries in the east. In the far west the line of division was to be drawn through the Lake of the Woods 'to the most north-western point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the River Mississippi,'—a physical impossibility, since the head of the Mississippi, as it was afterwards found, was a hundred miles or so to the south. In later times this geographical error was corrected, and the curious distortion of the boundary-line, that now appears on the maps, was necessary at the Lake of the Woods in order to strike the 49th parallel of north latitude, which was subsequently arranged as the boundary-line as far as the Rocky Mountains. Of the difficulties that arose from the eastern boundary-line we shall speak later.

With the acquisition of a vast territory, acquired by the earnest diplomacy of its own statesmen, the United States entered on that career of national development which has attained such remarkable results within a century. The population of the country commenced to flow into the West,

* See 'Compressed View of the Points to be Discussed in treating with the United States.' London, 1814. Also, 'Letters to the Right Hon. E. G. S. Stanley, M.P., upon the existing Treaties with France and America.' By G. R. Young, of Halifax, N.S. London, 1834.

and Congress passed the famous ordinance of 1787, providing for the organization of the Western territories, and the eventual establishment of new States of the Union. By 1800 the total population of the United States was over five millions of souls, of whom over fifty thousand were dwelling in the embryo States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin—the ‘Old North-West.’ By 1800 a great change, too, had taken place in the material and political conditions of British North America. One of the most important results of the War of Independence had been the migration into the provinces of some forty thousand people, known as United Empire Loyalists, on account of their having remained faithful to the British Empire, and who during the progress of the war, but chiefly at its close, left their old homes in the thirteen Colonies. Their influence on the political fortunes of Canada has been necessarily very considerable. For years they and their children were animated by a feeling of bitter animosity against the United States, the effects of which can still be traced in these later times when questions of difference have arisen between England and her former Colonies. They have proved, with the French Canadians, a barrier to the growth of any annexation party in times of a national crisis, and have been in their way as powerful an influence in national and social life as the Puritan element itself in the Eastern and Western States.

In 1792 the Imperial Parliament again intervened in Canadian affairs, and formed two provinces out of the old Province of Quebec, known until 1867 as Upper Canada and Lower Canada, and gave to each a Legislature composed of two Houses. The English-speaking people of the old Province of Quebec strongly protested against the Act, but the younger Pitt, then at the head of affairs in England, deemed it the wisest policy to separate as far as practicable the two nationalities, instead of continuing their political union and making an effort to bring about an assimilation of language and institutions. It was a policy intended to act in the interests of peace and harmony, since it was then believed in England by others besides Pitt, that the two races would more happily and successfully work out their political fortunes apart from each other in those early days.

The total population of all British North America did not at that time reach 180,000 souls, of whom at least 100,000 were French Canadians. Nova Scotia was then confined to her present provincial limits; New Brunswick extended from the Gulf of St. Lawrence on the east to the ill-defined boundary of
Maine

Maine on the west, and from Lower Canada on the north to the Bay of Fundy and Nova Scotia on the south. Lower Canada was then confined to the country on both sides of the St. Lawrence River, from Labrador and the Gulf to the River Ottawa, which formed the eastern boundary of the province of Upper Canada, which extended indefinitely westward to Lakes Huron and Superior, and was bounded on the south by the St. Lawrence River, and the Lakes. By 1800 we find that the present Dominion and the United States had practically entered on the work of developing the great country now within their respective jurisdictions. The remarkable vigour and enterprise, displayed by the people of the new federation from the very commencement of their history as an independent nation, gave them a vantage-ground at the outset over provinces with diverse nationalities and interests, without any common bond of union except their fealty to England, whose public men and people, as a rule in those days, took little interest in their development, and many of whom always seemed possessed by the idea that it was only a question of time when these countries would be absorbed in the American Union of States. The period, which extends from 1800 to 1840, was distinguished by the remarkable progress made by the United States in population, wealth, and national strength. Spain and France left the valley of the Mississippi for ever, and the United States at last possessed a vast territory extending on the north from British North America, the Hudson Bay Territory and Rupert's Land to the Rio Grande and the Gulf of Mexico on the south, and on the east from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean on the west, where the nation claimed a great range of coast reaching even beyond the Columbia River, and embracing the valuable Oregon country. The tide of population continued to flow steadily through the passes and valleys of the Alleghanies and to build up the great West. By 1840 the total population of the United States was nearly 18,000,000, of whom 1,500,000 now lived in Ohio, 700,000 in Indiana, 500,000 in Illinois, over 31,000 in Wisconsin—all States carved out of that North-West which was once claimed by France, and might have remained in English hands, had English statesmen been more firm and had felt any confidence in the future of Canada. The Federal Union of 1789 had, during this period, increased from thirteen to twenty-six States—in itself very eloquent evidence of the material development of the country, and of the success of the federal system of government.

During this period of forty years Canada passed through some of the most trying crises of her history, which have largely influenced

influenced her political and material development to the present time. With the causes of the war of 1812 the Canadian people had nothing whatever to do; it was quite sufficient for them to know that it was their duty to assist England with all their might and submit to any sacrifices, which the fortunes of war might necessarily bring to a country which became the principal scene of conflict. No Canadians would willingly see a repetition of that contest between peoples who should be always friends, but they can nevertheless look back to the history of the struggle with the conviction that, wherever duty claimed the presence and aid of Canadians, they were ready and never failed to show their ability to defend their land and homes. The history of the battles of Queenston Heights, Stoney Creek, Chrysler's Field, Chateauguay, and Lundy's Lane, shows that they were not won by English regulars exclusively, but that in all of them the Canadian volunteers well performed their part. At Chateauguay, Colonel de Salaberry, a French Canadian officer, with a small force of 300 Canadians, gained so signal a victory over General Hampton, with at least 4000 men, that he was forced to retreat from Lower Canada. The war taught the United States there was greater strength in Canada than they believed when they commenced hostilities. 'On to Canada' had been the cry of the war-party in the United States for years; and there was a general feeling that the Upper Province could be easily taken and held, until the close of the struggle, when it could be used as a lever to bring England to satisfactory terms or else be united to the Federal Union. The result of the war showed, however, that the people of the United States had entirely mistaken the spirit of Canadians, and that the small population scattered over a large region, with hardly a town of any large importance, was animated by a stern determination to remain faithful to England. Canadians came out of the conflict with a confidence they had never felt before and of their ability to maintain themselves in security on the St. Lawrence and the great Lakes. Although the war ended without any definite decision on the questions at issue between the United States and England, the rights of neutrals were strengthened, and the pretensions of England as to the right of search are not likely to be urged again in times of war. But not only did the Canadians teach the people of the United States to respect them, they gained a practical advantage from the fact that it re-opened the question of the Fisheries. We have already stated that the Treaty of 1783 had conceded large rights and liberties to the fishermen of the United States on the banks and coasts of Newfoundland and of the maritime provinces of British
North

North America. The people of that country had claimed substantially that they had an original and prescriptive right in the fisheries which they had used as British subjects in North America. In the Treaty of 1783 they were given the 'right' to fish on the Grand and other banks of Newfoundland and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and 'at all other places in the sea, where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time heretofore to fish;' but they were to have only 'the liberty' of taking fish on the coasts of Newfoundland, and also of 'all other of his Britannic Majesty's dominions in America; and also of drying and curing fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours, and creeks of Nova Scotia [then including New Brunswick], Magdalen Islands, and Labrador, so long as the same shall remain unsettled.' In the one case, it will be seen, there was a recognized right, and in the other only a mere 'liberty' or privilege extended to the fishermen of the United States. This clause in the treaty was one of the concessions which Oswald conceded to the persistence of the American commissioners who attached great importance to the fisheries of the provinces; but after the close of the war of 1812, when it was necessary to consider the terms of peace, the English Government took a decided ground that the war had repealed these temporary liberties. The contention of the Federal Government was to the effect, that the Treaty of 1783 was of 'a peculiar character,' and that because it contained a recognition of American independence it could not be even in part abrogated by a subsequent war between the parties that had agreed to its provisions. The propositions laid down by the British Government in answer to this extraordinary claim, are unanswerable. In short it was correctly argued that 'the claim of an independent State to occupy and use at its discretion any portion of the territory of the other, without compensation of corresponding indulgence, cannot rest on any other foundation than conventional stipulation.' To quote the language of an able English writer on international law, this 'indefensible pretension' was abandoned in the Treaty of 1818, and 'fishery rights were accepted by the United States as having been acquired by contract.*' The Convention of 1818 forms the legal basis of the rights, which Canadians have always maintained, in the case of disputes between themselves and the United States as to the fisheries on their own coasts, bays and harbours of Canada. It provides that the inhabitants of the United States shall have for ever the liberty to take, dry, and cure fish on certain parts of the coast

* Hall, pp. 97-99.

of Newfoundland, on the Magdalen Islands, and on the southern shores of Labrador; but they 'renounce for ever any liberty, heretofore enjoyed' by them to take, dry, and cure fish, 'on or within three marine miles of any of the coasts, bays, creeks, or harbours of his Britannic Majesty's other dominions in America;' provided, however, that the 'American fishermen shall be admitted to enter such bays and harbours, for the purpose of shelter, and of repairing damages therein, of purchasing wood, and of obtaining water, and for no other purpose whatever.' The American fishermen at the same time are to be 'under such restrictions as may be necessary to prevent their taking, drying, or curing fish therein, or in any other manner whatever abusing the privileges hereby reserved to them.' It seems that in the original draft of the treaty the word 'bait' appeared after 'water,' but it was left out in the final agreement when the Commissioners of the United States found that they must concede this and other liberties previously enjoyed, in order to obtain as extensive a territory as possible for inshore fishing. Between 1818 and 1854, when the Reciprocity Treaty was arranged between the United States and the provinces of British North America, fishing vessels belonging to the former country were frequently detained, seized, and in some cases condemned for evasions of the treaty.

With the exception of this acknowledgment of the fishery rights of the Provinces, the war of 1812-1815 gave no special advantage to the Canadian people. England held during the war all the territory of Maine between the St. John and the Penobscot. Her flag also flew over Mackinaw, the key to the North-West. 'It is not impossible,' says an American writer, 'that the war of 1812 for a time revived English hopes of again recovering the North-West. . . . Only three of the thirty-two years lying between 1783 and 1815 were years of war; but for one-half of the whole time, the British flag was flying on the American side of the boundary-line. In the largest sense, therefore, the destiny of the North-West was not assured until the Treaty of Ghent.'* Had the English seized this opportunity of finally settling the western boundary of New Brunswick, the difficulties that afterwards arose might have been for once and all settled, and Canada would have obtained a territory most useful to the commercial development of the present Dominion. But in all probability the victories gained by the United States at Plattsburg and New Orleans had much influence in inducing England to come to terms

* Hinsdale, 'The Old North-West,' p. 185.

with the Republic, and it was fortunate for Canada that she was allowed to keep any control of her most valuable fisheries. Fate had decreed that the Mississippi River should flow continuously through the lands of the new nation, and that Canada should find in the valley of the St. Lawrence one of the chief sources of her prosperity and future greatness.

Before the close of the period which we are considering clouds again appeared on the Canadian horizon, arising out of the political troubles in Upper and Lower Canada. The representatives of the people in the several elective assemblies were demanding that the legislative councils should be elected by the people, that the people's House should have control of the revenues and expenditures, and that a larger measure of self-government, in short, should be conceded to the provinces. In Upper Canada, as indeed was the case in all the provinces, a bureaucracy ruled, and the name 'family compact' was given in derision to the governing class. The Imperial authorities were no doubt dilatory in providing effective remedies; they were too often misled by choleric military governors, little versed in political science; they were frequently in a quandary on account of a division of opinion among the various provincial leaders who were suggesting means of settling existing difficulties. Looking calmly and dispassionately at the history of these times, we must admit that there is no reason to conclude that British ministers were disposed to do the people grievous injustice, and sooner or later the questions at issue must have found a satisfactory solution. But Papineau, an impassioned orator and a rash popular leader, led a number of his French Canadian compatriots into a rebellion which was easily repressed. In Upper Canada, a little peppery Scotchman of the name of MacKenzie, who had done much in the press and in the legislature to expose the defects and weaknesses of the political system, became impatient at the last, when public grievances failed to obtain ready redress, and followed Papineau's example only to see his conspiracy exposed and defeated before it obtained any headway. In no province were the mass of the people willing to join in a rebellion to gain political privileges which would be won in the end by steady constitutional agitation, and the exercise of a little patience on the part of its advocates. Papineau and some of his friends went into exile, and several unruly spirits suffered death on the scaffold, though on the whole the English Government acted with lenity through this trying ordeal. MacKenzie fled to the United States, and industriously set to work to violate the neutrality of that country by collecting bands of ruffians in the city of Buffalo for the
purpose

purpose of invading Canada. The consequence was, that the frontier of Upper Canada was kept for months in a state of fever by his criminal conduct, and the two countries were brought to the verge of war. The raiders seized an island just above Niagara Falls on the Canadian side, as a base of operations, and a vessel was freely allowed to ply between the island and the mainland with supplies. It became necessary to stop this bold attempt to supply the freebooters on Navy Island with the munitions of war, and a Canadian expedition was accordingly fitted out to seize the 'Caroline,' the vessel thus illegally employed. She was cut from her moorings on the American side, her crew taken prisoners, one man killed, and the vessel set on fire and sent over the Falls of Niagara. This was clearly one of those junctures when no other means were available for protecting Canada from the lawless attacks of men who found the 'Caroline' of great assistance in their intended raid on Canadian territory. The United States' authorities had made no special effort up to this moment to prevent this unwarrantable use of their soil by ruffians, and the Canadians were forced by every consideration of self-protection to take the law into their own hands. There was probably a technical violation of the territory of the United States, but looking now at the whole question dispassionately, one cannot help feeling that a little more determination on the part of the Government of the United States would have prevented all the difficulty that afterwards arose when they demanded an apology for an act which was necessary on account of the absence of that 'due diligence,' which they afterwards pressed in the case of the Alabama. The Government of the United States, however, subsequently recognized their obligations to Canada, and took measures to vindicate the neutrality of their territory.

As we have already said, the year 1840 was a turning-point in the history of the material and political development of British North America. The two Canadas were re-united under the name of the province of Canada, and the basis was laid for the complete measure of self-government that is now enjoyed by all the communities of the present Dominion. The total population of British North America now exceeded 1,000,000 of souls, of whom at least 600,000 were French Canadians, who looked for a time with suspicion on the Union, under the belief that it was a direct blow against their special institutions. As the years passed by, however, they found that they were treated in a spirit of justice, and were able to exercise a potent influence in political affairs. From 1840 to 1867 the relations of Canada and the United States became much closer, and more than once

assumed a dangerous phase. In 1840 the authorities of New York arrested one Macleod on the charge of having murdered a man who was employed on the 'Caroline.' It appeared, however, on enquiry, that Macleod had not actually assisted in the capture of the vessel, and that the charge rested on the doubtful evidence of some questionable characters, who declared he had been heard to boast of his part in the exploit. The British Government at once took the sound ground that, in any case, the destruction of the 'Caroline' was a public act of persons employed in her Majesty's service, and that it could not be justly made the occasion of 'legal proceedings in the United States against the individuals concerned, who were bound to obey the authorities appointed by their own Government.' The Washington Government evaded the whole question at issue by throwing the responsibility on the State authorities, and declared that they could not interfere with a matter which was then within the jurisdiction of the State Courts. The matter gave rise to much correspondence between the two Governments, but happily for the peace of the two countries the courts acquitted Macleod, as the evidence was clear that he had had nothing to do with the actual seizing of the 'Caroline,' and the authorities at Washington soon afterwards acknowledged their responsibility in such affairs by passing an Act directing that subjects of foreign powers, if taken into custody for acts done or committed under the authority of their State, 'the validity or effect whereof depends upon the law of nations, should be discharged.' The Imperial Government throughout this affair acted in a spirit of much forbearance, and simply with the object of obtaining the acknowledgment of a sound principle of international law, and it must be admitted that the Washington authorities showed an unwillingness to move determinately in the matter which was very irritating to Canadians, although allowance must be made for the fact that in those days the central government of the Federal Union was weak, and the principle of State sovereignty was being pressed to the extreme limit.

Two other questions were settled during this important period of Canadian history, after having imperilled the peaceful relations of the two countries for years. By 1840 the question of the disputed territory between Maine and New Brunswick had assumed grave proportions. In a paper of this character it is impossible to do more than give an outline of the opinions always entertained by Canadians on a question of a very complicated character, to which reams of literature have been devoted in the past. The first effect of the dispute on the material

material development of Eastern Canada was the failure of an effort that was made in 1835 to construct a line of railway from Quebec to St. Andrew's on the Bay of Fundy, on account of the clamour raised by the people of Maine, on the ground that the road would run through territory which they claimed as their own. By the Treaty of 1783, the boundary was to be a line drawn from the source of the St. Croix, directly north, to the highlands which divide the rivers which fall into the river St. Lawrence; thence along the said highlands to the north westernmost head of the Connecticut river; and the point at which the due north line was to cut the highlands was also designated as the north-west angle of Nova Scotia. The whole question had been the subject of several commissions and of one arbitration from 1783 to 1842, when it was submitted to Mr. Daniel Webster and Mr. Alexander Baring, who were chosen by the Governments of the United States and England respectively, to arrange all matters of controversy between the two countries. The result was a compromise by which the United States obtained seven-twelfths, and the most valuable section of the disputed territory, and Canada a much smaller and comparatively valueless tract of land. In fact, after half a century of controversy, the English Government gave up to the United States, in all, 11,000 square miles of land, or the combined areas of Massachusetts and Connecticut. It would be impossible to disabuse the great majority of Canadians of the fixed idea, which has come to them as the heritage of those badly managed negotiations, that their interests were literally given away by the too conciliatory and amiable English envoy who knew nothing of the question, and was quite indifferent, like most Englishmen of those days, to Canadian matters. Lord Ashburton was practically pledged to a settlement at any price, even if it gave up all the territory in dispute to the United States. The isolated provinces in those days were endeavouring to establish the principles of local self-government on sound foundations, and had little or no opportunity of exercising any direct influence in imperial councils on this question. If we look at the map, we shall see at a glance the important effect of this settlement upon the territorial limits of the present Dominion. The State of Maine now presses like a huge wedge into the provinces of New Brunswick and Quebec. As already stated, the persistency of Maine, fifty years ago, stopped railway communication between the upper and lower provinces, and practically prevented the development of intercolonial trade until after 1867. In these later times a 'Canadian short line' railway has been forced to go through Maine in order to connect Montreal

with Fredericton, St. Andrew's, and the maritime provinces generally.

During this period was settled another question which was the subject of much heated controversy between England and the United States for more than a quarter of a century, and in 1845 brought the two countries very close to war. In 1819 the United States obtained from Spain a cession of all her rights and claims north of latitude forty-two, or the southern boundary of the present state of Oregon. By that time the ambition of the United States was not content with the Mississippi valley, of which she had at last full control by the cession of the Spanish claims and by the Louisiana purchase of 1803, but looked to the Pacific coast where she made pretensions to a territory stretching from 42° to $54^{\circ} 40'$ north latitude, or a territory four times the area of Great Britain and Ireland or of the present province of Ontario.* The people of the United States, conscious at last of the importance of the territory, began to bring their influence to bear on the politicians, until by 1845 the Democratic party declared for ' $54^{\circ} 40'$ or fight.' Mr. Crittenden announced that 'war might now be looked upon as almost inevitable.' Happily President Polk and Congress came to more pacific conclusions after a good deal of warlike 'talk,' and the result was a treaty by which England was satisfied with the line 49° to the Pacific coast, and the whole of Vancouver Island, which, for a while, seemed likely to be divided with the United States. In fact England yielded all she had contended for since 1824, when she first proposed the Columbia River as a basis of division. But even the question of boundary was not finally settled by this great victory won for the United States by the persistency of her statesmen. The Treaty of 1846 continued the line of boundary westward along 'the 49° parallel of north latitude to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver Island, and thence southerly, through the middle of the said channel and of Fuca's straits to the Pacific Ocean.' Any one reading this clause for the first time, without reference to the contentions that were raised afterwards, would certainly interpret it to mean the whole body of water that separates the continent from Vancouver,—such a channel, in fact, as divides England from France; but it appears that there are a number of small channels which run through the islands of the great channel

* See the 'Quarterly Review' for 1845-6 (vol. 77, pp. 526-563), where the English case is ably argued in all its aspects. The case of the United States is fully stated in a recent work on Oregon, which is cited at the head of this paper.

in question, and the clever diplomatists at Washington immediately claimed the Canal de Haro, the widest and deepest, as the canal of the treaty. Instead of at once taking the ground that the whole body of water was really in question, the English Government claimed another channel, Rosario Strait, inferior in some respects but the one most generally and indeed only used at the time by their vessels. The importance of this difference of opinion chiefly lay in the fact, that the Haro gave San Juan and other small islands, valuable for defensive purposes, to the United States, while the Rosario left them to England. Then, after much correspondence, the British Government, as a compromise, offered the middle channel, or Douglas, which would still retain San Juan. If they had always adhered to the Douglas, which appears to answer the conditions of the treaty since it went through the middle of the great channel, their position would have been much stronger than it was when they came back to the Rosario. By the Reverdy Johnson agreement of 1867, the several issues connected with the clause—the whole channel or the small channels—were to be submitted to arbitration, but it never reached the Senate. The English representatives at the Washington Convention of 1871 attempted to have a similar reference, but the United States' Commissioners, aware of their vantage-ground, would consent to no other arrangement than to leave to the decision of the Emperor of Germany the question whether the Haro or the Rosario channel came within the meaning of the treaty, and he decided in favour of the United States. However, with the possession of Vancouver in its entirety, Canada can still be grateful, and San Juan is now only remembered as an episode of diplomacy, which has practically closed the long series of perplexing boundary questions that have arisen since 1783. The United States can be well content with the grand results of their treaties and purchases. They have won in a hundred years or so the former possessions of Spain and France in the Mississippi valley, a large portion of New Brunswick, a tract of four millions of acres to the west of Lake Superior in the settlement of the North-West boundary, another result of Daniel Webster's astuteness, and the magnificent region now divided among the states of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. And we may add another acquisition of theirs—insignificant from the point of view of territorial area, but still illustrative of the methods which have won all the great districts we have named—Rouse's Point, 'of which an exact survey would have deprived' the United States, according to Mr. Schouler in his excellent history.

history. The question of the Alaska boundary alone remains unsettled, but it is a mere matter of exact surveying, and Canada is not likely to lose anything in that region, after the experience just mentioned.

During this period the Fishery question again assumed considerable importance. The Imperial authorities had supported the provincial governments in their efforts to keep United States fishermen from their fishing-grounds under the terms of the Convention of 1818. The Government at Washington then began to raise the issue that the three miles' limit, to which their fishermen could be confined, should follow the sinuosities of the coasts, including the bays, the object being to obtain access to the valuable mackerel fisheries of the Bay of Chaleurs and other waters claimed to be exclusively within the territorial jurisdiction of the maritime provinces. The Imperial Government, generally, sustained the contention of the provinces—a contention practically supported by American authorities in the case of the Delaware, Chesapeake, and other bays on the coast of the United States—that the three miles' limit should be measured from a line drawn from headland to headland of all bays, harbours, and creeks. In the case of the Bay of Fundy, however, the Imperial Government allowed a departure from this general principle, when it was urged by the Washington Government, that one of its headlands was in the territory of the United States, and that it was an arm of the sea rather than a bay. The result was that foreign fishing vessels were only shut out from the bays on the coasts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick *within* the Bay of Fundy. All these questions were, however, placed in abeyance for twelve years by the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, which opened up the provincial fisheries to the people of the United States on condition of free trade between the provinces and that country in certain natural products of the mines, fisheries, and farms, of the two peoples. This measure was in itself an acknowledgment of the growing importance of the provinces, and of the large measure of self-government now accorded to them. The treaty only became law with the consent of the provincial legislatures, and although the Canadian Governments were not directly represented by any of its members, the Governor-general, Lord Elgin, who personally conducted the negotiations on the part of England at Washington, in this as in all other matters touching Colonial interests, was assisted by the advice of his responsible Ministers. The Treaty lasted until 1866 when it was repealed by the action of the United States, in accordance with the provision bringing it to a conclusion after one year's notice from
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one of the parties interested. During the twelve years of its existence, the United States exported to British North America home products to the value of \$300,808,370, and foreign goods to the value of \$62,379,718; or, a total export of \$363,188,088. The imports from the provinces into the United States amounted to \$267,612,131. These figures, therefore, show a balance in favour of the United States of \$95,575,957.* This statement, however, does not take into account the value of the provincial fisheries opened up to the fishermen of New England, but it may be estimated from the fact, as stated by Mr. Derby, a recognized authority in the United States on those subjects, that 'during the two last years of the Reciprocity Treaty the United States had fishing in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Bay of Chaleurs no less than 600 sail, which must have taken fish to the amount of \$4,500,000,' and that 'nearly one-fourth of the United States fishing fleet, with a tonnage of 40,000 to 50,000 tons, worth \$5,000,000 to \$7,000,000 annually, fish near the three miles' limit of the provinces,'—'near' being evidently Mr. Derby's euphemism for 'within.'†

The causes which led to the repeal of a treaty so largely advantageous to the United States have been long well understood. The commercial classes in the Eastern and Western States were, on the whole, favourable to an enlargement of the Treaty; but the real cause of its repeal was the prejudice in the north against the provinces for their supposed sympathy for the Confederate States during the war of the rebellion. A large body of men in the North believed that the repeal of the Treaty would sooner or later force the provinces into annexation, and a bill was actually introduced in the House of Representatives providing for the admission of those countries—a mere political straw, it is true, but still showing the current of opinion in some quarters in those days. When we review the history of those times, and consider the difficult position in which Canada was necessarily placed, it is remarkable how honourably her Government discharged its duties of a neutral between the belligerents.‡ It is well, too, to remember how large a number of Canadians fought in the Union armies—twenty against one who served in the South. No doubt the position of Canada was made more

* See Speech of Sir Charles Tupper in Canadian House of Commons. 'Can. Hansard, 1888,' vol. i. pp. 674-693.

† See 'Proceedings of Royal Colonial Institute, 1872-3,' pp. 56, 60.

‡ Mr. Secretary Seward wrote on one occasion in a letter to the British representative at Washington: 'I think it proper to let you know that the President regards with sincere satisfaction the conduct and proceedings of the Canadian authorities.'

difficult at that critical time by the fact that she was a colony of Great Britain, against whom both north and south entertained bitter feelings by the close of the war ; the former mainly on account of the escape of Confederate cruisers from English ports, and the latter because she did not receive active support from England. The North had been also much excited by the promptness with which Lord Palmerston had sent troops to Canada when Mason and Slidell were seized on an English packet on the high seas, and by the bold tone held by some Canadian papers when it was doubtful if the prisoners would be released.

Contemporaneously with the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty came the raids of the Fenians, bands of men who did dishonour to the cause of Ireland, under the pretence of striking a blow at England through Canada where their countrymen have always found happy homes, free government, and honourable positions. For months before the invasion, American newspapers were full of accounts of the assembling and the arming of these bands on the frontier of Canada. They invaded the Dominion, property was destroyed, and a number of Canadian youths lost their lives, and O'Neil and his collection of disbanded soldiers and fugitives from justice were forced back to the country whose neutrality they had outraged. The United States' authorities, with their usual laxity in such matters, had calmly looked on while all the preparations for the raids were in progress, in the presence of large bodies of militia who could in an hour have prevented these outrages on a friendly territory. Proclamations were at last tardily issued by the Government when the damage had been done, and a few raiders were arrested ; but the House of Representatives immediately sent a resolution to the President requesting him 'to cause the prosecutions, instituted in the United States' courts against the Fenians, to be discontinued if compatible with the public interest'—a request which was complied with. The writer on international law, from whom we have already quoted, says that 'it would be difficult to find a more typical instance of responsibility assumed by a State through the permission of open acts and of notorious acts, and by way of complicity after the acts.'*

* Hall, p. 215, note. This same writer also refers to the disposition shown by the United States in 1879 to press State responsibility to the utmost extreme against Great Britain, when Sitting Bull and some Sioux Indians took refuge in the North-West Territories of Canada, and there was some reason to expect that they would make incursions into the United States' territory. See Wharton, 'Digest,' sect. 18.

These raids took place at a critical period of Canadian history—the eve of Confederation. The time had come for enlarging the sphere of the political action of the provinces and giving them larger responsibilities. The repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty and the Fenian invasions helped to stimulate public sentiment in favour of a political union which would enable them to take common measures for their general security and development. In 1867, as the result of the conference of provincial delegates who assembled at Quebec in the autumn of 1865, the Imperial Parliament passed an Act establishing a federal union between the provinces of Canada (now divided into the provinces of Ontario and Quebec), New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, and providing for the acquisition of the North-West Territories, and the admission of other provinces. This union was of a federal character, a central government having the control of national or common objects, and provincial governments having control of purely provincial, municipal, and local matters. In 1867–8 the first Parliament of United Canada met at Ottawa, and the provincial legislatures at their respective seats of government; and the Dominion—not the ‘province’—of Canada entered on a career of political and industrial development which is now making its influence felt over half a continent.

Before and since the union, the Government of Canada have time and again made efforts to renew a commercial treaty with the Government at Washington. In 1865 and 1866, Canadian delegates were prepared to make large concessions, but were unable to come to terms chiefly on the ground that the imposts which it was proposed by the committee of ways and means in Congress to lay upon the products of the British provinces on their entry into the markets of the United States were such as, in their opinion, would be ‘in some cases prohibitory, and certainly seriously interfere with the natural course of trade.’ The delegates were reluctantly brought to the conclusion that ‘the Committee no longer desired trade between the two countries to be carried on upon the principle of reciprocity.’ The result of these negotiations was to convince the people of Canada that, while they should be always ready to listen to any fair proposition from their neighbours in the direction of reciprocity, they should at the same time seek to open up as many new avenues of trade as possible, and not depend on the caprice of their neighbours. In 1869 Sir John Rose, while Minister of Finance, made an effort in the same direction, but he was met by the obstinate refusal of the Republican party, then as always highly protective.

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All this while the Fishery question was assuming year by year a form that was most irritating to the two countries. The headland question was the principal difficulty, and the English Government, in order to conciliate the United States at a time when the Alabama question was a subject of anxiety, induced the Canadian Government to agree, very reluctantly it must be admitted, to shut out foreign fishing vessels only from bays less than six miles in width at their entrances. In this, as in all other matters, however, the Canadian authorities acknowledged their duty to yield to considerations of Imperial interests, and acceded to the wishes of the Imperial Government in almost every respect, except actually surrendering their territorial rights in the fisheries. They issued licences to fish, at low rates, for several years, only to find eventually that the American fishermen did not think it worth while buying these permits when they saw that the regulations for protecting the fisheries could be evaded with little difficulty. The result of the correspondence that went on for several years was the Washington Conference or Commission of 1871, which, in its inception, was intended to settle the Fishery question primarily, but which actually gave the precedence to the Alabama difficulty—then of most concern in the opinion of the London and Washington Governments. With the settlement of the Alabama question, and the three new rules laid down at the outset, as the basis of arbitration, we have nothing to do in this present article, and we can only say that Canadians as well as Englishmen might well be satisfied that a troublesome international difficulty was at last amicably arranged. The representatives of the United States would not consider a proposition for a renewal of another Reciprocity Treaty on the basis of that of 1854. The questions arising out of the Convention of 1818 were not settled by the Commission, but were practically laid aside for ten years by an arrangement providing for the free admission of salt-water fish into the United States, on condition of allowing the fishing vessels of that country free access to the Canadian fisheries. The free navigation of the St. Lawrence was conceded to the United States in return for the free use of Lake Michigan and of certain rivers in Alaska. The question of the coasting trade, long demanded by the maritime provinces, was not considered, and while the canals of Canada were opened up to the United States on the most liberal terms, the Washington Government contented themselves with a barren promise in the Treaty to use their influence with the authorities of the States to open up their artificial waterways to Canadians. The Fenian claims were abruptly laid aside, although, had the same principle of

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'due diligence' that was laid down in the new rules been applied to this question, the Government of the United States would have been mulcted in heavy damages. This question above all others should have been settled on terms which would have shown the disposition of a great country to do justice to a neighbour who had, under the most trying circumstances, kept a due check upon her sympathies, so that even Mr. Caleb Cushing* was unable to detect a flaw in her conduct. In this, however, as in many other negotiations, with the United States, Canada felt she must make sacrifices for the Empire, whose Government wished all causes of irritation between England and the United States removed as far as possible by the Treaty. One important feature of this Commission was the presence, for the first time in the history of Treaties, of a Canadian statesman. The astute Prime Minister of the Dominion, Sir John Macdonald, was chosen as one of the English High Commissioners, avowedly with the object of acknowledging the interest of Canada in the questions involved. Although he was but one of five English Commissioners, and necessarily tied down by the instructions of the Imperial State, no doubt his knowledge of Canadian questions was of great service to Canada during the Conference. If the Treaty finally proved more favourable to the Dominion than it at first appeared to be, it was owing largely to the clause which provided for a reference to a later Commission of the question, whether the United States would not have to pay the Canadians a sum of money, as the value of their fisheries over and above any concessions made them in the Treaty. The result of this Commission was a payment of five millions and a half of dollars to Canada and Newfoundland, to the infinite disappointment of the politicians of the United States who had been long accustomed to have the best in all bargains with their neighbours. No fact shows more clearly the measure of the local self-government at last won by Canada and the importance of her position in the Empire, than the fact that the English Government recognized the right of the Dominion Government to name the Commissioner who represented Canada on an arbitration which decided a question of such deep importance to her interests. We see, then, as Canada gained in political strength, she obtained an influence of Imperial Councils which Mr. Fish resented at the time, and was able to obtain that consideration for her interests which was entirely absent in the days of her infancy and weakness.

* He was one of the counsel for the United States at the Geneva Conference for the settlement of the Alabama claims.

The Washington Treaty lasted for twelve years, and then the clauses relating to the fisheries and to trade with Canada were repealed by the action of the United States' Government.* During its existence the Canadian Ministry sent to Washington one of the ablest public men of the Dominion—a man especially versed in matters of trade and finance—with the object of arranging, if possible, a measure of reciprocity with the United States. Mr. George Brown was quite ready, presumably with the assent of his Government, not only to revive the old Reciprocity Treaty but to extend its terms largely so as to admit various other articles free of duty into Canada; but the proposed arrangement never passed the Senate of the United States. With the expiry of the Treaty of 1871 on the 1st of July, 1885, the relations between Canada and the United States again assumed a phase of great uncertainty. President Cleveland showed every disposition, until near the close of his administration, to come to some satisfactory adjustment of the question at issue, and suggested in one of his messages that it was 'in the interests of good neighbourhood and commerce,' that a Commission should be 'charged with the consideration and settlement, upon a just, equitable and honourable basis, of the entire question of the fishing rights of the two countries.' Canada from 1885 adhered to the letter of the Convention of 1818, and allowed no fishing vessels to fish within the three miles' limit, to tranship cargoes of fish in her ports, or to enter them for any purpose except for shelter, wood, water, and repairs. For the infractions of the Treaty several vessels were seized, and more than one of them condemned. A clamour was raised in the United States on the ground that the Canadians were wanting in that spirit of friendly intercourse which should characterize the relations of neighbouring peoples. The fact is, the Canadians were bound to adhere to their legal rights—rights which had been always maintained before 1854; which had remained in abeyance between 1854 and 1866; which naturally revived after the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854; which again remained in abeyance between 1871 and 1885; and were revived when the United States themselves chose to go back to the terms of the Convention of 1818. The Canadian people had again and again shown every disposition to yield a large portion of their just rights—first by the Treaty of 1854, and secondly by the Treaty of 1871—in return for a substantial commercial arrangement and a due acknowledg-

* Arts. xviii.-xxi. Art. xxix., allowing goods to pass in bond through the two countries, was not repealed in express terms when the fishery articles were terminated, but has ever since remained in force.

ment of the value of their fisheries; but they were not prepared to see their territorial waters recklessly and unlawfully invaded by a class of men, who, since 1783, seemed to consider they had a perfect claim to the Canadian fishing-grounds. If there was a system of government in the United States, such as exists in England and Canada, requiring unity of action between the legislative and executive authorities, perhaps we would not have to record such unsatisfactory results as followed President Cleveland's efforts to adjust satisfactorily the relations of his country with Canada. Congress passed a measure before the presidential election of 1888, which, had it ever been carried out by the President, meant non-intercourse with the Dominion—a measure which may have resulted in consequences to both countries we do not like to consider for a moment. It would be well to remind the politicians in Congress that such measures are often like the Australian boomerang, and the experience of the non-intercourse Acts that preceded the war of 1812 can hardly sanction a repetition of such a policy in these later times. The repeal of the bonding system and interference with the transportation facilities of Canadian railways could hardly benefit the commerce of the United States, whatever might be the effect of such an unwise policy on Canada itself.

Both President Cleveland and Mr. Secretary Bayard, in a statesmanlike spirit, obtained the consent of England to a Special Commission to consider the Fishery question: Sir Sackville West, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, and Sir Charles Tupper represented England; Mr. Bayard, then Secretary of State, Mr. Putnam of Maine, and Mr. Angell of Michigan University, represented the United States. Sir Charles Tupper, the present High Commissioner of Canada in London, is one of the ablest statesmen of the Dominion, and as a Nova Scotian was specially qualified to guard Canadian interests. At the opening of the Commission, he attempted to obtain a basis of action on the general proposition which he submitted, that 'with a view of removing all clauses of difference in connexion with the fisheries, the fishermen of both countries shall have all the privileges enjoyed during the existence of the fishery clauses of the Washington Treaty of 1871, in consideration of a mutual arrangement providing for greater freedom of commercial intercourse between the United States and Canada.' The United States' Commissioners refused to consider the proposition, on the ground that such a measure of commercial intercourse 'would necessitate an adjustment of the present tariff of the United States by Congressional action; which

which adjustment the American plenipotentiaries consider to be manifestly impracticable of accomplishment through the medium of a treaty under the circumstances now existing.' However, the Commissioners agreed unanimously to a treaty which was essentially a compromise, as, indeed, all such treaties must be in the nature of things. Foreign fishermen were to be at liberty to go into any waters where the bay was more than ten miles wide at the mouth, but certain bays, including the Bay of Chaleurs, were expressly excepted in the interest of Canada from the operation of this provision. The United States did not attempt to acquire the right to fish in the inshore fishing-grounds of Canada—that is, within three miles of the coasts—but these fisheries were to be left for the exclusive use of the Canadian fishermen. More satisfactory arrangements were made for vessels obliged to resort to the Canadian ports in distress, and a provision was made for allowing American fishing-vessels to obtain supplies and other privileges in the harbours of the Dominion whenever Congress allowed the fish of that country to enter free into the market of the United States. President Cleveland in his Message, submitting the Treaty to the Senate, acknowledged that it 'supplied a satisfactory, practical, and final adjustment, upon a basis honourable and just to both parties, of the difficult and vexed question to which it relates.' The Republican Party, however, at that important juncture—just before a presidential election—had a majority in the Senate, and the result was the failure in that body of a measure, which, although by no means too favourable to Canadian interests, was framed in a spirit of judicious statesmanship, and, if agreed to, would have settled for all time, in all probability, questions which have too long been sources of irritation to the two countries.

While these events were taking place the Dominion of Canada was extending its limits across the continent, developing a great railway system, and making steady strides in the path of national progress. The vast region which extends from the head of Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains, and from the Lake of the Woods and the forty-ninth degree of north latitude to Hudson Bay and the Arctic Ocean, the home of the Indian and the fur trader for centuries, whose capabilities for settlement had been studiously concealed from the world by a great fur monopoly, was added to the territory of the Dominion, and the new province of Manitoba was established with a complete system of local government. Prince Edward Island, a rich spot in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, came into the Union, and the Dominion was
extended

extended as far as the Pacific Ocean by the admission of British Columbia. Two noble islands, with great fisheries and coal mines, Cape Breton and Vancouver, now guarded the Atlantic and Pacific shores of the Dominion. A great line of railway spanned the continent from the Straits of Canso to the Gulf of Georgia, as a result of the new energy and national spirit developed by the Union. Population flowed slowly yet steadily into the territories, and there is now a cordon of cities, towns, and villages stretching from Port Arthur at the head of Lake Superior to Vancouver, that city of marvellous growth on the Pacific coast.

As a sequence of the acquisition of British Columbia, Canada has been compelled to take an active part in the consideration of a question of some gravity that has arisen between England and the United States, in consequence of a cruiser of the latter country having forcibly seized, and carried into a port of Alaska, certain Canadian vessels engaged in the seal fisheries of the great body of sea known in these times as Behring Sea. A perusal of the Blue Book containing the correspondence on the subject between London, Ottawa, and Washington, shows that from the beginning to the end of this controversy the Imperial Government has consulted with the Government of Canada on every point material to the issue. As an English statesman determined to maintain the interests of all sections of the Empire, Lord Salisbury has paid every respect to the opinions and statements of the Canadian Ministry in relation to a matter which deeply affects Canada, and has pursued a course throughout the negotiations which has done much to strengthen the relations between the parent State and the dependency. Without going fully into this vexed question, we shall simply state the principal arguments advanced by the Imperial and Canadian authorities in maintaining their case.

1. That certain Canadian schooners, fitted out in British Columbia, and peaceably and lawfully engaged in the capture of seals in the Northern Pacific Ocean, adjacent to Vancouver Island, Queen Charlotte Islands, and Alaska—a portion of the territory of the United States acquired in 1867 from Russia—were seized in the open sea, out of sight of land, by a United States' cutter, although being at the time at a distance of more than sixty miles from the nearest land. These vessels were taken into a port of Alaska, where they were subjected to forfeiture, and the masters and mates fined and imprisoned.

2. That the facts of these seizures showed the English and Canadian Governments, that the authorities of the United States
appeared

appeared to lay claim to the sole sovereignty of that part of Behring Sea lying east of the westerly boundary of Alaska, as defined in the first article of the Treaty between the United States and Russia in 1867, by which Alaska was ceded to the United States, and which includes a stretch of sea extending in its widest part some 600 or 700 miles easterly from the mainland of Alaska.

3. That these proceedings were in direct violation of established principles of the law of nations, as urged in former times by the United States.

4. That the United States, through their Secretary of State, Hon. John Quincy Adams, emphatically resisted in 1822 a claim made by a Russian Ukase to sovereignty for 100 miles distant from the coasts and islands belonging to Russia in the Pacific Ocean, north of the 51st degree of latitude. That Russia subsequently relinquished her indefensible position and agreed to a convention, first with the United States, and subsequently with England, recognizing the rights of navigation and fishing by those nations in any part of the Behring Sea within limits allowed by the law of nations.

5. That the municipal legislation of the United States, under which the Canadian vessels were seized and condemned and their masters and mates fined and imprisoned, in an Alaskan court, could have no operation whatever against vessels in Behring Sea, which is not in the territorial waters of the United States; that any claim to exclusive jurisdiction on such seas is opposed to international law, and no such right can be acquired by prescription.

6. That the Canadian vessels captured in the Behring Sea were not engaged in any proceeding *contra bonos mores*, as urged by Mr. Blaine, inasmuch as such a rule is only admissible in the case of piracy or in pursuance of a special international agreement. All jurists of note have acknowledged this principle, and President Tyler, in a message to Congress in 1843, pressed the point that with the single exception of piracy 'no nation has in the time of peace any authority to detain the ships of another upon the high seas on any pretext whatever outside the territorial jurisdiction.' That discreditable traffic, the slave-trade, might well be considered *contra bonos mores*, but the Government of the United States would not consent to any English ship visiting and searching a suspected ship floating their flag, and yet the capture of seals is now a more serious affair than human slavery in the estimation of the Washington Secretary of State.

7. That

7. That the British Government have always claimed the freedom of navigation and fishing in the waters of the Behring Sea outside of the usual territorial marine league from the coast; that it is clearly impossible to admit that 'a public right to fish or pursue any other lawful occupation on the high seas can be considered to be abandoned by a nation from the mere fact that for a certain number of years it has not suited the subjects of that nation to exercise it;' and it must be remembered that British Columbia has come into existence as a colony, and her seal industry has become important only within a very recent period.

8. That the Canadian Government, in their desire to maintain as friendly relations as possible with the United States, have stated to the Imperial Government their readiness to consider any international arrangement for the proper preservation of the seal; but before such an enquiry is agreed to they expect that the question raised by the seizures of the Canadian vessels shall be settled according to the law of nations, and that the claim of indemnity now in the hands of Her Majesty's Government shall be fully settled.

9. That Her Majesty's Government are quite ready to agree that the whole question of the legality of the seizures in the Behring Sea, and the issues dependent thereon, shall be referred to an impartial arbitration.

From this summary it will be seen that the issues raised by the English and Canadian Governments are very clear—that the seizures of Canadian vessels were illegal—that the United States have no special or exclusive rights in this open sea under any recognized principle of international law. The whole tenor of Mr. Blaine's last despatches has been in the direction of the indefensible ground, that the Behring Sea and its fisheries occupy an altogether exceptional position among the seas and fisheries of the world, but no authority of note, American or European, has supported his argument; and it is impossible to explain how the Secretary of State could raise the issue of an offence against good morals, when it could have no application to the fisheries in question, and could in any case have no value or force except by international agreement—an agreement which would only bind the parties who might make it. If the United States have any exclusive rights beyond those based on intelligible and generally admitted principles of reason and the law of nations, let them be explained and settled in a court of arbitration; and, if there is any necessity for a close season, let it be decided by experts in such matters. The question in itself chiefly involves the profits of a commercial monopoly; and

were it not for the extraordinary pretensions urged by the United States Government—pretensions which they would have been the first to disavow, indeed were the first to repudiate in the past, and which no nation could under any circumstances maintain for a moment in the face of the world—no difficulty whatever could have occurred in a matter which should have been long ere this settled at once by common agreement.

The Canadian Government, with the approval of the Imperial authorities, has given additional evidence of its desire to settle this vexed question with as little delay as possible by taking the necessary steps for bringing the whole subject of the legality of the seizures of Canadian vessels on the high sea before the Supreme Court, the highest tribunal in the United States. That Court has already consented to consider a petition for a writ of prohibition to prevent the District Court of Alaska from proceeding to carry out its decree of forfeiture in the case of the schooner 'Sayward,' libelled for unlawfully taking seals in the Behring Sea. The case comes up in April, and it is hoped that the great tribunal, to which the Canadians so confidently appeal, will be able to go into the whole question at issue. If so, it will be a triumph of law over uncertain and crooked diplomacy.

The part that Canada has taken in this matter is in itself an illustration of her importance in Imperial councils and of the vastness of her territorial domain, which now stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific. One hundred and thirty years ago the term 'Canada' represented an ill-defined region of country watered by the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, inhabited by a few thousand Frenchmen living chiefly on the banks of the St. Lawrence and its tributaries. English-speaking people then came into the country and settled in the maritime provinces, on the St. Lawrence, and on the Lakes; representative institutions were established, commerce was developed, and, by 1792, five provinces, governed in the English way, were established from Cape Breton to the western limits of Ontario. For many years the indifference of English statesmen, and the ignorance which until relatively recent times prevailed with respect to the value of Canada as a home for industrious people, retarded her material and political development. Isolated provinces, without common aspirations or national aims, had no influence over Imperial councils in matters which were arranged by English diplomatists solely; whilst the Federal Republic, a union of free self-governing states, had always in view the promotion of their national strength and territorial aggrandizement. England, Spain, France, Mexico, and Russia, in turn, contributed their share

share to her ambition; and more than once, when discontent reigned and hope was absent, the ability of Canada to hold her own on this continent, in the opinion of not a few, seemed to be steadily on the decline. But self-government in all matters of local concern changed the gloomy outlook to one of brightness and hope, and a spirit of self-reliance developed itself among statesmen and people, until Confederation united all the provinces in a Union which alone could enable them to resist the ambition of their restless neighbour. Forty-four States in 1890 with a population of over 62,000,000 of souls, against a population of 4,000,000 in 1790; with a total commerce of exports and imports to the value of \$1,400,000,000, against \$43,000,000 in 1790; with a national revenue of more than \$300,000,000, against \$41,000,000 in 1790, now represent the Federal Union, once composed of thirteen States, the basis of the nation's greatness. Despite all the powerful influences that have fought against Canada, she has held her own in America. In 1890 a population of 5,000,000 against 1,000,000 in 1840, with a total trade of \$230,000,000 against \$25,000,000 in 1840, and with a national revenue of nearly \$40,000,000 against \$700,000 in 1840, inhabit a dominion of seven regularly organized provinces and of an immense territory, now in course of development, stretching from Manitoba and Ontario to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, and northerly to a great region watered by the Peace, Athabasca, Slave, and MacKenzie Rivers, and possessing a climate and soil, according to recent explorations, capable of supporting millions. This Dominion embraces an area of 3,519,000 square miles, including its water surface, or very little less than the area of the United States with Alaska, or a region with a width of 3,500 miles from east to west, and 1,400 miles from north to south. Its climate and resources are those of the Northern, Middle, and Western States. No dangerous question like slavery exists to complicate the political and social conditions of the Union; and although there is a large and increasing French Canadian element in the Dominion—the heritage of the old French régime in America—its history so far should not create fear as to the future except in the minds of sectarian and sectional pessimists who are too often raising gloomy phantoms of their own imaginings. While this element naturally clings to its national language and special institutions, yet it has, under the influence of a complete system of local self-government, taken as active and earnest a part as the English element in establishing and strengthening the confederation. The expansion of the African race in the Southern States is a question of the future for the Federal Republic which
its

its statesmen will find much more difficult than any that Canadian statesmen have to solve on account of the existence of a French nationality who possess the lively intelligence of their race, exercise all the privileges of self-government, and, above all things, must comprehend that their true interests lie in a prosperous Canadian confederation, and not in union with a country where they would eventually lose their national identity. The Federal Union gives expansion to the national energies of the whole Dominion, and at the same time should afford every security to the local interests of each member of the federal compact. In all matters of Dominion concern, Canada is a free agent. While the Queen is still the head of the executive authority, and can alone initiate treaties with foreign nations—that being an act of complete sovereignty—and appeals are still open to her Privy Council from Canadian courts within certain limitations—it is an admitted principle that so far as Canada has been granted legislative rights and privileges by the Imperial Parliament—rights and privileges set forth explicitly in the British North America Act of 1867—she is practically sovereign in the exercise of all those powers as long as they do not conflict with treaty obligations of the parent State or with Imperial legislation directly applicable to her with her own consent. It is true that the Queen in council can veto Acts of the Canadian Parliament, but that supreme power is only exercised under the conditions just stated, and can no more be constitutionally used in the case of ordinary Canadian statutes affecting the Dominion solely, than can the Sovereign to-morrow veto the acts of the Imperial Parliament—a prerogative of the Crown still existent, but not exercised in England since the days of Queen Anne, and now inconsistent with modern rules of Parliamentary Government. In a limited sense there is already a loose system of federation between England and her dependencies. The Central Government of England, as the guardian of the welfare of the whole empire, co-operates with the several governments of her colonial dependencies, and by common consultation and arrangement endeavours to come to such a determination as will be to the advantage of all the interests at stake. In other words, the conditions of the relations between England and Canada are such as to ensure unity of policy as long as each Government considers the interests of England and the dependency as identical, and keeps ever in view the obligations, welfare, and unity, of the empire at large. Full consultation in all negotiations affecting Canada, representation in every arbitration and commission that may be the result of such negotiations, are the principles which have been
admitted

admitted by England of late years in acknowledgment of the development of Canada and of her present position in the empire, and any departure now from so sound a doctrine would be a serious injury to the Imperial connexion and an insult to the ability of Canadians to take a part in the great councils of the world.

Canada then is no longer a mere Province, in the old Colonial sense of the term, but a Dominion possessing many of the attributes of a self-governing nation. Her past history is not that of a selfish people, but of one ever ready to make concessions for the sake of maintaining the most friendly relations between England and the United States. Every treaty that has been made with the United States has been more or less at the expense of some Canadian interest, but Canadians have yielded to the force of circumstances, and to reasons of national comity and good neighbourhood. Canada has been always ready to agree to any fair measure of reciprocal trade with her neighbours, but this paper has shown that all her efforts in that direction have been fruitless for years. The two political parties since 1867, the year of Confederation, have been avowedly in favour of reciprocity, and the differences of opinion that have grown up between them since 1879, when the present Government adopted a so-called National Policy or system of Protection, have been as to the extent to which a new treaty with the United States should go; whether it should be, generally speaking, on the basis of the Treaty of 1854, or a complete measure of unrestricted reciprocity, or, in other words, free trade in the manufactured as well as in the natural products of the two countries. This issue was formally raised at the general election which took place on the 5th of March last. At the very beginning of the contest the organs of the Government published an official communication, addressed by the Governor-General in December last to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in which the desire is expressed for the opening up of negotiations with Washington for the purpose of arranging, if possible, a reciprocal measure of trade on the basis of 1854, 'with the modifications required by the altered circumstances of both countries,' and with such 'extensions' as are assumed to be 'in the interests of Canada and the United States,' as well as in the hope of coming to satisfactory conclusions with respect to the fisheries, the coasting trade, wreckage, and the boundary between Alaska and the Dominion. The leader of the Government, Sir John A. Macdonald, also issued an address in which he emphatically set forth the reasons why he claimed a continuance of the support he had received from the country
since

since 1878. Having expressed his determination 'to build up on this continent, under the flag of England, a great and powerful nation,' he went on to vindicate the 'National Policy of his government as the source of the national and industrial development of Canada up to the present time, and to oppose the policy of "unrestricted reciprocity" on the ground that it must involve, among other grave evils, discrimination against the mother country, and inevitably result in the annexation of the Dominion to the United States.' In answer to this emphatic appeal of the veteran Prime Minister, Mr. Laurier, the leader of the Opposition, arraigned 'the National Policy upon every claim made in its behalf,' and defended the policy of his party, 'which is absolute reciprocal freedom of trade between Canada and the United States.' As to the charge that 'unrestricted reciprocity' would involve discrimination against England, he met it 'squarely and earnestly.' 'It cannot be expected,' he wrote, 'it were folly to expect, that the interests of a Colony should always be identical with the interests of the mother-land. The day must come when from no other cause than the development of the national life in the dependency, there must be a clash of interests with the mother-land; and in any such case, much as I would regret the necessity, I would stand by my native land.' He denied the proposition that 'the Canadian tariff would have to be assimilated to the American tariff, a proposition that involves discrimination against England.' In his opinion, 'reciprocity can be obtained upon an assimilation of tariffs, or upon the retention of its own tariff by each country.' The people of Canada, he believed, would not have reciprocity at the price of 'consequences injurious to their sense of honour or duty to themselves or the mother-land.' To the charge of the Prime Minister that unrestricted reciprocity is 'veiled treason,' he gave a negative in unmeasured terms.

With the minor party issues that have complicated this important contest for the political supremacy in Canada, we have nothing to do in this historical review of events affecting the relations of Canada and the United States. We have confined ourselves to a brief statement of the nature of the vital issue which has been directly submitted to the people of the Dominion. The result of the contest, after some weeks of heated controversy—and England can assuredly teach her dependencies nothing in this respect—has been, so far as we can judge from the data before us, to give Sir John Macdonald's ministry a majority over the whole Dominion of above thirty in a House of two hundred and fifteen members, against an
average

average majority of fifty in the last Parliament. The expression of public opinion in Canada appears to be decidedly in favour of some fair measure of trade with the United States, but the problem is whether the dominant party in that country under existing circumstances will be content with a moderate treaty on the basis of that of 1854, with such changes as will meet the later condition of things. As already indicated, while the present Government favour restricted reciprocity, they are pledged to maintain the general principles of the National Policy, and to agree to no measure that will discriminate against the parent State. The gravity of the political situation for some time to come must be intensified by the fact that, while the party of unrestricted reciprocity has been defeated in the Dominion as a whole, it has developed strength in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, where the total representation of one hundred and fifty-seven members is nearly divided between the Government and the Opposition, and it is obvious that the contest between the two commercial policies has but commenced. Looking at the question from the point of view of an impartial observer, we can see that Canada is entering upon a very critical period in her history. She has reached that stage when all the antagonistic elements, arising from those differences of nationality, geographical situation, and commercial interests, that exist in a Dominion stretching for three thousand five hundred miles between two oceans, must complicate its questions of government and require a careful, sagacious, and steady hand at the helm. Canadians are now practically the masters of their own destiny. From this time forward they have to face political, financial, and commercial problems, which it will require no ordinary statesmanship to solve wisely, and which must test to the very utmost their patriotism, their fidelity to an old and cherished connexion, and their ability to preserve their political autonomy on the continent, and build up a great and prosperous nation, always in close alliance, we trust, with England.

In the meantime, while the Canadian people are endeavouring to establish themselves firmly in America, it is earnestly to be hoped that any negotiations, which their Government may be able to enter upon with the authorities at Washington with the view of bringing about a settlement of all questions at issue between the two countries, will be eventually successful, now that a new and more liberal Congress has been elected by the people of the United States, and that the MacKinley Bill has been unequivocally condemned by the public opinion of the Republic. One thing is certain, and that is,
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